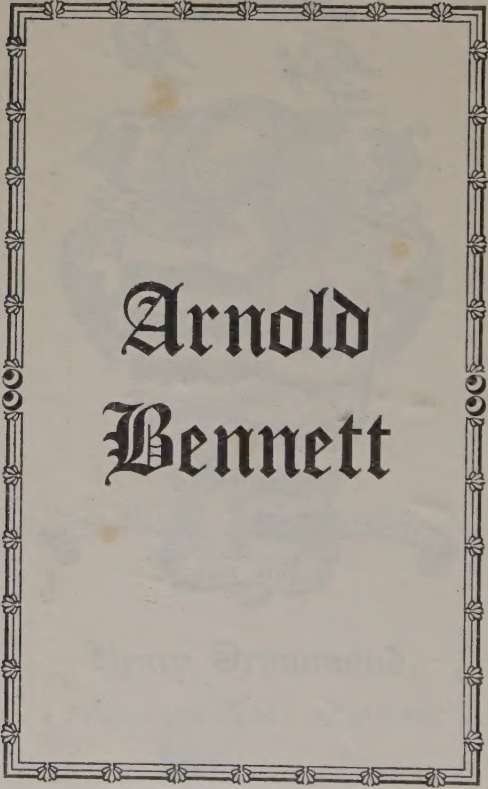


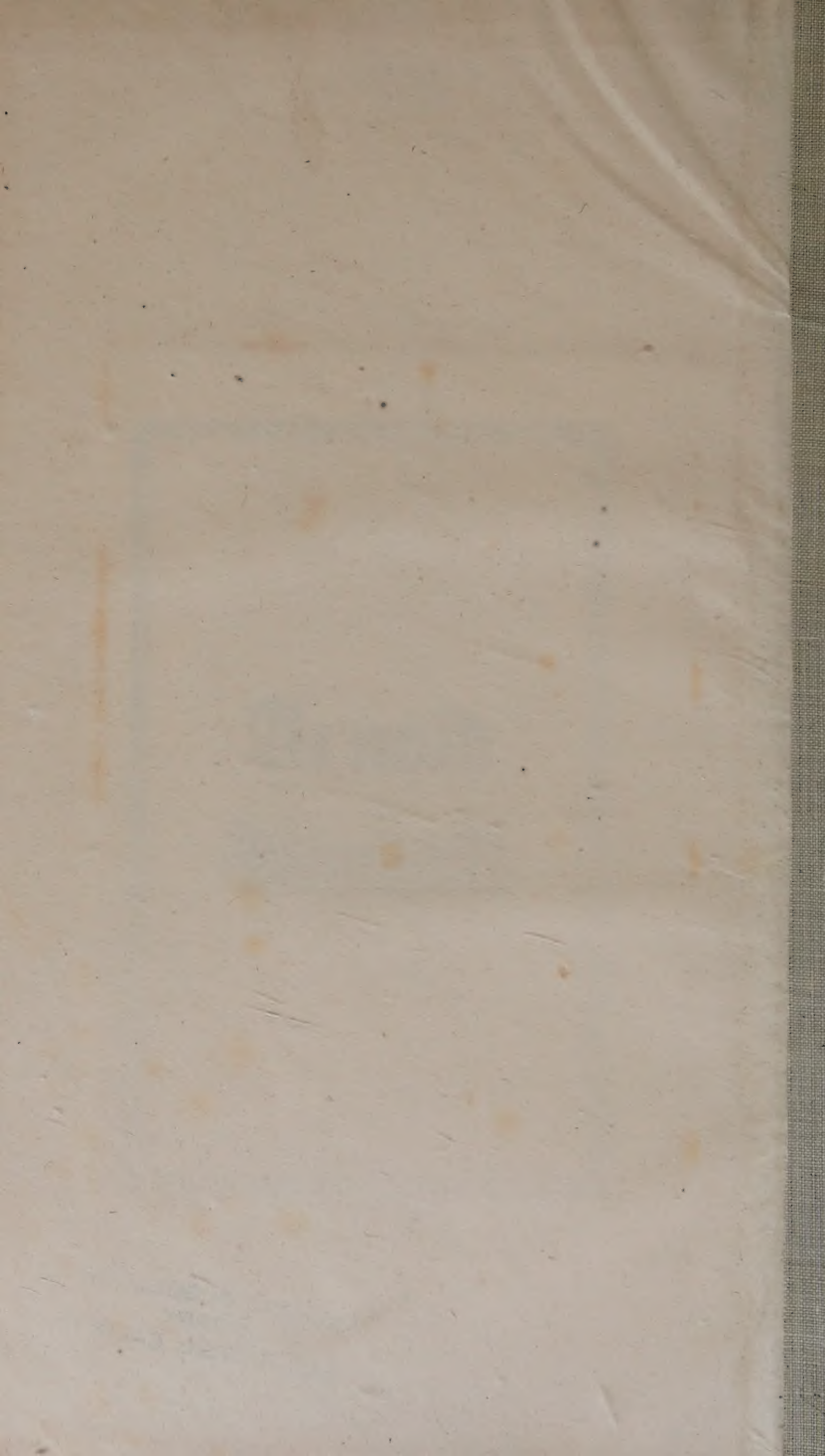
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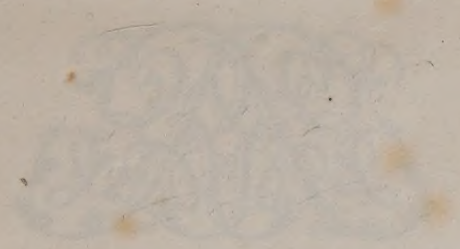
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For the YEAR 1798.



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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1798.



L O N D O N :

Printed for F. C. and J. RIVINGTON, N° 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard,
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P R E F A C E.

THE events of the year 1798 abound with matter of peculiar interest; and, perhaps, no period since the commencement of the revolutionary war, more strongly calls forth detestation of the unprincipled ambition of the factions which swayed France, or sympathy for the misfortunes of their victims. The fall of Rome and that of Swisserland are points to which the Historian at all times will naturally recur with pity and indignation: and the meek endurance of the illustrious sufferer who was compelled to exchange the Pontifical throne for insult and captivity, and the self-devotion of the mountain Patriots who preferred extermination to slavery, will always claim a prominent rank among the most striking occurrences of days more than usually fertile in uncommon incidents. In these parts of our narrative we have endeavoured to collect as much of personal and private history as was to be procured from authentic sources: and, in this respect, we have found no little advantage arising from the long interval which has elapsed between the existence of the facts themselves, and the completion of our record of them.

The domestic policy of France, the conquest of Naples, the commencement of the Egyptian campaign, the gradual developement of Buonaparte's increasing ambition, and the glories of that unprecedented naval triumph which England won when deserted by all her allies, largely contribute to the interest of this portion of the Annals of Europe: and, however much we may regret that the memorial cannot be blotted out for ever, the foul and ferocious details into which we have been compelled to enter respecting the Irish rebellion, are not without their use to mankind, as illustrating the depths of crime into which religious and political fanaticism may plunge the half civilized and the misguided. In relating the progress of this most unhappy insurrection we have weighed conflicting authorities with the nicest impartiality; and we have little fear of being accused of suffering our attachment to good order and legitimate government to induce us to throw the whole balance of the great account of blood to the side of treason.

It would have been easy to extend these pages to more than twice their number: But he is little acquainted with the secret of composition who measures the value of a narrative by its length: and who, forgetting the labour which compression requires, proportions his admiration not to the weight but to the surface with which he is presented.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
FOR THE YEAR 1798.

THE
HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Retrospect of the French Government from the Overthrow of the Convention. Characters of the five Directors. Parties in the two Councils. State of Public Morals and Opinions. Financial Difficulties. Assignats. Forced Loans. Mandats. Private Distress. Embarrassments of the Directory. Opposition to the Jacobins. Suppression of Clubs. Conspiracy of Babœuf suppressed. Pretended Royalist Plot. Attempt on the Camp of Grenelle. Unpopularity of the Directors. Misery of France. Dissensions among the Directors. Royalist Conspiracy. Elections. Arbitrary Measures of the Directors. Appointment of Barthelemy. Jealousy of the Councils. Revival of Theophilanthropism. Influence of the three Directors Reubel, Barras, and Lepaux, over the Army. Strengthened by the Attacks of the Councils on Bonaparte. Addresses from several Divisions of the Army. Change of Ministers. Approach of Troops to Paris. Debates on this Violation of the Constitution. Arrival of Augereau. Deposition of Carnot and Barthelemy. Arrest of the Deputies. Deportation to Guiana. Sufferings of the Deported. Their Escape from Sinamary. Merlin of Douai and Francois of Neufchateau, appointed Directors. Rupture of the Negotiations at Lisle. Outrage upon the Portuguese Ambassador. Bonaparte arrives in Paris. His Presentation at the Luxembourg. Ostensible Preparations for the Invasion of England.

THE general tide of events in European history since the commencement of the French Revolution, was influenced in its course far more by the principles which that mighty event deve-

loped, than by the individual actors who from time to time played their brief part on the scene of its theatre. One boundless system of gigantic ambition, whether in foreign or domestic relations, in-

spired the counsels of each succeeding faction which held the reins of government after the overthrow of monarchy: and by the men of blood, who arose upon its ruins, the ties of social life, the privileges of nations, and the injunctions of religion, were alike disregarded and violated. The establishment and the consolidation of power, was the sole object of each dictator of the moment whom fortune exalted in her wantonness; and the destruction of the fabrics thus raised without scruple as to their foundation or their materials, was always proportioned to the rapidity with which they had sprung up, and the height which they had attained. Our first remark will be justified by the policy which guided the measures of the Executive Directory during the early part of its administration; the second will be amply borne out by the subsequent events which led to its dissolution.

For this purpose it will be necessary to resume our narrative from the moment of the fall of the Convention*, when we shall find that the form, rather than the substance of government, was changed; and that France had only altered in name the tyranny which oppressed herself and agitated Europe.

The oligarchy to which the Revolution of the 24th of October, 1795, had transferred the sovereign authority, consisted of five members, Reubel, Lareveilliere Lepaux, Carnot, Letourneur de la Manche, and Barras. Of these, the two first had origi-

nally been bred to the law; in the dawn of the Revolution they held seats in the Constituent Assembly and the National Convention, and were notorious above their fellows for avowed ferocity of principle. It is recorded of Reubel, by one of his companions in power, that he admitted no fault in Robespierre, but that of too great gentleness; and the zeal of Lepaux is the favourite topic of encomium among his Republican panegyrists. Carnot and Barras had both distinguished themselves in arms. The first as a member of Robespierre's committee of public safety, had been intrusted with the war department, and his present elevation, which gave hope of aggrandizement to the Jacobins, was owing to the refusal of the wary Syeyes. It is not likely that the hazard of the situation deterred the Abbé from accepting a post, upon which he afterwards entered under circumstances of still greater peril; and his rejection of it may with more probability be attributed to the wide difference of opinion which was known to exist between himself and Reubel, whose obstinacy he despaired to conquer, and whose influence was now in its ascendant. Barras had contributed greatly by his personal courage to the final overthrow of Robespierre, and though distinguished for the nobility of his birth, and his staunch retention of certain aristocratical prejudices, he was perhaps the most popular of the directors. Letourneur, who completed the band, had nothing in his charac-

* Ann. Reg. 1795, p. 115.

ter which could excite jealousy or fear; and his advancement was chiefly owing to his insignificance; a claim which among bad men in troublous times is not without honour.

The hatred expressed by the people to the committal of sovereign authority to a single hand, had led to this division of power; and the system of government produced by it had been framed speculatively, without reference to the individuals who were called upon to administer it. Hence arose a singular and unexpected union of men, who had openly belonged to different parties, who were without one bond of mutual confidence, and who had a thousand causes of mistrust and dissension. The single event in which heretofore they had acted conjointly, was the condemnation of the King, to which each member of the Directory had given his assent. Their nomination was the result of intrigue, and proved the nice balance of the several factions. Fifty names by an ordinance of the Constitution, were to be presented to the Council of Ancients by that of Five Hundred. It was contrived that in this list forty-five should be obscure and unknown; and in spite of a requisition for delay, the election was immediately demanded and carried.

This forced choice created a party in the Council of Ancients, which, from the outset, was hostile to the Directors; and the struggles of which, with the increasing despotism of the Executive, form the leading features of the domestic history of France during the year 1796. In the

other branch of the legislative body, the Directory had a decided majority; and even in the Ancients, they obtained a superiority by an early violation of the spirit of the Constitution. It was necessary that the elections should be completed within ten days after the promulgation of the new code; and the Directory, by a vote of the Council of Five Hundred, assumed to itself the right of nominating the representatives of such electoral bodies as had not complied with the requisition within the appointed time.

The opening declarations of the new government were too vague to be received as distinct pledges of any precise course of action: but the agitation of the public mind demanded repose; and the first symptom of subsiding terrorism was eagerly caught at as an assured evidence of permanent tranquillity. The Directors avowed their attachment to the Republic, their adherence to inflexible justice, and their strict observance of the laws. They heavily denounced all royalism, they talked eagerly of the extinction of party feuds, of the restoration of concord, of the re-establishment of public credit, commerce, and the arts. Morals were to be regenerated, social order was to be awakened, and the glory and the happiness of France was to be the constant theme of the meditation, and the solicitude of her governors.

There was nothing in this language which every previous faction had not spoken; and the words used were only those of promise and profession. But the ears into which they were poured

required soothing, and they were greedily listened to and devoured, as conveying certainty rather than hope. Proscription at least had ceased, and the desire of vengeance was apparently glutted. The capital, long since deserted, again became thronged with crowds who made a business of pleasure; and the gaiety and frivolity of Parisian life were revived in its uttermost licence. Voluptuousness sought to atone for its long privations by excess of indulgence; and the remembrance of the past, with the insecurity of the future, jointly contributed to heighten the flood of present intoxication. "It is on the tomb that we are dancing," was the plea of those who revelled; and to profit by the moment, and to catch the passing hour, was whispered to willing ears as the suggestion of foresight and wisdom. The rapid fluctuation of property which had been produced by the vicissitudes of the Revolution, and the depreciation of paper currency, occasioned a careless and lavish prodigality; and the facility with which divorces were procured, threw down the last barrier which might have been opposed to the headlong rush of profligacy.

Of the state of the provinces we have already spoken, and of the reaction of the partizans of royalty in the South. Frightful atrocities were doubtless committed, and bands, organized under the imposing titles of companions of Jesus and of the Sun, systematized assassination, and rolled back on their enemies in turn the

cruelties which themselves had endured. We have detailed the operation in La Vendée and at Quiberon too largely in their fitting places to need reference to them here.

Without success in war, no government in France could at present look for support; and to defray the expences of the requisite military establishment, a peremptory attention was demanded to finance. The treasury had been drained, and public credit had been exhausted by the rash projects, and boundless expenditure of the Convention, and the difficulty of obtaining the command of money appeared to increase in proportion to its necessity. The contributions already voted were payable in *assignats*, and these were so fallen in value that nearly six thousand *livres* on paper could be obtained for a *Louis d'or**. A forced loan was proposed in the first instance to relieve these embarrassments. It was to furnish six hundred millions of *livres* (26,250,000*l.*) and to be raised from a million of individuals; this number was afterwards extended, in different gradations, to six millions; the loan was decreed, but, as might have been foreseen, the shallow expedient wholly failed of success.

The Directors sought to remedy this immediate want of specie by a still less politic experiment; and it was proposed to supply the deficiencies of the first paper currency by creating a second. This project allowed the issue of somewhat more than a million sterling in paper, called *mandats territoriaux*.

* At the moment of the extinction of paper money the *Louis d'or* was exchanged for 28,000 *livres* in *assignats*.

The holders of these notes acquired a mortgage on, and a right to purchase the national domains, at a price calculated by the state of rents in the year 1790. To support the scheme, a decree was passed compelling the reception of *mandats* as cash; but the distresses of the State and the public insolvency had been so clearly displayed, and the particular measure itself had been so resisted and exposed in its progress through the Councils, that, on their first issue, a hundred *livres* in *mandats* were sold for nine in specie; and soon after the circulation was universally rejected. These, who on the faith of government had bought lands with the discredited paper, became the chief sufferers on its failure. Pretexts were sought to revise the several purchases, and additional payments were compelled by the threat of final confiscation.

Such were some of the projects for immediate relief: other customary sources of taxation were opened for the permanent revenue; among those less usual may be enumerated lotteries for the national estates, after the suppression of the *mandats*; an impost on theatrical admissions; and the annulment of all debts upon the estates of emigrants, so that the government, by which they had been seized, now became enabled to sell them at a higher price by peremptorily freeing them from all former incumbrances. The treasures of Holland were next attacked, and under different pretences large supplies were drawn from the reluctant coffers of these nominal allies.

It was, not only the State that

was distressed, the disease of the head had flowed through all the members, and the remedies proposed had heightened the virulence of the disorder. Thus the fictitious circulation had, at a touch as it were, expunged the balance existing between debtor and creditor. He who had borrowed in real money refunded the loan in paper; and the extinction of the debt was the destruction of the lender's property. Those who had brooded over piles of imaginary wealth, in a moment became destitute, and, like the unhappy victim of enchantment in the oriental story, beheld their substantial gold transformed to unprofitable leaves.

This distracted state of finance, a systematic opposition in the Councils, and the rage of libel among the public journalists, sufficiently embarrassed the Directory. On its first accession to power it had affected measures of conciliation towards the more violent remnant of the Jacobins; and promises, rewards, and admonitions were employed to reconcile them to the Constitution. These arts succeeded with but few; the obstinacy of the remainder forbade all hope of coalition; and the proclamations of government at length denounced them to be as implacable and as dangerous as the Royalists. Their clubs were suppressed, measures were taken to exclude them from all public offices, and a rigorous proscription was about to be put in force at all hazards, when the fortunate discovery of a conspiracy, of which a few obscure members of their faction were ringleaders, placed them without support or

defence at the mercy of the Directory.

Babœuf, a minor instrument of the Terrorists and the Convention, who, on a former occasion, had been arrested as an accomplice of Hebert, and escaped the scaffold only from his insignificance, was the framer and conductor of this new plot. Adopting the Republican præfix, Gracchus, he announced himself as the avenger of Robespierre; and using the press as the first stimulus to insurrection, he revived, in frequent pamphlets, the atrocious declarations of Marat and Duchesne. Drouet, one of the captives whom the exchange of Madame Elisabeth had freed from the prisons of Austria, was the principal coadjutor of Babœuf. The previous history of this man was not without interest. His name is well known as that of the Postmaster of Varennes, who intercepted the escape of the unfortunate Louis. During the siege of Maubeuge, he had been taken prisoner by the Austrians in an endeavour to fly from its walls; and, in spite of his declamations as a member of the Convention, he had been thrown into confinement in the dungeon of a fortress. Without hope of release, despair suggested to him a hazardous expedient for his delivery. By the help of such materials, as he chanced to find at hand, he constructed a rude parachute; and confiding himself to this frail and uncertain guide, attempted to descend from a lofty window. His fall was much more rapid than he had persuaded himself to expect, and, striking against a projecting wall, his leg was broken. Recapture

was the immediate consequence of this accident, and he languished in chains till the Directory stipulated for his liberty, and recalled him to a seat in the Legislature. His gratitude was shown by an intimate alliance with the first conspirators, who attempted to overthrow the government of his deliverers.

Funds were wanting to give activity to the plot; for the great agents in it were in a condition of miserable indigence; but Babœuf dextrously employed the prospective hope of indiscriminate pillage as a substitute for present largesses. Some small pittance was raised by voluntary contribution; and an extensive organization of all those acquainted with the conspiracy, took place under a Committee denominated, The Secret Directory of Public Safety.

If we are to credit the documents, afterwards published by the Directory as seized upon Babœuf, no insurrection was ever more extensively ramified, or more systematically arranged. Numerous subordinate committees, each in degree only partially intrusted with the great secret, were in perpetual communication with the presiding Council. Every minute detail of the intended rising was previously committed to paper, and lists of the proscribed were sifted and examined with the utmost nicety of research. It was intended, that on the 11th of May, a movement should be made in the *Fauxbourg Saint Antoine*. The leading conspirators, armed with musquets and pikes, were to rouse the sections by the well known cries of "Bread, and the

Constitution of the year III." The barriers were to be closed, the public arsenals, magazines, and treasures, were to be thrown open. In the first moment of confusion, the palace of the Directors; and the halls of the legislative body, were to be the objects of attack, and the poniard was to spare none who might be thought hostile to the views of the insurgents. The directors, the ministers, all but the Jacobin members of the Councils, and every foreigner indiscriminately, who might be found in Paris, were marked out for assassination: and on the fall of the existing government the revival of the Convention was to be proclaimed, and the Hall of the Jacobins triumphantly re-opened.

Such were the terrific outlines of this plot, constructed by a handful of desperate men, who appeared to atone for their actual weakness by a proportionate excess of ferocity. Without money, arms, connection, or public confidence, their chief reliance was placed upon the facility with which, as the experience of the Revolution had taught them, the rabble of Paris could be driven to any enormity, by a few seditious phrases, and the lure of plunder: the necessary agency of women, by which so much of popular fury heretofore had been excited, was not forgotten, and the co-operation of the legion of police, a band deeply dyed in horrors, though not secured, was confidently anticipated. But however formidable these designs might sound, there was little in them in reality which could excite alarm in the Directory. From

the first birth of the plot they had watched, if not accelerated, its progress. An accomplice was gained to reveal the secret of the conspiracy, and, on the very eve of its explosion, Babœuf and his confederates were arrested. The first hours of his confinement were distinguished by the most insolent bravado. It seemed as if he expected the Parisians would rise *en masse* to burst his fetters, and to atone for his brief imprisonment by the blood of his enemies. Two days of profound tranquillity scarcely diminished his hopes of ultimate triumph. He then addressed the Directory, demanding that they should treat with him on equal terms; pointing out the boundless extent of the union of which himself formed the centre; and offering, as the price of his freedom, the immediate submission of a party, which, even if it continued in repose, must still counterpoise the existing government, and which, if put in motion, must assuredly overwhelm it. The Directors published his letter without answering it, and summoned him before a high court of justice, which was to investigate his treason at Vendome.

Drouet had been included in the arrest and committed to the Temple. His escape, as it is said, was connived at; and report even attributes it to the intervention of Barras himself. It is by no means improbable that the government was indebted for important communications respecting the plot, to one who, ostensibly only, was a participator in it.

Two futile attempts were made, during the trial of Babœuf, to ex-

cite insurrection, and they were both traced home to his partisans. The first was calculated to mislead the Parisians into a belief that it was a movement in favour of the Bourbons. A white flag was raised in a conspicuous part of the city, and cockades of the same colour were scattered in the streets. Placards denouncing death to all Republicans, and inviting the citizens to arm for Louis XVIII. were posted on the walls, and the peaceful burghers were roused from slumber, at an unseasonable hour, by the discharge of musquetry in several quarters at once. A single individual, who had wounded himself while firing his own piece, gave a clue to the transaction, and met the punishment which he deserved.

In the mean time, a large body of troops encamped in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the discomfited conspirators, desperate of all other means, sought to win them to their views. On the night of the 10th of November six or seven hundred strangers mingled with the soldiers, inflammatory proclamations were distributed among the ranks, and the cry of "death to the tyrants, live the Constitution of 1793," was feebly raised in the camp of Grenelle. The commander beat to arms, a few of the insurrectionists were killed on the spot after an obstinate resistance. Numbers were taken prisoners, and criminal proceedings instituted against them with unexpected rapidity. Six were shot, pursuant to a summary sentence, in the plain of Grenelle, and, of these, three were ex-deputies of

the Convention. Twenty-six more were executed in the Champ de Mars, and of the remainder, part were condemned to deportation, and part to imprisonment. It was not till several months after this tumult, that the process against Babœuf and his associate was brought to a conclusion. He grounded his defence upon a broad, and by no means, an improbable accusation against the Directory, that of having stimulated him to rebellion by the suggestions of their own spies and agents. The total incapacity of the conspirators, their senseless projects, and their want of means, all tend to corroborate this charge. The increase of strength which the Directory gained by the existence and the suppression of the plot, adds weight also to the supposition. Babœuf, the victim either of his own folly, or of the treachery of his advisers, was condemned after a protracted trial; and he suffered death with the same firmness which had supported him from the commencement of his evil fortune.

The specious shew of pacific intention, and the rupture of the negotiations with England at the close of 1796, have already been detailed in another place. The pretence of peace was necessary to silence the loud murmurs of a population upon whom financial difficulties pressed hourly with an increasing burden: but the failure was so plainly to be attributed by the French to the impediments which their own government framed, that the Directory gained nothing in public favour by their hollow diplomacy. The conquest of new states but ill

compensated for the impoverishment of their own country; and though victorious wherever her banners advanced, France has seldom presented a picture of more appalling internal misery and destitution, than in the course of the fifth year of her Republican existence. Her rulers described her state in a message to the Councils, (Dec. x.) which no representations of an enemy could exaggerate. All parts of the public service, they said, are in deep distress, the pay of the troops is in arrear, and the defenders of the country are given up to the horrors of nakedness. Their courage is enervated by grievous wants, and their disgust creates desertion. The hospitals are without furniture, fire, or drugs; and the charitable institutions, similarly unprovided, repel the approach of that indigence and infirmity which they ought to solace. The high roads are broken up, and communications are interrupted; the salaries of the public functionaries are unpaid; and throughout the Republic, we see judges and administrators reduced to the horrible alternative of dragging on a miserable existence, or disgracefully selling themselves to every intrigue. Malevolence is universally busy; in many places assassination is reduced to a system; and the police, without activity and force, and destitute of pecuniary means, is unable to terminate these disorders.

Frightful as this representation is, there is little reason to believe it to be overcharged. Compulsory loans, and new issues were proposed as remedies, and aban-

doned almost as soon as proposed. The plan of a National Bank was submitted to a deputation of merchants, from the principal trading towns, with equally ill success. No commercial theorist was rash enough to embark in the speculation. All government paper, they replied, has been discredited, and every scheme for giving circulation to these symbols, has been annulled and disgraced by an unprincipled seizure of the property which was to realize their value. The effects of anarchy weigh down the spirit of commerce; we trade only on the ruins of our former wealth; capital is spent or buried; manufactures are shut up; correspondence is annihilated; a continual fluctuation in government checks the spirit of enterprise; and the best combined speculations fail, because, between the period of projection and completion, a total change takes place in the laws which regulate their operation.

Amid these general embarrassments, the disagreement which from the first had separated the individuals who composed the Directory, daily became more apparent. Carnot and Letourneur, supported by the moderate party in the Councils, endeavoured to strengthen the influence of the Constitution. They were regarded with jealousy by Lepaux, whose attention for the present was ostensibly confined to the revival of the impious folly of theophilanthropism; by Reubel they were opposed with bitterness. Barras linked himself to the most violent remains of the ultra-republican faction, and is believed to have been privy even

to the more open attempts into which these desperate men entered against the government.

These jarring interests were for a while apparently consolidated by the discovery of a fresh conspiracy which ushered in the year 1797. The hopes of the Royalists in the South and West had revived, and attempts were made to conciliate all parties to the interests of the exiled family, by vague propositions for the establishment of a limited and constitutional monarchy, by promises of general amnesty, and guarantees of confirmation in their property, or ample indemnities in case of surrender, to the revolutionary proprietors of land. The Chouans were prepared for the renewal of hostilities, and agents of the Bourbon princes were widely scattered through the provinces, and had penetrated even to the capital itself. Four of these emissaries, the Baron de Poli, Duverne de Presle, the Abbé Brottier, and Lavilleurnois, misled by their own strong feeling for the cause, or abiding by the tenor of their instructions, opened their plans indiscreetly; and selected, as assistants and advisers, two persons whose official posts made them of high importance, whether as enemies or coadjutors; Ramel, commander of the legislative body, and Malo, a colonel of dragoons, who had distinguished himself by his attachment to the ruling authorities in the affair at the camp of Grenelle. It is not easy to conjecture whence the blindness of the Royalists arose in the first instance; but Malo and Ramel seem to have had little difficulty in obtaining com-

plete possession of the secrets of the conspiracy, the progress of which was reported from day to day by one party to the Comte de Lille, by the other to the Directory. Louis XVIII. was to be proclaimed forthwith in the streets of the capital, and the body guard and Malo's regiment of dragoons, by a successful *coup de main*, were to re-establish the ancient monarchy. The details of the scheme were of the wildest and most impracticable nature. When the proceedings had attained a sufficient degree of maturity to meet the public eye, witnesses were concealed to report a conversation between the conspirators and their pretended friends; and the party having been arrested, a solemn announcement of the plot was made by the Directory to the Councils. Contrary to all expectation, the Parisians received the declaration with coldness towards their governors, and with the most lively interest towards the accused. The treachery employed to develop the conspiracy was reprobated as base and unworthy; and the public murmurs increased in loudness when it was resolved that the prisoners should be committed for trial to a military tribunal. The pretext which the Directory offered for this deviation from the ordinary course of justice was founded on an iniquitous quibble, by which the intended crime of levying troops was considered as actually perpetrated and was therefore referred to the jurisdiction of a Court Martial. The commission was appointed, but its proceedings were perpetually interrupted by ap-

peals to, and discussions in the Councils. On their examination, the accused avowed their attachment to royalty with dignified firmness; at the same time, they produced clear evidence of the gentle and unbloody spirit which had pervaded their scheme. The opinion of the people had been too strongly expressed in their favour to permit the extremity of punishment. Eighteen were completely acquitted, and the four chief actors in the conspiracy, though condemned in the first instance to death, found their sentence commuted to various degrees of imprisonment. The Royalists affected to consider the termination of these trials as highly favourable to their hopes. It was, however, far more a proof of the unpopularity of the new government, than of any reviving attachment to that which already had been destroyed.

In Italy, and the Austrian dominions, the French arms had been equally successful; and the Armistice, concluded at Leoben, seemed to promise a brief respite, if not a more permanent repose from the miseries of war. In the midst of its conquests, however, the Directory had forfeited the respect and the confidence of the people; and a revival of most tumultuous opposition was anticipated, as the season approached in which one of the Executive was to vacate his seat by lot, and a third part of the representative bodies was to be renewed by election.

An avowed object of one party of the constituents was the election of representatives, who, having connected themselves with

none of the ephemeral factions of the Revolution, were supposed to be unshackled by claims or pledges. The Royalists, for the most part, were the only persons to whom this designation would apply; and the Directory exerted itself, by new decrees to prevent the possibility of their return by the primary assemblies.

It was decreed that the exercise of political rights should be refused to all persons whose names were inscribed on the list of emigrants; and the Directors, profiting by the recently discovered conspiracy, proposed a still more exclusive law, by which no one who had omitted to take the prescribed oath of hatred to royalty should possess the right of voting. The oath originally was framed with far less extensive views; and was intended to operate not so much as a penal enactment against recusants, as to guard against the attainment of power by a party to whom all sects of Republicans, however variously modified, were, at that time, strenuously opposed by common interest. Every public functionary, before entering upon office, was compelled to submit to this test. In the discussions which arose upon the proposed enlargement of the requisition, it was contended that each citizen, who tendered his vote, became a public functionary, and therefore was under the necessity of subscribing the oath. The fallacy of this position was loudly censured, but the Directors still retained their majority in the Councils, and, after more than one tumultuous debate, the decree was sanctioned.

Not satisfied with these ex-

traordinary acts of power, the Directors, through the Minister of Police, addressed themselves to several departments, recommending particular members of the old Legislature to their choice. The result of the elections by no means answered their expectations. The short existence of the new third was distinguished by a boldness of opposition which accelerated the desperate measures adopted in the end, by the majority of the Directors to establish their own oligarchy. Pichegru was named President of the Council of Five

Hundred; and his enemies, May 20. who were already in possession of documents apparently implicating him in a correspondence with the Royalists, silently awaited the moment in which, their plans being matured, they might overwhelm him in the general ruin of his party.

The lot of exclusion had fallen on Letourneur; and the little influence which Carnot hitherto possessed in the Executive, was thus irretrievably destroyed by the removal of the single colleague who shared his moderate and pacific views. It is not likely that this vacancy was the result of chance. The mode by which the decision was obtained, is said to have afforded a ready opening for fraud; and the event was announced on the day previous to its occurrence in one of the public journals*; an anticipation which, possibly, might have been accidental; but which, at least, singularly accorded both with the subsequent occurrence and the

known wishes of the three ascendant Directors.

The choice of the Councils endeavoured to correct this apparent decision of fortune; and the Ancients selected from the list, proposed by the Five Hundred, a name as acceptable to the people, as it was unpleasing to the Directors. The mild Barthelemy, to whom France May 26. was already twice indebted

for the work of peace, was recalled from his embassy in Switzerland; and 387 voices out of 404, nominated him to the vacant seat. In the preceding year he had declined a mission to the court of Sweden: his tranquil and benevolent habits attached him to his Swiss residence, and rendered him equally unfit to witness the horrors which were about to burst upon that unhappy country, and to stem the tide of faction which awaited him in France. His retirement from Basle was distinguished by the affectionate regret of the Helvetic people; and his journey, if it had not been attended by marks of sorrow, resembled a triumphal march. He was escorted with military honours to the frontier; and over the last spot of the soil of Switzerland which his footsteps pressed, an arch was thrown, bearing an inscription, "To the pacificator of Europe." The eager hopes of the French had prepared similar tokens of respect, but he eluded them by a private route. Unacquainted with the relative strength of his colleagues, or led away by the natural frankness of his disposition,

* *L'ami des Loix*, conducted by a deputy named Poultier.

in his inaugural speech, on his arrival at Paris, he expressed the most earnest wishes for peace. The declaration was received in studied silence by the triumvirate, and drew from the President Carnot a most animated approval.

Every hour increased the stormy aspect of the Councils, and scarce a single measure of the government escaped rigid scrutiny and unqualified condemnation. The distracted state of St. Domingo, almost the only colony which had not been surrendered to the English, was attributed, and in great measure not unjustly, to the rapacity and cruelty of the local authorities which had been first appointed, and then sanctioned in their crimes, by the Executive at home.

The distressed condition of public credit was a fruitful topic of debate. The arrears of the different departments were shewn to amount to more than six hundred millions of livres (26,250,000*l.*) and the anticipations of future revenue to be already thirty-two millions more (1,410,000*l.*) while the ordinary expences of the current year were estimated at nearly four hundred millions, a sum (not quite 18,000,000*l.*) which most probably was under the real expenditure. To prove the lavish disbursements of the existing government, it was shewn that the army of Italy not only had supported itself, but had also furnished contributions to the Public Exchequer: that the Batavian Republic defrayed the chief expence of the army of the North; as those of the Sambre and Meuse, the Rhine and Moselle, fell prin-

cipally upon the conquered countries in their occupation. Peculation, careless distribution, and extravagant projects, were said to be the causes of this unnecessary distress; and the Deputy, who advanced the accusations, terminated his harangue by broadly stating, that he had raised but one corner of the veil which shadowed the crimes of the Directory. Angry discussion, for the most part, was the only fruit of these denunciations; occasionally the messages of the Directors were not received with compliance, but they were refused more from petulant opposition, than any systematic attempt at reform.

The hatred of Christianity which had marked the early stages of the Revolution, was not yet extinguished, and it seemed as if a single spark were only wanting for its re-illumination. The laws respecting freedom of worship had been submitted to the revision of a committee; and Camille Jourdan, a young deputy of ardent feelings and commanding talents, in presenting the report of its deliberations, drew a lively picture of the persecution which Christianity was enduring under the pretext of unlimited toleration. One paragraph of his report, advising the restoration of bells to the village churches, was assailed with the keenest sarcasm and bitterest invective. The proposal excited in its opponents the most unbridled fury; and it appeared by the violence with which the suggestion was combated, as if the safety of the Republic depended upon the suppression of the Sabbath peal. The angry passions of Lepaux were roused by his

fears for the endurance of the Theophilanthropic sect, to the revival of which he had latterly directed his efforts. The National Institute had rejected a creed of atheistical fanaticism which he had endeavoured to disseminate on its authority; and to his disappointed hopes of establishing an anti-religious superstition on the ruins of Christianity, may be traced not only the rancour with which Camille Jourdan was pursued, but the still more atrocious insults and severities with which the agents of the Republic were subsequently instructed to embitter the captivity of the fallen Pontiff. Undismayed by this vehemence, the advocates of religion persevered in their honourable efforts. The nonjuring priests were relieved from the penalties of deportation or imprisonment to which themselves, and those who furnished them with refuge, had hitherto been exposed; and a promise of submission to the Republic, without approbation of its Constitution, was fixed as the only test which was requisite for immunity.

The support of the Councils was no longer to be expected by the Directors, if they would have submitted to the ungrateful labour of conciliation: their power, if it was to stand at all, could only be established by a convulsion, which, while it overthrew the enemies of the Executive, should leave the Executive itself unharmed; and the army was the obvious instrument by which this work was to be effected. The bonds which existed between the ambitious chief who had been the great minister of

their conquests, and the Directors, were drawn closer by an injudicious menace thrown out in the Councils of investigating his conduct towards Venice and Genoa. His attack upon these states, unsupported by the authority of the legislative body, was denounced as a violation of the Constitution; and it was with difficulty that public discussion on this delicate topic was avoided by its reference to a secret committee. Bonaparte heard the proceedings with indignation. The Directors profited by the excitement which they had caused in the army, and addressed a letter to the General couched in terms of the most unqualified approbation. The disposition of the army of Italy was still more plainly manifested on the celebration of the 14th of July, when Bonaparte issued a proclamation, informing his soldiers that counter-revolutionary projects were in agitation; and that they were called upon, by the great cause for which they had already shed so much blood, to swear implacable war against the enemies of the Republic, and of the Constitution of the year III. These sentiments were re-echoed in a still more decisive tone by addresses from the various divisions of the army; and the halls of the Directory were filled with protestations of devotion, while loud murmurs were heard against the Councils. They were told, in language not to be mistaken, that the swords which had destroyed the armies of kings, were still in the hands of the conquerors; and that the road to Paris presented no greater obstacles than that to Vienna.

Such were the menaces which were uttered by the divisions of Vignolle, Joubert, Massena, Augereau, and Bernadotte.

No time was lost by the Directors in calling these professions to a practical test, and measures were arranged for the military occupation of the capital, while their opponents were employed in framing empty decrees and futile resolutions. In almost every instance the propositions of the legislative failed of effect. The ejection of Barras from the Directory, was attempted on a charge, that he had not attained the age prescribed by the Constitution; but his adversaries were silenced by the production of a certificate of his birth. The Ancients negatived a law, presented to them by the Five Hundred, to restrict the public expenditure; and the re-organization of the national guard, which was committed by the Councils to Pichegru, proceeded with tardy steps. The great object of this last measure, was to provide a counterpoise to the regular army in the conflict which all parties believed to be at hand; and, for this purpose, it was intended that the Directors should no longer be permitted to dispose of commissions in these municipal troops.

The sacrifice of Carnot and Barthelemy had been resolved upon by their colleagues, and the expiration of the Presidency of the former gave additional facility to their intention. Lepaux, who succeeded him, used his privilege of speaking the sentiments of government, on public occasions, with much advantage to the designs of his party; and by inflam-

matory harangues, prepared the minds of the populace for the approaching catastrophe. The opponents of government were broadly classed under one general head, and a wish to overthrow the Republic, to disgrace Bonaparte, and to restore monarchy, were charges inseparably connected, and levelled without distinction against the majorities in the Councils.

An entire change of ministerial offices was a prelude to the meditated blow; and in the meantime large masses of troops assembled round the walls of Paris. A clause in the Constitutional code, prohibited the approach of an armed force within twelve leagues of any spot in which the legislative bodies were deliberating, on pain of ten years' imprisonment. The remonstrances of the Councils, founded on this law, were answered by the Directors with indifference or evasion. At one time, the fact itself was denied; at another, the illegal march was attributed to the ignorance of a commissary. Now it was said that the troops had been removed; again, that they were not within the forbidden limits. The fears of the Councils were roused, but their energies were wasted in vehement declamation and angry complaint.

In the beginning of August it was announced that Hoche had occupied Rheims with 27,000 men, and that he no longer concealed his intention of marching upon Paris to disperse the legislative assemblies. The division, under his command, erecting itself into a deliberative body, presented an address to the Direc-

tory, in which the Councils were openly denounced as friends and abettors of royalism. This declaration was met in the Ancients by a mild rebuke. In the Five Hundred, Thibaudeau with greater warmth, proposed two decrees. By one, the public accuser was directed to prosecute all plots against the government collectively, or its separate members individually; by the other, severe penalties were inflicted upon any military person who should assume deliberative functions.

The debate on Thibaudeau's propositions was conducted with more than usual acrimony, and protracted till the evening of the 3rd of September, the last sitting which the Directors permitted to the existing legislative. Their measures were now ripe for execution. Paris was closely invested by more than 10,000 men. The command of these, which had been intended for Hoche, was ultimately intrusted to Augereau; an officer of tried courage and activity, who, under the guise of a special mission to present the standards captured by the army of Italy, had been deputed by Bonaparte to the triumvirate, as well fitted to the daring service which they projected. On the morning of the 4th of August, at an early hour, orders were issued for the arrest of Barthelemy and Carnot. The first, less active, or less suspicious than his colleague, was seized by Barras in person, and conveyed to the Temple. The last, by the assistance of his servant, eluded the officer who was despatched to apprehend him. But a few minutes before the order arrived he gained a secret

passage which led to the gardens of the Luxemburg; and as he passed the last gate, he heard the discharge of signal cannon from the Seve to Versailles, which was to put the troops in motion. For three hours, with a pistol in each hand, he wandered about the bye streets of the city, and after narrowly escaping the numerous bodies of military which surrounded him, he found a sure asylum through the fidelity of a private friend. Meantime, the halls of the two Councils were invested by Augereau and Lemoine. The gardens of the Thuilleries were filled with armed men; all the avenues were closed; and the posts in occupation were protected by artillery. Eight hundred grenadiers of the legislative guard under the command of Ramel, were assembled in their barracks. Though repeatedly summoned and informed that he was surrounded by more than ten times his numbers, and forty pieces of cannon, this brave officer persevered in a refusal to retire from his post, or to lay down his arms; and if he had been supported by his troops, his desperate valour might have produced a bloody conflict. A few murmurs when he rejected the last summons were the prelude to their desertion. Augereau, finding his message useless, advanced to the barracks in person, at the head of a staff of more than 400 officers, among whom were distinguished the most notorious and violent leaders of former revolutions. Addressing himself to the guard, he assured them that he came only to preserve the Constitution, and to crush a Royalist conspi-

racy. He was answered by loud shouts of *Vive la Republique*. As Ramel drew his sword, it was broken in his hand; attempts were made upon his life, and it was with difficulty that Augereau saved him at the moment, under an assurance that he was only reserved for military execution, after committal to the Temple.

In the Hall of the Five Hundred, a committee, under the title of Inspectors, was already assembled to deliberate on the violation of the Constitution, by the approach of an armed force to their place of sitting. The most vehement opposers of the Directory, and among them Pichegru and Thibaudeau, were actively discussing measures of prevention. The denouncement of the Executive, a seizure of the palace of the Directors, their arrestation, and even their death, were all blindly proposed at the very moment in which the gates of the Council chamber were in the possession of Augereau. The debate was interrupted by the entrance of the military, and all the members present were conveyed to the Temple.

It was in vain that the remaining constitutional members of the legislative attempted to assemble. Such as escaped arrest, were speedily dispersed by force. Those in the interest of the triumvirate, being prevented by the tumult from deliberating in their customary chamber, transferred their sitting to the Odeon. Here they voted thanks to the Directors, and appointed a committee of Public Safety. In order to give the appearance of constitutional sanction to compulsory mea-

asures, they passed a decree, empowering the Executive to call within the walls of Paris as many troops as they deemed necessary for the assertion of their sovereignty. Spectators were distributed in the body of the theatre to applaud the proceedings of the Representatives; and a proclamation was hastily issued from the Directorial palace, announcing to the people the suppression of a monarchical plot, and urging them to support a government, which, by its vigilance, had prevented the restoration of kings.

The sitting of the Councils, though declared permanent, was suspended for a few hours, during which, the arrests proceeded rapidly; and the triumvirate, without a struggle, became masters of Paris. Messages were delivered in the evening from the Directory, both to the Ancients and the Five Hundred. In these information was promised which should elucidate the plot; the dangers from which the Republic had been delivered were loudly vaunted; the necessity of extraordinary measures was inculcated; and the safety of France was connected with the punishment of the imprisoned faction. These steps were preparatory to the decision of the following day, when the committee of Public Safety formally accused the two ex-directors, and the arrested deputies of revolutionary projects: and affecting the praise of moderation, resolved that the brilliant day which had crushed the hopes of monarchy for ever, should not be stained by the effusion of blood; but that the deportation of the conspirators was necessary for the tran-

quillity of the country. Leaving the choice of the place of banishment to the Directors, the Councils pronounced sentence to that effect upon Carnot and Barthelemy, eleven of the Council of Ancients, and forty of the Five Hundred, among whom were Pichegru and Camille Jourdan. A few other individuals were included in the proscription; and the gallantry of the unfortunate Ramel was too conspicuous to permit his escape. The property of these exiles was sequestered till an authentic report should be received of their arrival at the spot of deportation; and the Directors, in the mean time, were authorised to provide for the more urgent wants of their victims out of their own effects. By another decree, the elections of forty-eight departments were annulled. A close restraint was imposed upon the journalists and the debating societies; and by an ordinance of peculiar severity, all persons whose names had not been definitively erased from the list of emigrants, were enjoined on pain of trial by a military commission, to quit the territories of the Republic within fifteen days.

These arbitrary propositions underwent a feeble discussion in the Ancients. Six of the proscribed names, of which Thibaudau's was one, were struck out of the list through private influence: and the decrees, otherwise unmitigated, were unanimously accepted and confirmed.

The arrested deputies were confined in the apartments which had been the prison of the royal family. "Where shall I find a place to lay my head," said Bour-

don de l'Oise, on recognising the chamber; "I that voted for the death of my King!" But their abode here was not long; on the day following their seizure, a decree issued from the Directory, confirming the propositions of the Councils, and sentencing the prisoners, without appeal or trial, to deportation to Guiana. The bitterness of this exile was heightened by the temperature of the climate in which it was fixed, and by the infliction of much cruelty during the passage. At two in the morning of the 8th of September, sixteen of the chief prisoners were removed from the Temple. They were placed in four iron cages, mounted upon waggons resembling gun carriages, each accompanied by a guard, carrying the key of the grating. A formidable escort of 600 armed men and two pieces of cannon surrounded the exiles. The morning was stormy, but the cavalcade was instructed to traverse the whole of Paris, and to halt before the windows of the Luxemburg. Lights were displayed in the palace, and the howlings of the rabble pursued the train as it moved on.

After a fatiguing journey of ten days, they arrived at Rochefort. On the march, they were rudely handled by the populace to whose gaze they were exposed, and were lodged at night in the dungeons of the towns through which they passed. On one occasion, at Lusignan, the prison was too small to receive the whole body, and the commander of the escort gave orders that they should be left in their carriages, in the public market-place,

under a heavy rain. The humanity of the local magistrats, however, furnished them with a roof; and the commander was recalled on the same night by a special courier from Paris, on a charge of embezzling the money which he had received to defray the expences. Ramel, who saw him depart, gratified this curiosity at the hazard of his life. As he opened the casement of his cell, the sentinel on guard discharged his musquet at the prisoner, and the ball shattered a bar immediately above his head.

The garrison of Rochefort lined the road to the Quay. The rabble crowded round the escort, and endeavoured to reach the carriages, with furious cries, "To the water! to the water!" "Down with the tyrants! make them drink of the large cup!" A corvette was prepared for their reception, and during a voyage of 52 days, they were confined between decks with the hatches closed. No indignity which could be offered was spared. Their food was of the coarsest nature; unwholesome biscuit served in scanty portions, and a single mess of boiled beans let down once in a day in a greasy bucket. The want of air and food rapidly affected their health; their remonstrances were rejected with contempt; and a threat of corporal punishment was held out if they were renewed. Pichegru, Ramel, and two others, were put in irons for several days.

La Vaillante, the vessel in which they sailed, had been launched under the inspection of Willot, one of the prisoners now confined in her, when he was commandant at Bayonne. She per-

formed her voyage rapidly, and on the 11th of November, she surrendered her miserable freight to the authorities of Guiana. On disembarkation, they were immediately conveyed to the public hospitals of Cayenne. Here they were closely watched, and all intercourse with the inhabitants was forbidden. In a few days they were transferred to Sinamary, a deserted settlement about thirty leagues east of Cayenne. The fort in which they were confined stands on the skirts of an uncultivated savanna, and is exposed to deleterious exhalations from the stagnant water left behind in shallows, and the mud accumulated by the sea. The apartments, set aside for the deported, had before this been used as prisons for runaway negroes: they were now tenanted by all the various species of poisonous reptiles which breed in a tropical climate; and the first days of confinement were sufficiently employed in dispossessing the scorpions, millepedes, and chichas, of their accustomed haunts. Pichegru killed a large snake which had concealed itself in the folds of a cloak, which he had rolled up as a pillow in his hammock.

The beginning of December proved fatal to the veteran Murinais. At seventy years of age, fifty of which had been devoted to the service of France, he was torn from his country. His last moments were distinguished by resignation, and the words which fell from his lips, before they were closed by the agonies of death, were eagerly caught by his companions; "It is better to die at Sinamary free from reproach, than to live in guilt at

Paris." Frongon de Coudray and Laffond survived only a few months longer; they both expired on the same day, the 27th of May.

The sufferings of Barthelemy were in some degree mitigated by the fidelity of an old servant, whose name deserves to be recorded by the Historian. Le Tellier, on hearing of his master's arrest, sought him in the cells of the Temple; and was not deterred by the menaces of power, the urgent intreaties of his master, nor the prospect of personal danger, from executing the generous resolution which he had formed, of partaking his exile. Under all the acute misery to which the deported were reduced, the rage of faction does not appear to have subsided, and their unhappy moments were frequently still more embittered by mutual recrimination. They were split into separate parties, between whom little confidence subsisted; and even while they were hopeless of return, projects of future ambition were acrimoniously discussed. Various plans for escape, from time to time, were agitated; and eight of the prisoners, Barthelemy, Pichegru, Dossonville, Aubry, La Rue, Le Tellier, Willot, and Ramel, through the agency of an intrepid friend at Cayenne, succeeded in obtaining passports under feigned names. An American captain assisted them in their enterprize; and on the 3rd of June, while the governor and the greater part of the garrison were intoxicated, they overpowered the sentinel at the gate of the fortress; and succeeded in obtaining possession of

a small canoe, which was moored at the foot of the bastion, to relieve the guard usually stationed in a redoubt on the opposite bank of the river. The pilot of the American vessel, the captain of which befriended them, had previously concealed himself in the woods. He had been exposed to considerable danger from the attack of a Cayman, but faithful to his promise, he was on the appointed spot at the fixed hour; and on his guidance their success depended. The vessel was small and crazy; all the others were ignorant of navigation, and the nearest point of the Dutch colony of Surinam, on which they deemed it prudent to land, was a hundred leagues distant.

They passed the redoubt without being hailed, but they dared not leave the coast from the fear of being driven out to sea. Within two hours from their embarkation they heard signal guns from the fort and the redoubt answering each other, and they knew from this that their flight was discovered. They had yet another fort to pass at Tracombo. It was garrisoned by twelve men only, and they calculated upon successful resistance in case of attack; but they cleared it, unobserved, in the dark.

Two bottles of rum, and a small portion of biscuit, were their only stores, and they were without a compass. During four days they endured the extremities of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; when a sudden swell upset their canoe and washed them on shore. Here two nights were passed in terror from the approach of wild beasts, which howled round their watch-

fire, and in ignorance of the land upon which they had been thrown. On the second day they encountered some Dutch soldiers, whom chance had directed to the wreck of their canoe; and by them they were conducted to Fort Orange, about three leagues distant. The commandant inspected their passports, and treated them with kindness. On their arrival at Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam, the Governor assured them of his protection; and notwithstanding the reclamations of the French authorities at Cayenne, who, by this time, had discovered their retreat, he assisted in their conveyance to Berbice, a colony in possession of the English.

Willot and Aubry were attacked with a dangerous fever, which prevented their removal. Le Tellier died on the passage; the object of his life had been completed, and he resigned it without a murmur. The remainder found an asylum in England, where they were received with distinguished attention on the part of government.

The escape of these prisoners increased the sufferings of those who remained behind, and their numbers were soon augmented by fresh deportations from France. Three vessels successively arrived with a miserable freight of banished deputies, priests who had refused the oaths, and emigrants. They were distributed in various parts of the settlement; where the hardships purposely inflicted, the pestilential nature of the climate, and the bitterness of recollection, rapidly terminated the sufferings of the majority. A few, less fortunate than Barthelemy and his

companions, were shipwrecked in an attempt to escape.

Meantime, the three Directors had hastened to complete the prescribed number of the Executive body. The place of Barthelemy was supplied by Merlin of Douai, that of Carnot by Francois of Neufchateau. Confirmed in power by the removal of all immediate rivals, their first exercise of it was to terminate the negotiations at Lille; their next, to annul a treaty which had been concluded with Portugal. The Portuguese ambassador received an order to quit the French territories, and in total violation of the law of nations, he was thrown into the Temple in consequence of a remonstrance, and imprisoned for more than four months.

The treaty of Campo Formio was announced, and Bonaparte, soon after its conclusion, repaired to Paris. The presentation of the conqueror of Italy to the Directors, on the 10th of December, was conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. The hall of audience, in the Luxembourg, was too confined to admit the crowds of spectators who thronged to view the ceremony, and the court of the palace was selected for the spectacle. In its centre an altar was erected to The National Glory, and the trophies of the army of Italy, enwreathed with garlands, were disposed around it. The captured standards floated on a triumphal arch, which opened upon this court; and the public functionaries, in their superb dresses of state, were ranged above in an amphitheatre. On the appearance of the General, the vast pile re-echoed with

acclamations. The whole assembly rose; and as a mark of distinguished honor, the Directors themselves were uncovered. Talleyrand, as minister of foreign affairs, presented Bonaparte to the Executive. The words with which he concluded his speech were remarkable, and may be accepted, in some measure, as prophetic of subsequent events*. It is not improbable, that they were received as a warning by the Directors. Bonaparte, in a few sentences, which were distinguished only by their generalisation, laid before the Directors the treaty which he had concluded. He spoke of the triumph of the Constitution over eighteen centuries of prejudice, of the peace which confirmed the liberties of France, of the good laws which must spring from that peace, and of the general freedom of Europe which eventually would arise from those laws. On the late revolution he was impetuously silent. Barras, the president, in reply, expatiated largely on the recent political changes.

He extolled the brilliant exploits of the General in turgid language, and urged him to fulfil the universal expectation of France, by planting the banners which had waved victoriously on the Rhine, the Po, and the Tiber, on the shores of England.

The memory of Hoche was not forgotten in the speeches of this day. He had quitted Paris before the events of the 4th of September, and died, not without suspicion of poison, in the camp of Coblenz. It is difficult to assign any probable reason for the commission of such a crime, and if it was really perpetrated, there is no clue to its authors.

The invasion of England, thus openly proposed, was the ostensible pretext for the vast armament now equipping in the ports of France; but before we direct ourselves to the real object of these preparations, it will be necessary to pause upon the events which led to the overthrow of the Papal See, and the subjugation of Switzerland.

CHAPTER II.

Effects of the Treaty of Tolentino on the Papal Government. Dismissal of Cardinal Busca. Administration of Cardinal Doria. Unpopularity of Pius VI. His Illness and Recovery. Precautionary Measures of the Government. Requisitions on Church Property. Disgust of the Ecclesiastics. Embassy of Joseph Bonaparte. Claims of the Cisalpine Republic. Riot before the French Ambassador's Hotel. Death of General Duphot. Departure of Joseph Bonaparte. Advance of Berthier. Religious Processions in Rome. Surrender of Rome. The Tree of Liberty planted in the Capitol. New Constitution. Removal of the Pope to Sienna and Florence. Plunder of

* "Loin de redouter ce que l'on voudrait appeler son ambition, je sens qu'il nous faudra peut-être le solliciter un jour pour l'arracher aux douceurs de sa studieuse retraite. La France entière sera libre! PEUT-ETRE LUI NE SERA JAMAIS."

the Pontifical Palaces. Persecution of the Cardinals. The Cardinal Doria. The Cardinal of York. Munificence of the King of England. Fête in Memory of Duphot. General Pillage. Discontent of the French Troops. Meeting of the Officers in the Pantheon. Insurrection of the Transteverini. Suppressed. Oath of Federation. Definitive Constitution. Continued Discontent of the French Troops. Arrest of the Ringleaders. Mutiny. Gradual Dispersion of the Garrison, which is replaced by new Troops. Oppression of the Romans. Financial Distress. Insurrections. Hopes of Assistance from Naples.

No government in Europe had been more rudely shaken by the progress of the French Revolution, than that of the Holy See. The dominion which the Sovereign Pontiff once held so despotically over the judgments of mankind, had long been insensibly diminishing; and when France openly separated herself from the pale of Christianity, the spiritual power of Rome must, in great degree, be considered to have terminated. But it was wholly upon the influence of this spiritual character, that the temporal sway of the Popedom had been erected; and when the barrier of opinion was demolished, the governor of the Roman territories was reduced to the defenceless condition of a petty prince exposed to powerful enemies. The keys, and the triple crown, depended so much upon the same tenure, that a successful attack upon either, necessarily endangered the possession of both.

Three of his fairest provinces had been wrested from Pius VI. by the treaty of Tolentino; and the coffers of the Holy See, deprived of the revenues which flowed into them from the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, had to furnish nearly two millions sterling to the rapa-

city of the conquerors, as the price of a dubious peace. These exactions called for proportionate domestic levies; and the last act of Cardinal Busca's administration was to demand, that, within three days, the remaining moiety of the gold and silver plate, which the Roman government had permitted individuals to retain, should be carried to the Pontifical treasury. The dismissal of this minister, who was particularly obnoxious to the French, tended but little to calm the existing discontents which had been increased by so unpopular an edict; and the Cardinal Doria, his successor, whose illustrious birth and unimpeached character gave him a claim to the highest honors of the State, is said not to have possessed sufficient energy to meet the turbulent season in which his lot was cast. It would, perhaps, be difficult to point out any measures, however wise, which could have saved the government of Rome from the revolution which was preparing to overwhelm it; and it is, at least, no slight praise to have merited the reputation of not accelerating the ruin of a falling country.

The mild virtues of the Pontiff himself were but ill fitted to encounter the anxieties and commo-

tions which had so evilly distinguished his reign; and though adversity in the end schooled him into fortitude, the lesson was taught but by degrees. It was not forgotten, that at the first advance of the French he had yielded to his natural dread of personal violation, and abandoning the duties of a sovereign, had secretly proposed to retire from his capital. The aggrandizement of his family, that sin most besetting to the Papacy, long ago had excited jealousy; and the avarice of his nephew, now elevated to the dukedom of Braschi, exposed him as a ready mark to popular indignation. The murmurs of his subjects, his serious losses, and his humiliation before France, were severely felt by the unfortunate old man; and the bitterness of mind, occasioned by cares, equally oppressive to his temper and his years, produced a malady, which brought him to the verge of the grave, in the spring of 1797. So strongly rooted in the human breast is the love of even the shadow of power, that the attainment of the tiara, dimmed and degraded as it now was, seemed to be no less an object of ambition and intrigue to the Conclave than at those periods, during which all Christendom was dazzled by its lustre. Of the three favorite competitors, Antici had already distinguished himself by political address; Mattei had negotiated the

peace of Tolentino, and was supposed to be secretly not disagreeable to France; and Chiaramonte, who, at no great distance of time, was destined to fill the seat of St. Peter, was even now supported by all the veteran adherents of the Papal sovereignty.

The recovery of Pius was neither expected, nor was it received with joy. Men's minds were wearied by the disasters of his reign, and it seemed to them, however unreasonable might be the hope, that a change of masters must produce a change of fortunes also. These feelings of disaffection, which might have been generated at any time, doubtless were now much heightened by the wide spreading contagion of French principles; and but a slight breath was wanting to fan the smothered sedition into the open flame of rebellion. Political sarcasms were no longer confined to the witty, though bitter Pasquin; they assumed a less sportive character; and placards, invoking death or liberty, and announcing the last agonies and *extreme unction* of the Papacy, were boldly affixed, as if in defiance, to the very gates of the Quirinal.*

The measures of the Conclave were of a fluctuating and doubtful complexion. Partly with a view to conciliation, partly out of regard to their safety, the most obnoxious public characters, among whom was the Duke of Braschi,

* Over the entrance of the Duke of Braschi's palace, the following menace was written in red letters: "*Arrendetevi, Tiranni! O morte, o libertà!*" and the four lines below were posted on the walls.

Non abbiamo Pazienza:
Non vogliamo più Eminenza:
Non vogliamo più Santità:
Ma eguaglianza e Libertà.

were instructed to withdraw from Rome. The garrison of St. Angelo was augmented, and its fortifications put in a state of defence. The regular troops and militia received orders to hold themselves in readiness for every event. The gardens of the Vatican and the Pontiff's antichamber were protected by an armed force; and arrests and proscriptions were adopted as precautionary expedients. The vigilance of the Police found ready proof of guilt against the more violent agitators; and, where complete evidence was wanting, the more wary were apprehended on suspicion.

But the period either of conciliation or coercion had alike gone by. The first was now attributed to weakness; the second was denounced as oppression. One order alone, that of the clergy, remained firm in its allegiance. Hitherto the interest of the ecclesiastics had seemed inseparably annexed to those of the Pontifical throne: But a forcible invasion of their immunities, which proved these interests to be distinct, separated the clergy in temporals, from their spiritual head. Repeated issues of a depreciated paper currency, (*cedole*) had destroyed all financial credit. The national debt exceeded twenty-five millions sterling, and the treasures of the religious orders was the last resource by which the pressure of approaching insolvency could be partially relieved. In the month of August, for the first time in the history of the Church, a minute return of all ecclesiastical revenues was demanded; and, as a prelude to future exactions, the clergy, both regular and secular,

were ordered to pay a sixth part of their property, as a loan, at three per cent. Disaffection now penetrated from the crowded streets, to the tranquil recesses of the Cloyster; and the tide of public opinion, which already ran too strong, was swelled to a fearful height by discussions which had hitherto been esteemed profane. The Pope was openly accused of violating the sacred canons of the Church, the bulls issued by himself and his predecessors, and the oaths by which he had bound himself on his accession. His person had not yet indeed been attempted, but henceforward he could never shew himself without the marked disapprobation, and sometimes even the menaces of the populace. Revolutionary doctrines were openly taught in the academies, the students linked themselves by oaths in a union of resistance, and debates were agitated on the limits of the Papal power, and the necessity of opposition to its claims.

Such, in brief, was the distracted state of the Roman territories during the summer of 1797. The people, irritated by distress, and goaded by evil suggestions: The government equally powerless to relieve their burdens, or to restrain their excesses. Whatever might be the secret wishes of the Vatican as to foreign relations, or however it might chafe under the yoke which had been imposed upon it; though perpetually urged to resistance by the court of Naples, and partially inspirited by the mastery which the English continued to hold in the Mediterráanean, yet its resources were too much exhausted to per-

mit more than a short hesitation to the repeated demands of France; and the war, which the Directory sought to provoke, for the purpose of entire subversion, was in all cases avoided by a prompt and timely submission.

The demeanour of the new Plenipotentiary of France, Joseph Bonaparte, was frank, courteous, and conciliating; but he was instructed by the Directory to insist upon concessions, the ultimate tendency of which could not be misunderstood. Remonstrances were offered against the augmentation of the Papal army. The dismissal of General Provera, an Austrian whom the emperor had recommended to its command, was peremptorily demanded, with a threat, that unless he quitted Rome in twenty-four hours, the French troops would recommence hostilities on the ecclesiastical states. It was with difficulty, that Provera obtained an extension of this term to two days; when the Pope bade him farewell in tears, and explained the compulsion under which he acted. But the most insulting and grievous interposition yet remained. It was the demand of a release of all persons imprisoned for political opinions. The populace hailed their delivery with acclamations, and the most prominent among them set out, as it were, in triumph, to present themselves at Radstadt, before the conqueror of Italy, to whom they owed their freedom.

The newly formed Cisalpine Republic, by its unprovoked aggressions, increased the perplexities of the Holy See. A tardy and unwilling acknowledgment of the independence of

this dangerous neighbour had been extorted from the Pontiff, when he was surprised, by an unexpected claim, to parts of the Marquisate of Ancona, and the Duchy of Urbino. Recourse was had for the support of this demand to forgotten or pretended documents of the eighth century, at which time it was said, that these districts had been portioned off from the exarchate of Ravenna, and presented by King Pepin to Pope Stephen III. Little time was given for diplomatic consideration. An armed force was ordered by the Republic, to seize on the fortress of St. Leone, on the frontier of Urbino. The neighbouring peasants flew to arms in its defence; the invaders succeeded in capturing the fort after a bloody contest; but here for the time they stopped; and Milan was fixed upon as the seat for a discussion of their asserted rights.

Thus forced to yield in matters concerning his temporal policy, the aged Pontiff yet stood unshaken on points by which he conceived the interests of his religion to be affected. He had been earnestly pressed to retract the censures pronounced against the revolutionary enemies of Christianity in the Constituent Assembly. His reply was firm and dignified: that his decisions being in strict agreement with the constant discipline of the Church, the Canons of the Councils, and the opinions of the Fathers, no human force, not even the fear of death, should induce him to annul them.

The palace of the French ambassador soon became the resort of the disaffected; and the stirrers of revolution, if they did not

hope for assistance and encouragement, were well aware that they should meet no repulse from this minister. It is said, that when the plan of insurrection had been finally organized, a deputation from the conspirators informed him of the details, and solicited the guarantee of the Directory for the projected constitution. These overtures, it is added, were not admitted, and strong representations were made of the impracticability of the attempt. On the other hand, it is well known, that not long before the explosion of the plot, he presided at a public fête, celebrated in opposition to government; and as patron of a festival of Liberty, admitted to his familiarity the most eager partisans of the innovating faction.

As yet, however, no flagrant act of violence had proclaimed open rebellion, till on the afternoon of Innocents' Day, December 28, a mob collected before the Corsini palace, at that time the residence of Joseph Bonaparte. As it increased the tricoloured cockade was mounted, and a Frenchman was observed busily distributing money among the rabble. The common topics of discontent were loudly and vehemently discussed; and as the murmurs became more deep, an Abbate was at hand to give the apparent sanction of religion to the popular movement, and to stimulate the assembly into action by perverted representations from Scripture.

The first attack was made on two guard-houses in the neighbourhood, which afforded several stand of arms. Animated by this success, the infuriated crowd has-

tened to take possession of the Ponte Sesto; but the alarm had been given, and a patrol of horse repulsed the assailants. Several of the fugitives took refuge in the court yard of the French ambassador's hotel; and cries of "the Republic!" and "the people!" echoed through his apartments. Bonaparte, roused by the tumult, descended into the court yard. In his suite was General Duphot, an officer high in his confidence, and who was on the eve of marriage with his sister. The ambassador remonstrated, both with the troops and with the rioters, on this infraction of the sacredness of a spot privileged by the laws of nations. As the military were retiring, the crowd advanced, and, in the confusion, several shots were fired. One of these, unfortunately took effect upon Duphot. Bonaparte, on this event, secured himself within the palace; and, after a short continuance of disorder, the mob was dispersed, though not without an additional loss of life.

The fatal occurrences of this day were distinctly the result of accident; and no charge of designed violation of the ambassador's jurisdiction, or of hostility to the unhappy Duphot, was advanced by Bonaparte. On the following morning, however, deaf to all remonstrances and explanations, he hastily quitted Rome for Florence. The Spanish minister interposed his good offices, but in vain. Cardinal Doria authorized the Pontifical ambassador, at Paris, not to *offer* satisfaction, but to request that any required satisfaction might be pointed out by the Directory. These submis-

sions were equally useless; the long wished-for pretext for war was afforded, and Berthier received orders to march upon Rome.

The Cisalpine Republic readily joined in the cry of war. At Milan, on every side, were heard shouts, "Death to the assassins!" "Vengeance for our deliverers!" The French General, in his advance, profited by this feeling, and having annexed several columns of subsidiary troops to his army, traversed the Apennines with no other opposition than that presented by the inclemency of winter. Resistance, indeed, was almost impossible. An edict, (it was the last issued by Pius VI.) spoke of the approach of the French army, but denied its hostile intentions. It enlarged on the rectitude and generosity of the Directory, on the moderation and prudent conduct of its Generals. It forbade, on pain of death, the least offence in word or deed to any individual of the French nation; and it annexed the same penalty even to a disregard of the laws of hospitality.

In the desertion of all earthly aid, recourse was had to the impressive ceremonials of a religion which peculiarly addressed itself to the senses. The imagination of the vulgar, soon inflamed itself by a hope of miraculous interposition; and a popular enthusiasm arose spontaneously, which, under politic guidance, might, perhaps, have been usefully directed in these desperate extremities. A strong feeling of disgust had been

excited by the public blasphemies of the revolutionists,* and this feeling was materially heightened by assiduous shows of devotion on the other part. Three of the most sacred relics of the Church, the holy portrait of our Saviour, which tradition assigned to a supernatural pencil, and which was exhibited only in times of urgent national calamity; a picture of the Virgin, of scarcely less accredited sanctity; and the chains, which bound St. Peter in prison, were exposed to view in solemn procession. On the 17th of January, the religious orders, in their respective habits, accompanied by the cardinals on foot, in mourning garbs, followed by many persons of distinction barefoot, amid the silent grief of the major part of the population of Rome, moved from Santa Maria della Vallicella to St. Peter's. Tears were shed on every altar; and, if the sincerity of prayer could have ensured its acceptance, none were offered which would not be received.

On the 9th of February, Berthier gained the suburbs by forced marches, and encamped on Monte Mario before the Porta del Popolo. On his advance he had refused to admit a deputation from the Pope, which, in company with the Neapolitan envoy, had been sent forward to meet him, in the vain hope of preventing the military seizure of the eternal city. On the following day St. Angelo was summoned, and immediately surrendered. A proclamation of the French General, announced his arrival, to punish the murder-

* Portraits of Bonaparte had been distributed among the people with this inscription, "This is the true likeness of the Saviour of the World."

ers of Duphot and Basseville*, and to avenge the disrespect which had been shewn to the ambassador of the Republic. Such Romans as had not participated in these acts, were assured that the French army would protect their religion, their persons, and their property.

In the mean time, the revolutionary faction prepared for the consummation of its plan. On the 15th of February, the twenty-third anniversary of the accession of the unhappy Pius, the tree of liberty was solemnly planted before the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the capitol. Berthier was invited to assist at the ceremonial, and he entered the city, for the first time, in triumphal procession. Martial music, and military parade, gave splendour to the show, but it passed through unapplauding throngs. The populace had awakened to the terrors of a foreign mastery, and the declamatory tones in which their conqueror invoked the manes of the statesmen, the warriors, and the orators of ancient Italy†, tended only, by strength of contrast, to increase their sense of present degradation. Rome, it was true, was declared an independent Republic, but it was under the protection of the French army. A provisional government, established by the sovereign people, was recognised, but the police of the city was intrusted to the care of the French General. The suppression of that authority, which, for so many ages had been believed to flow more immediately from the

source which gives power to all thrones, was regarded as an act of impious and irreligious daring; even though the edict, which despoiled the Pontiff of his triple crown, was said to have been proclaimed in the Roman *forum*, ratified in the *capitol*, and subscribed by the willing hands of innumerable *citizens*.

Berthier was now, in fact, unlimited master of Rome, though it was deemed advisable to establish the outward show of a Republican Constitution. A government was accordingly framed, which avowed itself to be only provisional, till the arrival of commissioners from Paris could fix the destinies of the once lords of mankind. Ríganti was nominated president, a lawyer who had been mainly instrumental to the overthrow of the Pontificate. Six members of similar principles, assisted in the deliberations of this high council; and the functions of secretary were committed to Bassal, a Frenchman, who had renounced the priesthood at the commencement of the Revolution, and had been a member of the National Convention during the reign of terror. The new Constitution, though virtually modelled on that of France, was seemingly accommodated to the prejudices of the Roman populace. The heads of the government were denominated consuls, and a numerous train of præfects, tribunes, quæstors, and ædiles, completed the details of inferior magistracy.

The unhappy Pius was a close prisoner in his palace, when a

* Secretary to the French embassy at Naples, who, in 1793, was killed in a popular tumult in the streets of Rome.

† See Berthier's Speech in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

rude Swiss, named Haller, was deputed to inform him of the Revolution. The message was accompanied with insult; an attempt was made to affix the tri-coloured cockade on the Pontifical habit, and a formal renunciation of his temporal power was demanded. "We yield our authority to force," was the only rescript which could be extorted. It was not until the decree, enjoining his removal from Rome was announced to him, that the old man's constancy appeared to fail. For a while he was absorbed in grief, but prayer was his resource, and it restored him to dignified tranquillity. On the morning of the 20th of February, accompanied by a scanty suite, he was hurried from his capital. To increase the bitterness of his fall, the drivers of the carriages which conveyed him, were instructed to pass in front of St. Peter's. He clasped his hands, and was silent. Five days brought him to Sienna. In this city he remained under the shelter of a convent of Augustins, till the damage which his apartments suffered during an earthquake, compelled his farther removal, on the 26th of May, to the Certosa of Florence; and here, in the narrow circle of a small society of religious, though not undistinguished by the pious care of the king of Sardinia, and the grand duke of Tuscany, he passed the remainder of 1798 in comparative repose.

The departure of the Pope was the signal for the commencement of plunder. All the precious stores which adorned the Pontifical palaces, were diligently cata-

logued and disposed of by public sale. The purchasers were chiefly found among a company of brokers who had attached themselves to the army of Bonaparte, on his first invasion of Italy, with an understanding, that they were to be allowed the purchase of his spoils at their own price*. The Vatican was stripped to its very walls, and even these were not inviolate; for the partitions of the separate apartments were broken through in different places, in the vain hope of the discovery of concealed treasure. The sacerdotal vestments were burned for their golden embroidery; and furniture of all classes, from the most trifling culinary utensil to the most costly ornament, was seized and sold. The palaces of Monte Cavallo, Terracina, and Castel Gandolfo, underwent a similar spoliation. Such effects as would readily produce money were brought to an immediate market; and the works of art, for the intrinsic value of which it was not so easy to assign a standard, were torn from the cabinets and galleries which had made Rome the wonder and the envy of nations, and transported to a new receptacle in the halls of the Louvre.

But the Pontiff was not alone in his calamities. Each member of the Sacred College, in turn, endured the confiscation of his property, and the proscription of his person. A few had fled from Rome on the first approach of the French. Among those who remained, Doria was still to be found. Though forewarned by Cervoni, the military governor of

* The celebrated tapestries of Rafaele, which used to be exhibited annually on the feast of *Corpus Domini*, were sold for about 280*l.* each.

the city, of his intended arrest, he refused to profit by this kindness. "I will not fly," was his answer; "I have nothing to reproach myself with, and I will share the doom of my colleagues." In a few hours he was hurried, with his brethren, to the *Conver-tite*, a monastery in the *Corso*, for the reception of Magdalenes, who were dismissed to make room for its new inhabitants. Insults, privations, and mysterious threats of still severer punishment were here employed, to intimidate them into the surrender of such wealth as they were even yet supposed to retain in secret. On their removal to a more rigorous confinement at *Civita Vecchia*, the intention of the Directory to banish them for life, to some remote and inhospitable region, was no longer concealed. The menace succeeded in wresting from most of them, the little property which had escaped the first grasp of the spoilers. But the firmness of some, as well as the patience of others, might have shamed the rapacity of their persecutors. Two only, Altieri and Vincenti, renounced the purple, in the hope of passing the remainder of their days in tranquillity. The others, retaining their titles, though stripped of their emoluments, were driven to find various asylums at a distance from the ecclesiastical states.

The destruction of the Villa of Cardinal Albani, one of the most justly celebrated in Italy, was a subject of regret to every lover of the arts. So complete was the ruin effected by revolutionary vengeance, that the very shrubs which ornamented its delicious gardens, were rooted up and sold.

But an Englishman will attach more particular interest to the fortunes of the last remnant of that exiled race which once swayed the sceptre of his country. The Cardinal of York, bowed down with old age and infirmity, (he was in his 75th year, and afflicted by an inveterate lameness) by the sack of his palace in Rome, and his more favorite retreat at *Frescati*, was reduced from affluence and splendour, to utter destitution. At *Messina*, and subsequently at *Corfu*, he maintained himself awhile by a small sum of money which he had carried with him in his flight, and by the sale of such few jewels as he had been enabled to secrete from the plunderers. The confiscation of ecclesiastical property in Italy deprived him of all permanent income from that country; and his benefices in Spain, though nominally rich, afforded but a scanty pittance, owing to the losses on exchange; and were latterly, from the difficulty of communication, wholly unproductive. To aggravate the Cardinal's personal wants, he was pressed by strong family claims; for, during his prosperity, the Countess of Albany, and the Countess Alberstoff, the widow of his nephew, had derived much of their subsistence from his bounty; and the legacies of gratitude to faithful adherents, which had been bequeathed him by his father, were largely and willingly defrayed out of his coffers. Stripped of his whole revenue and tossed about an exile and a wanderer, his relief was derived from a source to which his ancestors had taught him to look only for hostility. And it is not among the

least extraordinary incidents in the history of mankind, that the sole surviving lineal descendant of the Stewarts, at the close of a protracted life, was supported and saved by the reigning Protestant monarch of England. The munificence of George III. conferred a pension of 4000*l.* a year on the venerable fugitive; and the unlooked-for bounty was bestowed with a delicacy which enhanced the value of the gift, while it diminished the pressure of the obligation.

The cardinals, previous to their arrest, had been summoned to celebrate a solemn mass, and, as if in mockery, they had been compelled to chaunt *Te Deum*, in commemoration of their own fall. Within three days after the Pope's expulsion from Rome, a half Pagan spectacle was exhibited to the memory of Duphot. In the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter's, before the great obelisk, a pyramidal cenotaph was erected. Branches of cypress wreathed its base. It was surmounted by trophies, and funeral torches gleamed upon mottos, which spoke the virtues and the fate of the deceased. The chief musicians of the city performed a solemn hymn, and a friar pronounced an oration in front of the mausoleum, of which, patriotism and self-devotion formed the theme. Minute guns from St. Angelo's, and irregular discharges of musquetry from the battalions arranged within the colonnades, heightened the melancholy pomp of the ceremony. As the troops filed through the *Lungara*, each soldier fired his piece over the spot on which his General fell; and in conclusion, his re-

mains, collected in a cinerary urn of antique shape, were deposited on a marble column, erected for the purpose, in the area of the capitol.

Even this pomp of woe, however, was made subservient to the detestable system of pillage, which had now commenced. While the attention of the populace was attracted to the show, a seizure was indiscriminately made of all the consecrated plate belonging to religious establishments. No privilege, either of neutrality or of alliance, was respected; but the Spanish and Bavarian altars were stripped with the same rapacity, as those of the conquered city. That insult might be added to the general spoliation, an order was issued at the same moment, through the archbishop of Larissa, that on the following day a service should be performed in every church and chapel within the walls, for the release of the soul of the deceased from the torments of purgatory.

It was not without considerable dissatisfaction that the French troops regarded the disposal of this plunder, in which, though obtained by the terror of their presence, they had not as yet been invited to participate. Five months arrears of pay were already due to him; and the recall of Berthier, who was summoned to attend Bonaparte on the expedition which he then projected, seemed purposely contrived to snatch the military chest from those whose labors had replenished it, at the very first moment in which it was competent to satisfy their demands. The officers of the several regiments assembled openly in the Pantheon, and a strong remon-

strance was framed to testify their discontent. It disavowed, in the name of the whole army, the acts of rapine which it attributed to individuals. It denounced vengeance upon these authorized ministers, as they were termed, of devastation and corruption; wretches who were plunged day and night in debauchery; and who dishonored the French name by their crimes. It demanded the arrears of pay within twenty-four hours; it insisted upon the restoration of the treasure, stolen under different pretences, from houses and churches belonging to amicable foreign powers; and, without directly accusing Berthier of instigating the marauders, it implied that he became an accomplice by not restraining them. In order to give full publicity to their complaints, the instrument which contained them, underwritten by three pages of signatures, was addressed by special messengers to the Directory; copies of it were inserted in the several journals, and it was placarded in the streets of Rome, in both the French and Italian languages.

This remonstrance was followed up by an address to the Roman people, inviting all who had been wronged to bring to the Pantheon inventories of the plate, household furniture, jewels, money, and horses*, which had at any time been extorted from them.

The nomination of Massena, to the command of the army of Italy was another cause of discontent to the soldiery; and they so pe-

remptorily refused obedience to his orders, that it was thought politic, for awhile, to suspend his appointment. It was scarcely possible that this spirit of insubordination in the oppressors should not produce a hope of deliverance in the oppressed: and a handful of the populace, eagerly catching at a glimpse of liberty, with more daring than prudence, sought to profit by the feuds among the troops. On the evening of the 25th of February, an attack was made upon some guard-houses in the *Transtevere*; the assailants were rudely armed, and without order or leaders; but the movement was so unexpected, that at first it was attended with success. The stiletto was murderously plied as the soldiers ran to arms from their quarters, and volleys of musquetry were poured upon them from the windows of private houses. Many lives were lost in this tumultuary struggle. Even after the garrison had mustered, a slight resistance was offered by the crowd on the *Ponte Sesto*, and again at the *Porta Septimiana*: but the stand could be but feeble against regular troops, and the fugitives gave way in all directions as the bayonets pressed upon them. Unfortunately, however, exaggerated reports of the first advantage had been spread to the suburbs, and thence to the neighbouring towns of Castello, Velletri, and Albano. It was believed that a counter-revolution had been effected, and that not a Frenchman was left

* Three thousand horses had been taken from Rome only, by the first requisition; and these demands were so frequently repeated, that Prince Barberini, at that time possessing the finest stud in Italy, with difficulty obtained permission, as a singular favour, to retain a pair for his own carriage.

alive in Rome. The inhabitants rose in a body, and speedily-empowered the detachment which occupied their walls. But this triumph was of short duration. The plain of Castello is surrounded by lofty eminences, and from these a destructive fire of artillery was opened upon the unfortunate crowds, which, in ignorance of military tactics, had assembled in the valley beneath. The towns of Velletri and Albano were sacked; and the tumult which at first threatened the French with extermination, was completely suppressed within a few hours after its commencement. Twenty-two prisoners were shot on the following morning before the *Porta del Popolo* in Rome; and two severe edicts were issued in the name of the Republic. By the first, the carriage of arms was declared punishable with death within 24 hours. By the second, a like penalty was annexed to any word or deed, which, on the testimony of two witnesses, should be deemed injurious to the State. The undefined nature of this crime, placed every life at the disposal of government; and, in order to give still more terrific effect to the ordinance, concealment of the disaffection of others was declared to be no less treasonable than the actual entertainment of disaffection itself.

The publication of the definitive Constitution which the Directory had arranged for the ecclesiastical states took place on the 20th of March; when the Roman people was called upon to swear fidelity to its new government. Much tinsel pomp accompanied the federative oath. An altar was erected, as before, in

the Piazza of St. Peter's, around which were disposed three colossal statues of the French, Roman, and Cisalpine Republics. These images were repeated on a triumphal arch at the foot of the bridge of St. Angelo; and on this were painted, in compartments, the chief Italian victories of Bonaparte. The French garrison, the national guard, and a civic deputation, attended the consuls from the Vatican to a blazing altar. Over the flame of this they stretched their hands; and, having sworn eternal hatred to all monarchies, to complete the theatrical exhibition, they slowly burned upon its ashes the several insignia of royalty. The populace took no part in this spectacle, and the crowded streets plainly evinced the dissatisfied state of public feeling by a sullen and unbroken silence.

In their policy towards the countries which had been overrun by their arms, the Directory was uniformly guided by one undeviating principle. The conquered people was to be assimilated to France, without regard to the numberless varied peculiarities which distinguish national character. A single constitution was alike addressed to each new province. The three hundred and seventy-two articles, which explained their future government to the Romans, were, in essentials, a repetition only of that form which had previously been imposed on Venice. The seven provisional consuls were reduced to the directorial number, five: but it was not considered safe to intrust them, at present, with more than the shadow of authority. Every edict which they issued, or nomi-

nation which they claimed, was to be approved and countersigned by the French commander-in-chief. Thirty-two senators, on the model of the Council of Ancients, were to assist the Executive by their deliberations; and the representatives of the French people were imitated, in a supplementary assembly of seventy-two tribunes.

The disputes between Massena and his army still continued; and various attempts were made both to consolidate the power of the General, and also to tranquillize the insurgent spirit which animated the Roman people, who, smarting under a keen sense of their wrongs, derived continual hope of vengeance from the remains of insubordination still existing among the soldiery. Against the disposition to mutiny, severe measures were at one time meditated: and the officers, who had been most prominent in framing the obnoxious remonstrance, were committed to the castle of St. Angelo. The fury of the troops, on this arrest, knew no bounds. They hurried to arms; and each man, avowing himself to be an equal participator in the offence for which his comrades had been selected to suffer, vehemently demanded, and finally obtained their release. To calm the irritation of the city, it was deemed necessary to punish some of the minor agents of pillage. Two commissioners, who had been employed in the ecclesiastical seizures, were condemned to five years' imprisonment in irons. But the sumptuousness which the higher military officers continued to display, was so striking, when contrasted with the distressed condition of the inferior ranks, that it

proved to the Romans the hands into which the plunder in truth had fallen; and exasperated and disgusted the troops who partook of the disgrace, but were excluded from the profit. To prevent the extremity of open mutiny, the garrison of Rome was gradually changed. The French troops who occupied it were drafted to join the armament, which was collecting under Buonaparte, and their places were supplied by Poles. On the completion of the conquest of Switzerland, Brune replaced Massena in the command of the army of Italy.

The native revolutionary faction had organized itself into a democratic club, which held its sittings at the palace of the Duke d'Altem. Here the youth of Rome was educated in the doctrines of Reform. Vows of duty to the Republic were solemnly covenanted; and the lips of a bust of Brutus were fervently pressed by the initiated enthusiast, who was taught to disregard all obvious social duties, in order that he might secure the abstract welfare of society. From a school like this, as might be expected, propositions were advanced which brought to mind the fury of the early Parisian Jacobins. *Noyades*, on the Tiber, were recommended: and, on one occasion, it was seriously proposed, that all persons, above sixty years of age, should indiscriminately be put to death, by public authority. The prejudices of advanced life, it was urged, were difficult to be eradicated; and those, who in the vigour of their days had lived under another order of things, must, at best, be tacit enemies to the pro-

gress of Revolution. Although the consuls dismissed this sanguinary proposition, they readily listened to insidious suggestions of a less savage nature. The monastic establishments were dissolved, and their revenues appropriated to the use of government. The college *de Propaganda* was converted into a warehouse for confiscated property; its funds were assigned to the maintenance of a National Institute; and its magnificent establishment of oriental professors, students, and types, was shipped together with the Savans who were to accompany Bonaparte. All foreign ecclesiastics were banished from the Roman States; and the native Clergy, if permitted to remain, were made responsible for the public tranquillity of the neighbourhood in which they happened to reside. An ordinance was also proclaimed, by which, in case of insurrection, the priests of the commune in which it occurred, were to be immediately arrested; and a council of war, with the power of life and death, was to decide on the criminality of the accused. That the degradation of the ancient families might be completed, a national guard was organized, in which the nobility of Rome were compelled to serve as private soldiers. And although in the end this bitterness of insult was converted into a fresh instrument of extortion; and exemption from personal duty might be obtained by a payment in proportion to the means of the conscribed*, yet

pains were taken, in the outset to inflict mortification, by subjecting the most illustrious names to ruffians purposely selected from the dregs of the rabble. Thus, in more than one instance, a *Colonna* and a *Montelibretto*, were marshalled under the command of some petty retailer.

It was not probable that the course pursued by the new government would produce a favorable change in the disorder of public credit; and various expedients, which, by giving only temporary relief, increased the national insolvency in the end, were adopted to support an artificial system of finance. A single Pontifical institution was left inviolate, not from any pious regard to its sanctity, but because, even in the present fallen state of the Holy See, it continued to afford some portion of revenue. An arrangement was made between the consular government and the Spanish minister, by which the bulls for ecclesiastical benefices were still to be dispensed from the Vatican; and it was confidently hoped, notwithstanding the spiritual authority of the Church had been so roughly invaded, that the force of habit would nevertheless direct a golden stream from this source into the Republican treasury. The *cedole* of the Papal government had fallen considerably in value before its overthrow: but so great was their depreciation within a short time after the arrival of the French, that the consuls found it expedient to re-

* The demand for this exemption was graduated according to income. The possessor of 10,000 crowns a year paid 10 crowns for each service. The services recurred once in eight days. So the amount was nearly 16*l.* English per month.

duce them, at once, without an equivalent, to one-fourth of even their nominal value. The agitation created by this unjust and impolitic decree was too great to permit its actual enforcement; and it was hastily recalled by command of the French General. So atrocious a breach of public faith, however, rendered it impossible, at any subsequent period, to re-establish the confidence of the people. Requisitions and forced loans could not be repeated for ever. The tax of 3 per cent. which had been imposed upon the full value of every estate in the country, threatened soon to exhaust the principal; and confiscation, when it had glutted, but not satisfied itself, was compelled to cease, more from scarcity of food, than from lack of appetite. Assignats were issued at as low a value as an English penny. The copper, of even kitchen furniture, was called in to promote the fabrication of a base currency. Costly bronzes were condemned to the furnace for the sake of the material: and it was in contemplation not only to strip the high altar, and the twisted columns of St. Peter's shrine, but even to melt down the copper which protects the vaulting and the dome of the matchless *Basilica* itself.

The tyranny of the invaders, though unresisted within the walls of Rome, was not exercised with impunity in other parts of the ecclesiastical states: and Macdonald, upon whom, in Brune's absence, the command of the French armies devolved, encountered more than one doubtful struggle in the course of the summer. At *Fiorentino*, in the close of July, the Italians were not defeated till after an action of many hours; in which their enemies suffered most severely: and the banks of the *Cosa*, and the walls of *Frosinone*, witnessed two other murderous conflicts. *Terracina*, for a time, was rescued from the French garrison; but the want of organization and discipline prevented any permanent benefit from the immediate advantage which bravery had gained; and the discomfiture of each fresh insurrection only called down additional severities upon the conquered. In the midst of these sufferings a light appeared to break in upon the Romans, and their oppressors were called away to meet the hostile preparations of the Neapolitan court. But before we turn to these, it will be necessary to advert to the great change which had been effected in Switzerland.

CHAPTER III.

Retrospect of the State of Switzerland at the Commencement of the French Revolution. Revolutionary Banquet in 1791. Fidelity of the Swiss Troops in the Pay of the French King. Neutrality of Switzerland. Occupation of the Brisgau by the French. The Swiss protect Geneva. Progress of French Principles. Insolent Demands of France. Moreau allowed to retreat through Switzerland. Recall of Barthelémy. Mr. Wickham quits Switzerland. Bonaparte annexes the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Cisalpine Republic.

Occupation of the Erguel. Disaffection in the Pays de Vaud. Mission of Colonel Weiss. Affray at Thierens. Occupation of the Pays de Vaud by the French. Solemn Renewal of the Swiss Confederacy. Characters of the Revolutionary Leaders at Basle and Zurich. Change of Constitution at Berne. Menace of the French. The Bernese Arm. Heroic Reply of d'Erlach to the Summons of Brune. An Armistice. Remonstrances of d'Erlach. Fresh Proposals of Brune. Recall of d'Erlach's Powers. Brune Demands unconditional Submission. Prolongation of the Armistice. Violated by the French. Capture of Soleure and Friburgh. Retreat and Mutiny of the Bernese. Resignation of the Council of Berne. Appointment of a Regency. Distracted State of the City. Tumults and Massacre. The Avoyer Steiguer joins d'Erlach. Defeat of the Bernese at Frauenbennen. Surrender of Berne. Assassination of d'Erlach. Escape of Steiguer. Misery of the Bernese. Retirement of Brune from his Command. Tyrannical Administration of the French Commissaries. New Constitution of Berne. Incorporation of Geneva with the French Republic. The Five Cantons; Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris, renew the Ancient Declaration of Independence. Popular Enthusiasm. Aloys Reding. The Swiss Defeated at Rapperschwyl. Battles of Mount Eyle and Morgarten. Destruction of the Abbey at Einsidlin. Capitulation at Schwitz. Comparative Losses of the French and the Swiss. Extermination of the Lower Underwaldeners. The Grisons Place themselves under the Protection of Austria.

THE treaty of Campo Formio afforded little promise of a durable peace. On the part of the Emperor, the terms, however iniquitous they might be to the rest of Europe, and therefore dishonourable to himself, were far more advantageous than he could have expected to receive from an enemy almost at the very gates of his capital: but the revolutionary nature of the principal articles was enough in itself to raise a suspicion of bad faith in the negotiators. To France, although victory had declared in her favour, repose was scarcely less necessary than to the Court of Vienna; and a consciousness of exhaustion induced the Directory materially to relax from demands which might have driven an enemy, still formidable, though under reverses, to despair. By admitting him to

partake of the projected spoliation, they interested him in promoting it; and knowing the importance of a temporary cessation from hostilities to their own diminished force and confused finances, they forbore to impose such oppressive conditions as success might otherwise have appeared to authorize. Little mutual confidence or good will could be founded on this hollow basis; but the same policy which dictated the offer from the one party, prompted its acceptance by the other. A breathing time at least was obtained by both, and the Directory well knew how best to apply this to its own advantage.

Switzerland had long since been an object of secret ambition to revolutionary France, and the new position which her conquests had now made her assume on the map

of Europe, rendered the *arrondissement* of frontier, which would be obtained by the subjugation of the United Cantons, more than ever desirable. Savoy, the Austrian Netherlands, and half of Italy, were already within her grasp; and Swisserland formed an intermediate link, by which military communications might be facilitated. The States of the House of Austria on the one hand, the Venetian territory and the Milanese on the other, were equally commanded by the occupation of this most important outpost: and, as schemes of aggrandizement alone were to be found in the Councils of the Directory, the defensive advantages, arising from the neutrality of this vast frontier, were forgotten or despised in comparison with the brighter visions of extended empire. That it was in its present state an impenetrable rampart before the weakest part of France, and that it afforded in itself no subsistence for the maintenance of those armies, which of necessity must be stationed to garrison it as a province even after it should be won, were considerations little likely to have weight with a government, the security of which seemed to consist in perpetual aggression. Nor must the hopes of immediate plunder be forgotten. Corn, cattle, arms, and money, were abundant in these smiling districts; and the open violation of treaties, the unblushing breach of civil rights, and the treacherous destruction of an unoffending ally, were but as grains in the balance when poised against the solid and substantial replenishment of exhausted coffers.

It is clear that the downfall of the Federative Republic was contemplated in the earliest stages of the revolution; and that the disorganizing fury of Jacobinism, which menaced Europe at large, would, in the first instance, have directed itself against states so contiguous and so exposed to its attacks; if the design had not forcibly been arrested by the strong necessity felt by the Republic, of defending its own power, which had been rendered insecure by the very crimes from which it had derived its gigantic being. It is sufficiently easy to trace the first germs of the spirit of innovation, which, as far back as the year 1790, were diligently scattered, under the masque of friendly intercourse, in the Pays de Vaud. If the gods first madden those whom they intend to destroy, the Revolutionists practised an equally sure principle; by not attempting to reap any conquest, unless they had already sown corruption. Correspondences were formed between Parisian clubs, and a few disaffected spirits in the parts nearest France. To the democratic states, it was whispered that they were imperfectly represented. The specious doctrine of equality found ready admission into the aristocratic canton of Berne. The peasants of Zurich and Basle were taught to lament the oppression of their tyrannous oligarchies; and throughout the Pays de Vaud, the gentry, as well as the citizens, were impatiently stimulated to compare themselves with the Genevese; and to ask why the higher offices of magistracy, in their respective states, were not open to themselves also.

These murmurs, though neither loud nor deep at first, were still sufficient to disturb the harmony of vallies, which, for ages, had echoed only to sounds of contentment and happiness. No country on the globe, would seem to oppose stronger barriers than Switzerland against the torrent of innovation, by which the rest of Europe had been inundated. The character of its inhabitants, from German admixture, was somewhat phlegmatic. The habits of their forefathers were regarded by them as sacred heir-looms never to be parted from; and, indeed, were little likely to be disturbed by collision with other nations. Long experience had proved the nice adaptation of their peculiar system of government to their wishes and their necessities; and the general simplicity of their manners, and rectitude of their judgments, made them turn with disgust and contempt from theoretic sophisms. Thus, for a long time, the French Revolution, if not regarded with horror, was contemplated as an object of curiosity alone throughout the interior; and the subtle poison which its restless agents were administering, was confined wholly to the extremities.

The government of Berne felt assured of the attachment of the bulk of its people, and took no

active measures to arrest the progress of popular opinion. One outrage, however, soon called for strong animadversion.

The arrest of the unfortunate Louis, at Varennes, 1791, was celebrated by a banquet, in several of the Helvetic towns on the lake of Geneva. The most unmeasured and seditious language was indulged in during the festivity, and some acts of violence marked its conclusion. On this occasion, a small corps of militia was ordered to advance on Lausanne; a court of inquiry was opened at Rolle; and, after a tedious examination of the delinquents, five or six of the ringleaders were condemned to a short imprisonment; a few were banished for a term, and Amadeus la Harpe, who, (under the direction of his cousin, Cæsar Frederic), was the great fomentor of disaffection, having fled from trial, was adjudged to be contumacious, and was sentenced to the last penalty of treason, in case of his return*.

Without the united cantons, the fidelity of the Swiss troops, employed in the service of the French monarchy, had repeatedly been assailed, but in one instance only with even partial success. The mutiny of the regiment of Chateau-Vieux arose from hopes of plunder artfully excited, not from political motives; and was

* Amadeus la Harpe, after his expatriation, entered into the French service. He attained the rank of General of Division, and was killed, through a mistake, by his own troops, during the passage of the Po, near Codogno, in 1796. Cæsar Frederic la Harpe, of Rolle, was bred to the law; having failed in the conduct of the first suit which he undertook, he quitted Switzerland in disgust. At Petersburg, he was graciously received by the Empress Catherine, who intrusted him with a share in the education of her grandsons. From Russia he corresponded with the Revolutionists of the Pays de Vaud, and on his return in 1794, materially contributed, by his intrigues, to the overthrow of his country. On its conquest by the French, he was nominated one of the five Helvetic Directors.

amply atoned for by the unshaken loyalty of the Bernese regiment of Ernst, which, though disarmed by an order of the French government, and then exposed to the frantic assassins of Marseilles, neither dishonored its allegiance nor its discipline. The regiment of Steiner, under equally trying circumstances, was not less distinguished for its patience and its courage: and among the fourteen thousand men whom the French King retained in the fullness of his power, none were found who violated the sacredness of their engagements on his fall. The massacres of the 10th of August, and the 2d of September, 1792, covered Switzerland with mourning; and scarce a family was to be found, from Basle to St. Gothard, whose blood did not flow in one of the 700 victims. But not the former insults, nor these more atrocious murders, nor the final disbandment of the several Swiss corps, who, without negotiation with their countrymen, without respect to treaties, and without gratitude for their services, were chased ignominiously back to their native vallies, nor the avowed inculcation by French agents within their territories, of principles inimical to all existing governments, could divert the Helvetic Diet from the system of neutrality, the adoption of which it had publicly declared in a general sitting at Arau, (May, 1792) when the first flames of war burst forth in Europe.

Abundant motives for this neutrality were to be found in the essence of the Swiss constitution; and in the change which had been gradually produced in the character of the people, by the pro-

gress and confirmation of their independence. The grand, and almost necessary defect of a federative system, is want of unity and promptness; and the absence of any individual preponderance, which is the best guarantee of liberty to each single state, proves an impediment to their general combination as a whole. It is a polity far better calculated for mutual protection, than for external war; and it is therefore well adapted to a nation which has few allurements to provoke foreign attack, and no ambition to attempt foreign conquests. But the necessary result of the long repose produced by the internal action of such a political system, is to isolate those under its sway, from the passions and interests which agitate neighbouring states, and to concentrate all their views within the mountains which separate them from the rest of mankind. To such a people, a permanent military force is plainly unnecessary. War, therefore, if ever it comes, demands a new creation: and it is not only the means of war which are to be called out from their resources, but the popular impulse also is to be awakened by which those means are to be applied.

Nor can it be said, that at the moment under consideration, sufficiently strong reasons existed to justify the sacrifice which Switzerland must have offered, and the hazard which she must have incurred by readiness to break with France. The views of the Emperor, at this time, were by no means precisely declared. He first approved, and afterwards advised the Helvetic neutrality; and

neither tendered assistance, nor proposed measures for concert in case of a rupture. The French were already in great force in Alsace, and were rapidly preparing to occupy Savoy; so that the confederacy was exposed to overwhelming attacks, and any participation in a quarrel, as yet not strictly its own, would have called down upon it the vengeance of two powerful armies which menaced the opposite extremities of its dominions.

These remarks may justify the course pursued, by the Diet of Arau, at the commencement of the war in 1792: but the same reasons which made its neutrality judicious at that season can scarcely be pleaded in excuse of its subsequent imbecility and fluctuation. Time had been gained by this neutrality, when little else but time was wanting to provide for future security; and a change of measures was afterwards imperatively demanded by a change in the general political relations of Europe.

The occupation of the Brisgau, by General Custine, and the approach of General Montesquieu to Geneva, (September, 1792) were, however, met with becoming energy. The plunder of this free city, and the possession of the 20,000 musquets which it contained, were the motives avowed by Servan, the minister of war, for this wanton attack. Berne and Zurich, at the first call, flew to the assistance of their ancient ally. Their contingents were put in immediate motion; 1500 Swiss were thrown into the city, with instruc-

tions to defend it to the last extremity; and two corps, one of 14,000, the other of 10,000, men, were hastily collected, and ordered respectively to observe the western and southern frontiers. These rapid and vigorous measures produced a corresponding effect. Switzerland preserved her neutrality, and Geneva was saved, at least for the moment, and from all enemies but those within her own bosom.

A treaty was concluded, Oct.
22. by which both parties engaged themselves to withdraw, the one from the neighbourhood, the other from the occupation of the city. It was not till the dismissal of the Swiss that the revolutionary faction gained ascendancy in the Genevese councils, and opened the gates to the treacherous mediation of France by clamours of oppression. The threat of the military spy*, *that he would throw Geneva into the lake, and invite the Swiss to fish it out again*, was latterly too well fulfilled; and the surrender of her independence, which arms failed to win, was doomed at last to be won by intrigue.

The internal state of France, in the winter of 1793, formed the sole obstacle to a direct invasion of Berne. It is well known, that the military plans for its attack were already digested, when the fall of the reigning faction at Paris, for a time, postponed the blow. The Swiss Diet was content to slumber; and, attributing its repose to its repeated protestations of neutrality, declined all proposals for coalition, which were now

* Dubois de Crance.

made both by Austria and Sardinia. In the mean time, the creed of anarchy was rapidly gaining proselytes. The cause of France was represented to be the cause of all Republics against all Kings: In the heart of Zurich, for these things were no longer done in a corner, the war against France was termed a conspiracy of despots; a revolutionary journal was openly printed and circulated, and the mighty machinery of the press was uninterruptedly employed in outraging established forms and existing institutions.

The predominance of the French arms was confirmed in 1794; and before the close of the following year, Holland had been annexed to the Republic, and Prussia had deserted the coalition. Every new victory gained by France was signalized by some new insulting requisition to Switzerland. At one time she was asked to account for the forged assignats circulated in the French territories; at another, to be answerable for the venders of contraband goods; now the celebration of mass, by French priests, was interdicted on the most frivolous pretext; now lists of emigrants, residing within the Helvetic league, were required; and, to complete the series of disgraceful compliances, the Ambassador of the Directory, on the advance of its armies into Suabia, (1796) peremptorily demanded the expulsion of all Frenchmen who had found an asylum in Switzerland since the commencement of the Revolution. An order to this effect was signed by the Councils, and in the canton of Berne alone, 400 unhappy refugees were compelled to se-

crete themselves, or to fly, in spite of the remonstrances of the British minister.

The neutrality henceforward assumed a new character. It became armed against the enemies of France. The Swiss contingent, which had been stationed at Basle, since the commencement of hostilities, to prevent the passage of all foreign troops, was withdrawn as soon as the French entered Suabia; as if the Austrians alone had been the objects of this precaution. On Moreau's celebrated retreat, (October, 1796) his left wing was permitted to cross the Swiss territory. The arms and artillery of his troops, indeed, were deposited on the Rhine; but twelve days subsistence was provided, and the pillage of the countries which they had ravaged was secured to the marauders, notwithstanding the reclamation of the Austrian commander.

The events of 1797 accelerated the fall of the masque. The Directory, disengaged from its only remaining continental enemy, was enabled to change insult into invasion. Barthelemy, who had hitherto filled the station of Ambassador, was recalled from his diplomatic labors, and elected (May 26) to a short-lived seat in the Directory, which, through the jealousy of his colleagues, soon conducted him to the burning sands of Cayenne. Thirty years of public employment, in times of unusual outrage and temptation, had left the character of Barthelemy without reproach; and he had the rare, if not the unique merit, of having passed through the furnace of the Revolution

without diminution of intrinsic value, or admixture of alloy. Mengaud, his successor, was an agent of different stamp; a low jobber of petty intrigue, debauched in his habits, and broken in character. His first demand was, the immediate dismissal of the British minister, Mr. Wickham. A peremptory refusal would have amounted to a declaration of war; and a remonstrance offered in mild terms, by a special mission from the Swiss to the Directory, was dismissed with indignity. Mr. Wickham, by a voluntary retirement, generously relieved the Confederacy from the necessity of being guilty of an unwilling violation of the usages of nations. From Frankfort he addressed a note, (November 22d) to the Regency of Berne, declarative of the view which the king of England entertained of this flagrant act of the Directory; announcing that his embassy had ceased, in order that its continuance might not be used by France as a pretext for the hostile projects which she evidently manifested; and protesting against any suspicion of diminished attachment on the part of the British government, notwithstanding the compulsory suspension of diplomatic intercourse.

The work of dismemberment was commenced by Bonaparte. The Grison leagues had solicited the mediation of this General between themselves, as sovereign states, and their revolted provinces the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio. Without regard to the guarantee of repeated treaties, he profited by the appeal, and annexed these territories to the

newly-created Gallo-Cisalpine Republic. The spoliated leagues were consoled under the robbery, by an assurance, that while they continued to manifest fit respect for the greatest nation of Europe, France would vouchsafe them her protection.

New affronts were offered as Bonaparte passed from Milan to the Congress of Radstadt. At Berne, he morosely declined the marks of honor which the magistrates had prepared for his reception. He pronounced Geneva, which at that moment was in a state of anarchy, and Basle, which was avowedly revolutionized, to be the only true Republics in Switzerland; and, in the former city, he idly vaunted, that before the lapse of three months he would plant democracy in England. The visit of Bonaparte gave fresh activity to the French emissaries, and appeared to diminish that little firmness which the regencies had hitherto manifested. Basle was the chief seat of intrigue and insurrection, and from it, as a centre, inflammatory writings were diligently circulated through the remote cantons by hosts of agitators. The first military violation of the neutral territory, did not take place till the middle of December, when 8000 men, under General St. Cyr, took possession of the Erguel, a district heretofore belonging to the Bishop of Basle, and which, from the earliest date of the Swiss confederation, had furnished, under the standard of Berne, its contingent to the union. The occupation of this country gave the French full command of the defiles of Mount Jura, and the possession of the

town of Bienne placed them within a march of the capital itself. The regency of Berne could no longer close its eyes to the obvious danger which threatened it; but the moments so precious for action were, even yet, consumed in temporizing debate. The Avoyer Steiguer, venerable at once from his age, his talents, and the steadiness of his patriotism, in vain endeavoured to awaken his country from a slumber which grew more heavy as its extinction grew more near. Such of the Council as had not yet embraced the French party in their hearts, still cherished idle hopes of conciliation, and diffident of all attempts at open resistance, thought to appease the Directory by concession. A jealousy of the predominance of Berne influenced the lesser cantons; and not perceiving that the disease of the head must necessarily involve with it that of the members also, they used no means to avert the contagion till the whole body became tainted.

The disaffection of the Pays de Vaud afforded the French new opportunities for interference, which they willingly embraced, if they might not more properly be said to have created them. La Harpe was employed to frame a petition from that country to the Directory, in which it claimed the protection of the French Republic to assist in the re-establishment of its rights. The nature of these rights was explained at large, in an elaborate Essay on the Constitution of the Pays de Vaud, from the same pen. In this it was said that on the surrender of these districts to Berne, by the

Duke of Savoy, in 1536, an express reservation was made in favor of all privileges, immunities, and franchises, formerly enjoyed by the inhabitants while under his government; that France afforded its formal guarantee to this treaty; and that the most important right thereby assured, was an annual assembly of a deputation from their states. This assembly, it is true, had been obsolete, and forgotten, for more than two centuries; but, at the pleasure of the Directory, it was to start again into life. A decree was issued from Paris on the 28th of December, by which, the members of the governments of Berne and Fribourg were declared *individually* responsible for the safety of the persons and property of such inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, as had addressed, or should hereafter address, the French Republic; and who, in execution of ancient treaties, should claim its mediatorial offices towards the maintenance or restoration of their rights. This virtual declaration of war, addressed not by one independent state to another equally free, but as it were, by a presiding judge to an offending criminal, was met by the Regency of Berne with fresh marks of weakness. A commission was framed to examine into the grievances of the Pays de Vaud; and conciliation and concession were recommended as the sole weapons which it was to employ.

In consequence of a Report, framed by these Commissioners, the supreme Council resolved to propose the administration of a general oath of allegiance through the insurgent districts. For this

purpose, the entire militia of the Pays de Vaud, was summoned to appear under the banners of its departments. Of thirty battalions which assembled, twenty-four pledged themselves to fidelity; the remaining six hesitated, and the commissioners permitted them to disperse without any formal animadversion. At Lausanne, three-fourths of the citizens received the oath with alacrity; and throughout the other towns, Vevay, Aubonne, and Moudon excepted, the majority predominated in favor of the ancient government.

Berne, at this moment, could bring 35,000 men into the field: the Confederacy, if acting in concert, could double this number. The signal alone was wanting for a general gathering, for the mass of the population was strongly attached to its national institutions, and jealous of its national honor: but union was far from the public councils, and this signal was not given. The Commissioners were recalled; not, however, till they had been insulted by a popular tumult at Vevay, one of the most disaffected towns in the Pays de Vaud. A party of armed peasants, from this place, summoned the Castle of Chillon, liberated some State prisoners who were confined in it, and obstinately persisted in retaining its military possession.

These symptoms of revolt were doubtless encouraged by the advance of the French: a division of 15,000 men, under General Menard, had already marched from

Italy to the environs of Geneva. To observe this force, to repress the attempts of the insurgents, to proclaim martial law, to regain the Castle of Chillon, and to punish delinquents, Colonel Weiss was instructed to enter the rebellious territory. No person could have been selected, who was less fitted for an employment requiring promptness and energy. Weak, vain, fond of popular applause, and bewildered by the sophistry of the Revolution, he became the dupe and tool of those whom he was sent to control. Though free from all imputation either of treachery or of cowardice, the Pays de Vaud was lost by him to his country; and his military command was signalized by no other act, than the publication of a declamatory Pamphlet*.

Menard's head-quarters were fixed at Ferney. His vicinity was the signal for general outrage. The public funds were seized and confiscated, the bailiffs were disarmed, and the castles, which they occupied, given up to pillage. Every where the insurrection assumed a greater appearance of organization, and the French were hailed as friends and deliverers. A pretext, however, was still wanting for the direct expulsion of the Bernese, and an accidental rencontre was eagerly seized to give colouring to the long premeditated hostility. On the 25th of January, Menard addressed a despatch to Colonel Weiss, informing him, that a voluntary act of the country had invited the French as mediators, and requi-

* *Reveillee vous Suisses* Colonel Weiss is said to have lost four whole days at this critical juncture, in finishing this tract; and a week more in correcting the press.

ring that the Swiss troops should instantly evacuate the Pays de Vaud, which the great nation had recognized as an independent state. The aid-de-camp, who bore this despatch, was escorted by two hussars. On entering the village of Thierens, the Swiss patrols challenged the escort, and received, as it is said, a sabre cut instead of a reply. In the fray, one of the French hussars was shot; and this unlucky incident was magnified by Menard, in an inflammatory proclamation, into "an unheard-of outrage of the satellites of oligarchy, of wretches who violated the most sacred rights, of monstrous assassins, guilty of a horrible crime, which the French soldiers could never behold with indifference." Terrified by these menaces, and the additional denunciations of the French Executive, Colonel Weiss hastily abandoned his post, and completed his career of imbecility, by permitting Menard to take possession of the entire Pays de Vaud, without an attempt at opposition.

In the mean time, a forcible appeal had been made by the friends of their falling country, to the Swiss nation at large. A general diet of the cantons was summoned to meet at Arau on the 2nd of January; and its declared object was the solemn renewal of the original Confederacy. Basle alone opposed this Congress, and by withdrawing her deputies, after a few days attendance, gave the first example of open defection. Ochs, the Grand Tribune, Vischer, Eulacher, and Wernard Huber, were among the leaders of the revolutionary faction in this place. The latter in

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his youth had adopted Rousseau's wild theories of a State of Nature; and had retired from the profession of medicine, which he practised with some degree of reputation, to the humbler employment of a swineherd. The beginning of the convulsions in France directed his morbid enthusiasm into another channel, and recalled him to a society which he now hoped to regenerate. In his writings, he inveighed against England with peculiar bitterness, and afforded a singular instance of the extent to which political hatred may bias the understanding, by attributing, on one occasion, the prevalence of a contagious disorder which was raging among the cattle of Switzerland, to the agency of the British minister. Ochs, some years since, had been employed on a mission to Paris, and in that capital had drank deep of revolutionary doctrines. The residence of Mengaud at Basle had confirmed his dangerous principles; and the occupation of the neighbouring Erguel, by the French troops, enabled him, in conjunction with his brother conspirators, to accelerate the change which they had long meditated. The peasants were easily persuaded that the aristocracy, which excluded them from seats in the Supreme Council, was necessarily tyrannical; and having risen *en masse*, after a few acts of violence, they presented a declaration of rights, under the title of Magna Charta, to the magistrates of the city. A tree of liberty was planted in the market-place, and on the 5th of February, a change of constitution was proclaimed.

The public authorities abdicated their posts, and the administration of government was intrusted, for the present, to a Council of sixty, selected indiscriminately from all ranks of the community.

The Supreme Council of Zurich had been equally powerless against the progress of innovation. Disaffection had long shewn itself among the borderers, and particularly among the rich manufacturers of the commercial town of Stæfa. In proportion as the spirit of revolt manifested itself more openly in the neighbouring cantons, the government, with mistaken lenity, relaxed in vigour, and with the hope of conciliation released some prisoners, whose political conduct had subjected them to confinement. Among these was Bodmer, a person of no small authority in Stæfa, from his age, station, and wealth; and whose revolutionary ambition, whetted by a keen sense of personal injury, now determined him to effect the destruction of a government which he could not forgive. Remonstrances and petitions were poured in upon the members of the Council, and every new concession was met by some new discontent. An order for a general armament, was received as a signal for avowed resistance; and the magistrates were compelled to ratify a Magna Charta somewhat resembling that of Basle, by which the virtual authority was transferred to an extraordinary Convention of one hundred members. Lucerne, Schaffhausen, and Soleure, followed this example, with different modifications. In the Thurgau, the Marches, Sargans, Tocken-

burgh, the Rheinthal, and the dominions of the Abbot of St. Gallen, important changes were introduced; and in Friburgh, and the small cantons only, did the partizans of Revolution fail to obtain a predominance.

The 25th of January witnessed the solemn renewal of the federative oath at Arau. The Burgo-master of Zurich pronounced an oration, in which he recalled the memory of Stauffacher, Furst, and Melchthal, and invoked their descendants to emulate the valour and fidelity of their great forefathers. Each of the assembled envoys then separately swore, in the name of his canton, to maintain inviolably all leagues and alliances, and reciprocally to protect the Constitution and the privileges of the several States. The ceremonial passed almost in the presence of Mengaud, who had insulted the Diet by daily remonstrances and denunciations, and personally distributed tri-coloured cockades among the seditious rabble. Content with this semblance of union, the Diet terminated its proceedings, and the success of French intrigue plainly manifested itself at the moment in which the deputies withdrew. The town of Arau declared itself independent. But, for once, prompt dispositions on the part of government frustrated the revolutionary designs. The leaders of the insurrection were arrested; a cordon of troops surrounded the town; and such of the insurgents as withdrew from the investigations of the Police, narrowly escaped the vengeance of the enraged peasants by a rapid flight to Basle.

The Council of Berne had de-

rived some confidence from the assembly of the Diet, and had not omitted to issue orders for defensive operations. Anxious at the same time to profit by the good will and increasing attachment of its remaining subjects, it projected a revision of all existing abuses in its Constitution; and consented to frame a new system of government modelled on a representative form. In the last days of January, at the close of the Diet, citations were issued to the several communes and villages of Berne to send a deputation to its Council; and fifty-two new members were thus added to assist in its deliberations. No time was lost in notifying this change of Constitution to the Directory and to Mengaud. The latter received the information with haughtiness and contempt, and by way of reply, demanded satisfaction for the late insults which had been offered to the French party at Arau, and an unconditional abdication by the existing magistrates. A rejection of these propositions, he added, would be attended by the immediate march of the French troops on Berne.

It is probable that Mengaud had miscalculated the temper of the great body of the people in this canton, and had attributed the late changes in government to force, rather than to a voluntary concession. In this he was wholly mistaken. The spirit of the Bernese population was

roused to fury by the unblushing audacity of the French demands; and loud clamours for war amply testified the national indignation. There were those in the Council also who now urged an immediate appeal to the sword: all classes appeared animated by enthusiasm, and a firm and peremptory refusal was conveyed to Mengaud. On the borders of the Pays de Vaud more than 25,000 Swiss had been already collected in three divisions: and their commander, the veteran d'Erlach, the Lord of Hindelbank, was not likely to be backward in obeying an order for action. He had already displayed the dignity of genuine patriotism in his reply to Brune, (the French General, who had succeeded Menard in the command of the Pays de Vaud) when summoned by that officer to surrender the celebrated post of Morat. *My ancestors*, he answered, *knew not what it was to surrender. Even if I were base enough to think of it, this monument of their valour, now before my eyes*, would of itself prevent me. I must be spared such messages for the future.*

The force under Brune amounted to about 24,000 French, with an attached irregular corps of 3000 Vaudois. He had been promised reinforcements from the army of the Rhine, which were to increase his numbers to 45,000 strong; and, till these arrived, his policy was to lull the suspicions of the Council of Berne. For this purpose, he made pacific over-

* The Charnel-house of the Burgundians, under their Duke Charles, slain at the battle of Morat, in 1476. This famous ossuary was destroyed on the invasion of the French, March 3, 1798. A falsification of dates, in the *Moniteur*, represented this day as the anniversary of the battle of Morat, which, however, took place on the 22nd of June.

tures, and pleading the limited nature of his instructions as a bar to any specific negotiation, he gained time by pretending that it was necessary to communicate with the Directory. An armistice of fourteen days, to expire at sun-set on the 1st of March, was willingly consented to by each party; and this interval was diligently employed by the French General, and his agent Mengaud, in attempts to corrupt the peasantry, the troops, and the regency of Berne.

The Bernese army at this moment occupied a line of not less than forty miles in extent, of which the town of Vuilly formed the extreme right, Morat the centre, and Fribourg the left. The Helvetic contingent, about five or six thousand strong, was posted in reserve*. This force, though without engineers, and containing not more than 600 cavalry, might have done much for the safety of Switzerland. But the last days of the armistice were distinguished by yet more disgraceful vacillation and imbecility on the part of the regency, than it had hitherto manifested. D'Erlach sensitively alive to all the dangers of a protracted campaign with the species of force under his command, and anxious to free himself from them by an early and vigorous blow, demanded and obtained the most unlimited powers from the Council. Relying upon these he planned a general attack for the night of the 1st of March, immediately on the

termination of the armistice, and flew to his post with the most enthusiastic forebodings of success. The absence of the General from the Council, once again restored the ascendancy of the pacific faction. A new proposal was received from Brune couched in no friendly terms, and declared to be his ultimatum. It required abdication by the present magistrates, the establishment of a provisional government which might frame a new Constitution on the principles of liberty and equality, the release of all state prisoners, and the immediate disbandment of the army. Even these harsh conditions, for the consideration of which a term only of 24 hours was allowed, if accepted, seemed to promise little hope of ultimate security: for although Brune stipulated on the other hand to withdraw his forces, it was with one most ambiguous qualification: *unless he was required to do otherwise by the new magistracy*. The secret influence, however, of the French partizans, the treachery of some, and the cowardice of others in the Council, induced it to listen to these dishonorable proposals. The powers granted to d'Erlach were repealed, and a deputation was commissioned to inform Brune that the ancient government had ceased to exist.

Orders for attack had already been issued by d'Erlach who anxiously awaited the moment at which it be might commenced,

* To this force Zurich contributed 1500 men, Uri 600, Schwitz, Glaris, and Unterwalden, 400 each. Appenzel and St. Gall 350. Lucerne 1200 who were to cover its own frontier. Zug, not a man. The troops of Fribourg and Soleure, which were not less exposed to attack than Berne itself, remained within their own territory.

when his brilliant hopes were clouded by this most unexpected intelligence. Returning to Berne, he uttered reproaches and remonstrances in vain. But it was not in the capital only that he found mortification: suspicion had arisen in the camp, and distrust, and disquietude manifested itself among his companions in arms. Emissaries, in the interest of the invaders, were not wanting, who clandestinely suggested to the soldiers that their leaders had sold them to the French; deep murmurs testified the existence of insubordination in the ranks, and more than one battalion broke out into open mutiny.

In the mean time, it had been announced to the French General, that his expected reinforcements under Schawenbérgh, consisting of a numerous train of artillery and of a division of the army of the Rhine, had entered the bishopric of Basle. Thus secure of his object, not more from his superior military strength than from the pusillanimity and indecision of his opponents, Brune now refused all terms but those of unconditional surrender. At this open avowal, even the French party in Berne was compelled to throw itself into the torrent of general indignation, and fresh powers were communicated to d'Erlach with permission to commence his projected attack.

Scarcely, however, had these orders been delivered, when they were once more revoked upon an understanding, that the armistice had been prolonged for thirty hours more. The motives which

actuated Brune, from whom this proposition emanated, are not distinctly known; but the fact itself is sufficiently proved by one of his despatches to the Directory*; so that in the subsequent transactions of the French the additional guilt of treachery is added to that of unjust aggression.

The armistice thus continued was to close at four in the morning of the 3rd of March; yet before the original term had expired, on the night of the 1st, the castle of Dornach, at the northern extremity of the canton of Soleure, was attacked by Schawenbérgh, acting under the orders of Brune, and captured after a gallant defence. The post of Lengnau, between Buren and Soleure, was nearly at the same time surprized by an overwhelming force, and the Oberland battalion, which occupied it, after losing its best officers and many men, fell back upon the city of Soleure. Schawenbérgh pursued it under the walls. His summons intimated that if the least resistance was offered, or a single drop of blood was shed, the members of the government should answer for it with their heads; that half an hour was granted for deliberation, and that as soon as this period had expired, the town would be set in flames, and the garrison put to the sword.

This ferocious message, so alien from European warfare, induced an immediate surrender. The gates were unbarred, under a formal assurance, that persons and property should be respected. In conformity with this agreement, the first

* Redacteur. xxiv Ventose. An. vi. No. 819.

acts of the French General, on entering the town, were to disarm the inhabitants, to seize all military stores, and to sack four and twenty neighbouring villages. Several of the magistrates, after having been paraded through the streets in barbarous triumph, were put to death without even the formality of a military trial.

Friburg underwent a similar fate. It was attacked at the same hour as Soleure, and defended with distinguished bravery by 500 Bernese. This resistance provoked the French to commence a bombardment: a few houses being fired, and a breach soon rendered practicable, the military who defended it consented to withdraw, in order to prevent an indiscriminate massacre. Accompanied by nearly 4000 peasants, and by those of nobler birth who still clung to their falling country, they retired in the face of the enemy, bearing with them thirty pieces of cannon; and having taken post in the village of Saingines, about three leagues from Berne, on the little rivulet of Sensen, they obstinately maintained themselves against every attack.

The original position of the Bernese army was no longer tenable in consequence of these events, for it was turned on both flanks, and a retreat became unavoidable. The troops had been partly seduced by the secret intrigues of the French agents, who had mingled in the ranks during the armistice, and partly irritated by the late defeats of their comrades. They were disgusted by the vacillation of the Executive, and ill calculated, by previous habits, for the disciplined movements of a

regular army, the energies of which are never more called out than in the patient endurance of a retreat. Thus the ill-smothered flames of mutiny burst out with the first orders to retire. On the right, the militia of Argau disbanded itself and returned home, so that not one-fourth of the whole division remained under its standards. In the centre, still greater violence was manifested. The Generals were loudly accused of treachery; and an officer, to whom the first counter-order of attack was attributed, narrowly escaped assassination by his own regiment. Each battalion, without communicating with headquarters, occupied the post of its own choice; and no general orders were issued, nor if issued would they have been obeyed. The left alone retained its organization, and the assiduity of its commander, Watteville, preserved it from loss or disorder. The new position, about three leagues in front of Berne, extended from Frauenbunnen on the right through Friensberg, Gumminen, and Laupen, to Neweneck on the left, and occupied a line of nearly thirty miles. To protect this range, little more than 14,000 men remained; 8000 were stationed at Neweneck and Gumminen, with more than 20,000 French opposed to them. The remainder were concentrated in Frauenbunnen and its neighbourhood. Peasants, women, boys, and old men, armed and equipped with such weapons as came first to hand, thronged to the intermediate villages, and with desperate resolution awaited the approach of Schawenbérgh, from Soleure, at the

head of 18,000 victorious troops. The contingents of the other cantons, through a mistaken policy, which induced them to prefer separate defence to a grand general effort, fell back with rapidity, each upon its own frontier.

As a crowning stroke to its former inconsistencies the Council of Berne, on the 3rd of March, issued a proclamation calling out the Landsturm, and on the following day solemnly resigned its powers to a provisional regency. The first step of the new government was to announce this change to Brûne, and at the same time to offer the disbandment of its own army provided the French would agree not to advance beyond their present position. The plunder of Berne was now, however, within the grasp of the conqueror, and a demand of the unconditional admission of the French army within its walls was his insulting reply to this proposal. It is not easy to paint the internal convulsions of this devoted city at the moment of its summons. Rage, shame, terror, and jealousy, every furious passion was at its height; but few were agreed as to the objects against which their violence should first be directed. Some devoting themselves to their country, mingled as volunteers with the soldiery; others suspicious both of their commanders and their government, breathed vengeance against their fellow-citizens: and the French, the new regency, and the Generals were by turns condemned and menaced. During the night, the troops in occupation of Gümminen and Laupen, quitted their posts and rushed tumultuously into the streets of the capital. The magistrates endea-

voured to appease them, but in vain; their clamours were loud against their officers whom they denounced as traitors; and, in the morning, two of these unhappy victims, the Colonels Stettler and Ryhiner, were massacred by the bayonet. Remorse succeeded to the first transports of the gluttony of the assassins. They hastily returned to their post, and none fought with more distinguished valor on the morrow.

The Avoyer Steiguer, in his civil capacity, had combated to the latest moment that fatal system which accelerated the ruin of his country. On the establishment of the provisional regency, he acknowledged that his functions had expired, and gracefully surrendered the insignia of a dignity which had long since lost its influence, and had now become a mockery. By an ancient law of the state, the Avoyer on the day of battle had the privilege of chief military command; and to exercise this sole power, which now remained to him for the benefit of his country, he hurried to the field. The weight of 70 years, and the weakness of precarious health, were disregarded by this venerable patriot. Accompanied by his brother and his family, he bade a last adieu to Berne on the evening of the 4th, and hastened to share the fortunes of d'Erlach at Frauenbunnen.

The cannonade began at one in the morning on the left of the Bernese, at Neweneck, Laupen, Lengnau, and St. Gines. At the latter place the French were repulsed, and it was only before superior numbers that the Ber-

nese gave way in their other posts. The obstinacy of their defence was worthy of a better fate. In the battalion of Overland, which protected Lengnau, seven grand-children and three sons fell by the side of the Patriarch who led them to the field. The carnage in the ranks exceeded 800, and many of these were women. At break of day a strong reinforcement arrived, and the attack was recommenced by General Graffenreid, with fury. No force could withstand the torrent of the Swiss charge; and the French were driven over three leagues of ground, with the loss of two thousand men, and most of their artillery.

It was not till a later hour, five in the morning, that Schawenb rg attacked Frauenbunnen at once in front and flank. His numbers tripled that of the Bernese; he was provided with horse artillery, an instrument of war as yet unknown to his opponents; and against 400 irregular horse he arrayed 2000 well-appointed cavalry. Steiguer and d'Erlach were every where in the midst of the fire; and by their actions, not less than by their words, encouraged their little band of heroes. But all this profusion of valor was uselessly lavished; the post was turned, and they were compelled to fall back slowly upon Urteren. Every step of ground was tracked by blood, and this not of men only. Not fewer than 300 women were found in this part of the Swiss ranks, rudely armed with various instruments of husbandry, and two-thirds of these perished in the conflict. Urteren also was won by the French, but a more

favourable post presented itself at Grauholtz, a woody hill, covering the roads which diverge to Zurich and Berne, and protected on the right by a precipitous mountain. The combat on this spot was yet more murderous than heretofore: and for nearly three hours all attempts of the French were repulsed, till the slight breastwork which protected the defenders being destroyed by artillery, and their flank turned by a party which had scaled the rock, they rallied for a fourth time about a mile in the rear of this station. A fifth and last battle was fought under the very gates of Berne. Here on the open plain every discharge of cannon levelled whole ranks to the earth, and piles of dead indiscriminately heaped, men, children, women, and cattle, were the only impediments which now offered themselves to the cavalry, whose charge was to complete the slaughter.

The Burghers of the capital had listened with anxious alarm to the cannonade which hourly approached nearer to their walls. From these, they were eye-witnesses of the last of this series of battles. Despair was in every heart at its result. Resistance was manifestly impossible, and the gates were thrown open to the conquerors upon a verbal promise of respect to persons and property. The concluding act of the regents was in unison with all those which had preceded it; and as if resolved to palsy the little remaining strength of their country, they forwarded orders to the victorious division of the left, which was advancing rapidly on Fribourg, to halt and desist

from hostilities. The news of the surrender of the capital followed quickly on these orders, and roused again that spirit of fury and insubordination which had been calmed by partial victory. Their officers one more became objects of indiscriminate vengeance, and the Adjutants-General Crousaz and Gummoens were destroyed by the madness of the enraged assassins.

A similar fate was reserved for the noble and unhappy d'Erlach. His wish had been to fall in the battle, of the fatal termination of which he could feel but little doubt. *I see the rising of the sun*, he observed to his aid-de-camp at the first break of morning, *but I shall never more behold its setting*. When the rout became general, and all further exertion was hopeless, he endeavoured to find his way towards the Lake of Thun, to the south-east of which the valleys of Hasli and Oberland offered an impregnable retreat amid mountains and glaciers. In these a stand might be made at all times against the invaders; and with this view, magazines to a large extent had been provided in its fastnesses, and a precautionary dépôt had been filled with arms, treasure, provisions, and artillery. Covered with blood and dirt, abandoned on all sides, and separated from his friend Steiguer, to whom he had communicated his intention, d'Erlach reached the village of Munsingen, about half way on his proposed route, with difficulty, but without interception by his pursuers. At this point his person was recognised, and he was seized by some of the straggling murderers,

yet reeking from the massacre at Gumminen. They tied him to a cart, and were conveying him in bitter mockery to Berne, when a second band of ruffians frustrated their intention, and rushing in with savage cries, butchered their victim by repeated stabs. An officer who had joined him in his retreat, implored the life of his General, and shared his fate. He fell dead by his side, pierced with seventeen wounds.

This scene of blood must be chiefly attributed to French agency. Especial pains had been taken to persuade the Bernese army that they were betrayed by their commanders; and the wretched perpetrators, soon after its occurrence, stated in palliation of a murder for which they then endured the bitterest remorse, that the French had shewn them letters forged to resemble d'Erlach's own hand, in which he promised first to lead his countrymen to battle, and then to betray them.

Steiguer was more fortunate in his attempt to gain the same mountainous asylum. Under the guidance of a faithful soldier he passed through groupes of enraged and drunken peasants, and even through the light troops of the enemy, which were scouring the country, till he reached the borders of the Lake of Thun. Here he was overcome by fatigue, and sinking at the foot of a tree, he slept for several hours, unknown, and therefore unmolested by the French dragoons. Having crossed the lake, he took refuge in the canton of Underwalden: but even here his residence was insecure;

nor was he permitted to repose till he gained the Austrian dominions*.

No violence which a conquering army can inflict upon a vanquished country was spared to the miserable inhabitants of the vicinity of Berne; and the horrors of the few days succeeding its capture are too painful and too odious to be detailed. Lust, cruelty, and rapine were glutted to their fullest height; and the blood and smoke of desolated villages deformed the face of this lately smiling country. In the city itself, plunder was the chief object: and Brune seized indiscriminately on all public and private wealth which fell within his grasp. The National Treasury, which is said to have contained more than half a million in specie, magazines, granaries, the arsenal, 300 pieces of cannon, and 40,000 stand of arms were among the first sequestrations. The dépôts in Oberland were betrayed; and a menace of invasion, accompanied with the customary promise of independence and liberty, won them from the credulous mountaineers to whose protection they had been intrusted. To complete the disgrace of Switzerland, orders were issued for a general disarming of the nation.

At the close of March the command of Brune terminated, and he was transferred to the army of Italy. His civil power was vested in the hands of a succession of

commissaries who completed the impoverishment he had begun. Le Carlier commenced his jurisdiction by imprisoning eleven magistrates in the citadel of Strasburg, as sureties for the sequestrations which he was about to demand. He then imposed a contribution of 100,000 crowns on Friburg, and 800,000 livres on Berne; and on his quitting the country, fifteen millions of livres in addition were levied in different proportions on the five cantons, Berne, Friburg, Lucerne, Soleure, and Zurich†. Rapinat, who took his place, exceeded him in avarice of plunder. He first affixed his seal to all the public treasuries, and then extended his requisitions to individuals; 750,000 livres were extorted from three Abbeys; the Patrician families of Berne were compelled to contribute six; and from those of Friburg, Lucerne, Soleure, and Zurich, seven were accumulated by threats and violence.

The Constitution, which the Parisian cabinet framed for Switzerland, portioned the whole country into twenty-two departments as an indivisible Republic. Two legislative assemblies, composed of four senators and eight counsellors deputed by each department, were to meet at Arau: and out of these bodies five Directors, in whose hands the Executive power was lodged, were to be annually elected. Thus assimilated to France itself, the representatives of ten departments‡

* Steiguer, after various unavailing attempts to restore his country to liberty, died at Augsburgh in December, 1799.

† Berne six millions, Zurich three, the others two a piece.

‡ Argau, Basle, Berne, Friburg, Leman, Lucerne, Oberland, Schaffhausen, Soleure, and Zurich.

held their first sitting on the 12th of April. The remainder hesitated, or refused the summons.

Geneva, whose unceasing turbulence well merited the subjugation which it had brought down after a long series of changes and convulsions, was occupied by 1600 French, who, under the pretext of marching through the city, established themselves in it as a garrison. The influence of the bayonet speedily adjusted the terms of union, and her formal incorporation with France was proclaimed on the 16th of April.

The invitation to the new Assembly at Arau was peremptorily rejected by the five cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris. The same spot which had given birth to the first Helvetic confederacy, was again to be consecrated by another declaration of independence; and the impressive scene which Brunnen had witnessed in 1315, was renewed by the mountaineers of its vicinity after a lapse of nearly 500 years. At this spot the delegates of the five states entered into solemn mutual assurances, that they never would receive law from a stranger, nor abandon, without resistance, their national government; and commissioners were despatched, (April 5th) to Schawenbêrg and Le Carlier, with the intention of proceeding to Paris, to present a remonstrance, as soon as the permission of these local authorities should be obtained. Passports were refused to the commissioners, and they were haughtily dismissed. They were informed that the express will of the Directory had already been made known to them; that resistance to it was vain;

and that the interests of Switzerland demanded their submission. Placards at the same time were largely dispersed, by which the priests of the hostile districts were made responsible with their heads for public tranquillity; and the acceptance of the Constitution, within twelve days, was peremptorily enjoined.

Nor was it on proclamations only that Schawenbêrg relied for success. He prohibited all intercourse with the districts which he termed insurgent, and endeavoured to reduce them in the first instance by the slow, but certain attacks of famine. But privation and menace were alike fruitless against the mountaineers, and tended only to inflame the passions which were already kindling. Every recollection with which the history of their country abounded was called to minister to the service of freedom. Priests were not wanting to invoke the anger of heaven upon him who refused to arm for his liberty and religion, nor prophets to foretell the success of him who girt himself to the contest. The tree of liberty was associated in abhorrence with the cap of Gesler. *We acknowledge no other master but God*, was the cry of the Schwitzers in their assembly; *and we will serve no other: we have steel, hands, and the example of our Fathers*.

Schwitz was at this time the centre of the alliance. A council of war, consisting of six members, was framed in this canton, to which the conduct of active measures was committed, and which claimed obedience by virtue of the oath of fidelity which each individual had already sworn to his

country. Any apologist of the new Constitution was declared guilty of High Treason, every man capable of bearing arms was called to military exercise, and the infirm and aged were directed to labour on the fortifications. The forfeiture of citizenship was inflicted as a penalty upon such absentees, as being within the limits of Switzerland, refused to return to their native homes. No excitement by which popular enthusiasm could be awakened was neglected; for in the approaching struggle, the valor of desperation was singly to supply disparity of numbers, want of experience, and ignorance of military tactics. The convents poured forth missionaries to the ranks; standards laden with relics, and with images of saints, were consecrated by their hands; and the battalions, to which they had been presented, marched to the field chaunting patriotic songs, to the sound of warlike music. Marianus Herzog, Rector of our Lady of the Hermits, and Paul Styger, a Capuchin, whose influence was most extensive among the Schwitzers, daily harangued a crowd of greedy auditors. The latter rode on horseback in his religious habit, a brace of pistols were in his girdle, in one hand was a crucifix which he called the genuine tree of liberty, and in the other was a sword. Every movement of the people announced the strong current of national feeling, and those

who had hitherto guided it, were not now backward to profit by its flood.

The united forces of the five cantons scarcely exceeded 10,000 men, and even as to the disposal of these, a fluctuation of counsels had already been manifested. Protracted war was hopeless, and nothing but some rapid and brilliant success seemed to promise a chance of deliverance. On these grounds, the Council of War determined rather to meet, than to await the enemy, whose first retrograde step they knew would be the signal for a general insurrection of the natives, and massacre of the French.

The army moved in three divisions: the right wing, under Colonel Paravicini, was to invade the canton of Zurich, and the free bailliwicks *. The centre, under Aloys Reding, Landshauptmann of Schwitz, was to occupy the town of Lucerne †, and the left, under Major Hausser, having penetrated through the valley of Hasli, was to take possession of Brienz and Thun ‡. The left and right wings advanced upon their respective points on the 28th of April, and on the following day Lucerne, after a short parley, opened its gates. The first act of the troops after entering this town, was to pile their arms under the guard of a few centinels, and to repair to the celebration of mass in the church. The tree of liberty was then overthrown amid

* It was composed of 600 men of Glaris, 400 of Sargans, 600 of La Marche, 402 of Gaster, 200 of Uznach, 500 of Schwitz, and 600 of the subject farms and villages. In all, 3302 fighting men.

† The centre was composed of 2400 men of Schwitz, 750 of Zug, and 500 of Unterwalden. The left of 800 of Unterwalden, 600 of Uri, 400 of Schwitz, 54 of the little Republic of Gersau, and 400 of Glaris.

loud shouts, and the soldiers scattered over the town surrendered themselves to intoxication, and in spite of their late devotional exercises, committed several acts of excess. But these disorders were soon quelled by an announcement that the French were already in possession of Zug, which had been compelled to accept the Constitution, and were threatening Zurich and the frontiers of Schwitz. Lucerne was hastily abandoned, the centre fell back upon Kusunacht, the left was ordered to Obwalden, and the right still to maintain itself at Rapperschwyl.

The 30th of April, and two following days, witnessed a series of engagements on the whole line, contested with great obstinacy, but generally to the disadvantage of the confederates. On the north side of the lake of Zurich Rapperschwyl was stormed and pillaged; and though the French were at first repulsed at Richsterschwyl, their artillery in the end was irresistible. The centre retired, though with slow steps, and every Swiss, as Schawenb rg admitted in his announcements of victory, *fought like a C sar*. One among many similar anecdotes, may be accepted as a specimen of the feeling by which the mountaineers were animated. *Courage, comrade*, was the address of a French officer to Hausser, whom he found wounded and bleeding on the field. *It is not courage, but strength that fails me*, was the reply, and the voice of the whole army spoke in these words.

Aloys Reding now found himself with little support but that of his own faithful Schwitzers. With them, however, no past reverses

had diminished enthusiasm. Women and girls employed themselves in dragging the cannon, taken at Lucerne, over the most frightful roads. They adopted as a sort of uniform, a bunch of white ribbons, fastened round the head: many of them were armed, and such as could procure no weapons bore clubs. On the evening of the 1st of May, Reding harangued his troops as they rested on their arms in silence. *Death and no retreat* were his concluding words; and as he uttered them two men stepped from the ranks, and extending their hands to their chief, swore fidelity in the name, and amid the assenting shouts of their companions.

The 2nd and 3rd of May were days of continued fighting. The pass of Mount Ezel had been committed to 600 men under Paul Styger, and was the key not only of the present position, but of all in the rear. Reding mistrusted this priest, and unfortunately was right in his suspicions. He abandoned his post without firing a shot. The Swiss in all other quarters were successful whenever led to the charge, and Morgarten once again witnessed a temporary and partial triumph over invasion. But overwhelming numbers, and a well-served artillery, could not ultimately be withstood. Surrounded on all sides, though beaten on none, the resistance which they had hitherto offered was sufficient to awe the enemy into a grant of honorable terms, but if persisted in, could only terminate in utter destruction.

The magnificent Benedictine Abbey, at Einsidlin, was in pos-

session of the French. It had previously been stripped of all its treasure, and Notre Dame des Hermites herself, the image of the Madonna, to which credulity ascribed so many miracles, was not forgotten by the Monks in their retreat. One holy brother only was found in the cloysters; and Schawenbérgh, whether irritated by a disappointed hope of plunder, or by the distinguished part which the ecclesiastics had acted against him, ordered the deserted pile to be levelled with the ground. It was from these quarters that a capitulation was proposed on the evening of the battle. The terms were simple; that the French should withdraw from the limits of Schwitz and Glaris, that liberty of worship should be respected, that such parts of the cantons as had not yet been occupied by the French should retain their arms, and that the new Constitution should be adopted within 24 hours.

At noon, on the 4th of May, an assembly was convoked at Schwitz, to consider these proposals. All the people came armed as to the field of battle, and every face was impressed with a look of the most intense anxiety. Before the commencement of their deliberations, the Landamman Schueller, as President for the occasion, recited a prayer, and invoked the assistance of Heaven on their counsels. The capitulation was then read, and Aloys Reding, having briefly described the condition to which they were now reduced, advised its adoption. Hitherto the meeting had been calm, but when the moment of final decision arrived, a deep

murmur arose, and gradually swelled into a tumultuous clamour. Differing opinions, delivered in no gentle terms, were heard on every side; loud contrasts of their own defeats, with the triumphs of their ancestors; zealous appeals to religion; bitter accusations for the past; fearful enquiries for the future; and vehement attestations of the oath which had pledged them to death rather than to submission. The storm increased with every moment of discussion, and swords were already drawn when Schueller motioned to speak. Every head was uncovered at the instant, and silence was insensibly restored. He pressed upon his hearers the necessity of mutual agreement, the desperation of their circumstances, and the honorable nature of the proposed treaty. He showed them that their oath had been taken for the protection of their religion, and that their religion being no longer endangered, they were consequently relieved from their oath; and he concluded by again praying for the guidance and illumination of the Almighty. These, and similar arguments, after a few interruptions, produced tranquillity. The vote was put, and scarcely more than one hundred voices objected to the capitulation.

The campaign had been bloody to the French in proportion to the shortness of its duration: and the Swiss had fought with such unexampled obstinacy, that on their side the numbers killed, in most instances, very far exceeded those of the wounded. The troops of the Waldstaeten alone lost 236 men killed, and only 195 wounded.

Uri and Underwalden made separate treaties; but their sullen alliance was extorted by compulsion, and therefore could be insured only by the continued pressure of that force which had first obtained it. The Directory on the other hand expressed some displeasure at the moderation exhibited by Schawenbérgh. But that General had stronger grounds on which he might form a correct estimate of the temper of his opponents, than the Executive which employed him. *Had you fallen into my hands I should have hanged you*, he observed to Aloys Reding, when they exchanged the capitulation. *I should have done the same by you* was the undaunted reply of the Patriot. With this spirit of unsatiated aggression on the one hand, and of unwilling submission on the other, little pretext was wanting for the renewal of the contest. The Helvetic Assembly at Arau proposed the administration of a general civic oath of allegiance to the new Constitution. Underwalden and Schwitz appealed to the terms of their treaty with Schawenbérgh, which they considered final, and sent deputies to him at Lucerne. By these they repeated solemn assurances of all devotion compatible with independence, they renewed their promise of fidelity to France, they spoke of their religion and their liberty as their sole possessions, and they resolutely declined conformity to the ordinance. Schawenbérgh dismissed them with menaces, he termed their districts rebellious, he demanded the surrender of nine of their leaders, among whom were to be three ecclesiastics, alive

or dead; and he threatened, in case of non-compliance, that the punishment of their obstinacy should be held out as a terrible example of vengeance to the whole world.

Schwitz, and the upper district of Underwalden, were intimidated by these declarations. The lower district persevered in resistance, and deliberately prepared for the approaching extermination which it preferred to slavery and dishonour. Entrenchments were thrown up on the borders of the lake, and at the entrance of the valley by Stantz, within which were placed their women, children, and cattle. Fifteen hundred mountaineers, the whole population which could bear arms marched to their defence, and awaited the advance of the invaders, who hurried rapidly over the mountains in numerous separate columns, and across the lake in armed vessels. On the first of the terrific days of this attack, September the 8th, the French were repulsed. On the second, 500 of their troops were sunk in two vessels, and for a time their progress was arrested. But the neighbouring heights were gained, the entrenchments were carried by the bayonet, the rear of the Swiss was exposed, and after a ferocious conflict of thirteen hours numerical force prevailed. Then began the carnage. With their works stormed, inclosed in a narrow défile, and surrounded by more than ten times their numbers, flight, if it had been possible, was still unthought of by the Underwaldeners. Iron wedges, fragments of rocks, clubs, pikes, shattered musquets, even the mutilated limbs of the wound-

ed were used when more regular weapons became unserviceable, or were wanting. An irregular crowd of all ages, and both sexes, armed and unarmed, fought without order, and without leaders, against well-disciplined troops, supported by powerful artillery. Still on both sides the destruction was most terrible. The French, exasperated by a resistance without parallel, neither wished nor dared to spare, and an indiscriminate massacre of every thing which had life took place through the valley. The town of Stantz sprinkled with its beautiful cottages and well-built edifices was burnt and pillaged, and at night-fall only sixteen houses remained of that city, which at sun-rise had counted 5000 inhabitants. In the midst of this relentless havock, 200 Schwitzers, roused by the cannonade, hastily armed themselves, and forced the post of Brunnen. The flames of Stantz guided them to the field on which they fell to a man.

Such was the fate of the mountaineers of Underwalden. Schawenbêrg wrote to the Directory, that *they were rebels whom it was necessary to subdue*; the assembly at Arau congratulated him on the massacre, and assured him that he *deserved well of the Helvetic nation*. The calamities of this district were terminated in a single day, but the remainder of their country continued long after to endure the grinding tyranny which earlier precaution, or more united counsels might have enabled them effectually to resist. The fall of Underwalden completed the subjugation of Switzerland. Of its dependent states only the Grisons escaped incorporation with France, by an expedient which history pronounces to be the prelude to another species of conquest. They threw themselves on the protection of Vienna, and called in a garrison of Austrian troops. But the events, subsequent to this proceeding, belong to another portion of our work.

CHAPTER IV.

Residence of Bonaparte at Paris. Jealousy of the Directory. Army of England. Improbability of the Success of Invasion. Probable Motives of the Design upon Egypt. Preparations at Toulon. Riot at Vienna. Bernadotte quits that Capital. Use made of the Incident by Bonaparte. Coldness of the Directory. Numbers of the Armament. It sails. Capture of Malta. Dissolution of the Order. Plunder of the Island. Landing in Egypt. Storming of Alexandria. Sufferings of the French in crossing the Desert. Defeat of their Flotilla, and Victory over the Mameloucs at Schebreki. Advance of Mourad Bey. Battle of the Pyramids. Mourad's Retreat. Exaggerated Statements of Bonaparte. His Entrance of Cairo. Menaces of the Beys. Expedition against the Caravan of Mecca. Dispersion of the Caravan. Defeat of the French Cavalry at Salahieh. Mourad continues his Retreat to Syria. Bonaparte's Return to Cairo. Earl of St. Vincent despatches Nelson to look after the

French. The Fleet driven into St. Pietro. Reinforced. Sails to Alexandria. To Caramania. Returns to Naples. Sails to the Morea. And again to Alexandria. Position of the French in the Bay of Aboukir. Comparative Force of the two Fleets. Nelson's Plan of Attack. The Battle. Total Defeat of the French. Honors bestowed on Nelson. He returns to Naples.

THE career of glory which Bonaparte had run in Italy, and the enthusiasm which his victories had inspired, awakened in him yet more ambitious hopes. The Revolution of the 4th of September had been accelerated by the addresses of his army; and the triumph of that day augured favorably for the more extensive projects of their General. His residence at Paris, during the winter of 1797, was distinguished by a succession of public fêtes and private entertainments; but he perceived, with disgust, that as his person became familiar to the applauding crowds, the fervour of their admiration decreased; and he observed, perhaps, with somewhat of alarm, that the popularity which he so much coveted roused suspicions in the Directory. Sufficiently powerful to excite the fears of the existing government, he had not yet attained that degree of power which enabled him to defy it; and under the veil of profound respect and devotion with which he was professedly regarded, it required little penetration to discover the hazard to which he was exposed by a jealousy which could scarcely be deemed causeless. To prevent the development of his plans, he appeared to court seclusion: whenever he shewed himself in public, it was with an air of studied simplicity, as if oppressed by the lavish honors and extrava-

gant applause which accompanied his presence. His hours were chiefly devoted to assemblies of men of science; and his attention was ostensibly engrossed by the sittings of the National Institution; a body which had been raised by the Convention, in one of its fits of prodigality, upon the ruins of the Academy, and which, in great measure, directed its pursuits and views to similar objects.

It is to a consciousness of the hollow foundation upon which his present aggrandizement was built that we must refer the facility, with which he permitted himself to be nominated the destined commander of the expedition long meditated against England: and it is probable, that however little Bonaparte himself intended to assume this command in the end, the Directory in the outset, were serious in preparing an armament for this purpose.

To Bonaparte, such an enterprise, under the present circumstances of France, could present little attraction; for his judgment must have maturely weighed the greatness of the perils to be overcome against the rich harvest of glory which his ambition might sometimes whisper was to be reaped by success. The menace of invasion must always be useful to France in her contests with England; and there can be little doubt of the practicability of a

descent on the British shores. But, in the present instance at least, the materials by which victory were afterwards to be ensured, were not in the hands even of the greatest master of the art of war. For this purpose, it was requisite that he should not only possess the full control of the Executive, which would place all the resources of France at his immediate disposal, but there was also a necessity that he should previously create a new marine, which might enable him to cope upon its own element with a people which had long appropriated the ocean to itself by the right of conquest; and had fixed, as it were, its permanent habitation upon the waves which were its chief bulwark and protection. The navy of France was utterly disorganized, and its revival could not be the work of a moment. Long experience, diligent attention, and unsparing expenditure were the only methods by which it could be restored; and for the application of these remedies, peace abroad and tranquillity at home were indispensably demanded. With these reflections present to his mind, it was little in accordance with the sagacity and the foresight of Bonaparte to undertake a project to which his means were confessedly incommensurate. Even at a subsequent time, when in possession of an empire greater than any which had been consolidated under one sceptre since the days of Charlemagne, it by no means appears certain that his serious views were directed to the invasion of England: and it is probable that he rather sought to harass her by perpetual threats,

than to put these threats in execution.

In 1798, we must therefore believe that his object in accepting the nominal command of this expedition, was more to turn the anxious desire of the Directory to be freed from his presence into a channel which might bear him upwards triumphantly on its stream, than to permit himself to be overwhelmed in the hazardous depths to which they were preparing to commit him.

Of the immediate causes which led to the widely different disposal of the vast armament which the Directory had prepared, it is scarcely possible for any, but those who were within the sanctuary of the cabinet, at the time, to speak with precision. It is well known that the occupation of Egypt was not a scheme by any means novel to the Councils of France. During the monarchy it had been a favourite speculation among political theorists; and plans for the annexment and subjugation of this country to the rule of the Christian King, had been proposed and discussed by more than one minister since the reign of Louis XIV. We shall not inquire how far the successive Parisian cabinets were deterred from attempting this remote acquisition, by a sense of the violation of good faith which would attend it; and by the infamy of attacking a people, whom nature had almost rendered incapable of offering offence by the distance to which she had assigned their boundaries, and who besides were in ancient alliance with the crown of France: but the state of European relations, and the numerous calls of a much

closer nature to which France had been exposed, during the last century, will sufficiently account for her abstinence.

The faction now in the possession of power was free from all political remorse, and adopted, as the leading principle of its government, that success brought with it absolution from crime. Disengaged for the moment from many of its opponents, and under no immediate apprehension from the German empire or from Italy, it had not only at its disposal a large military force flushed with victory, and panting for fresh triumphs, but its own safety required that this force should not long remain idle. For, exclusive of the dangers always resulting to the Civil power from a standing army when unemployed, the conquerors of Italy were under the influence of a chief who had treated on an equality with princes, whose ambitious hopes were even now but partially concealed, and who was little likely to decline from the zenith of his glory into the unobtrusive duties of a private citizen.

His troops, during their occupation of Rome, had already shewn symptoms of discontent not to be misunderstood: and they had claims upon their employers which it was equally impossible to satisfy, and difficult to put aside. The government in its inconsiderate gratitude had promised them a milliard, (43,750,000*l.*) as a recompence for their labours, and a compensation for the surrender of plunder: and this sum, which was hungrily demanded, was to be disbursed from exhausted coffers, no longer adequate to

defray even the current and ordinary expenditure.

From whatever quarter the attempt upon Egypt was suggested, the motives which induced the Directory to embrace it are sufficiently obvious. Nor is it more difficult to determine upon those which guided Bonaparte in accepting the command of this expedition. His hopes might prompt him to believe that success, leading to far more brilliant results, was to be purchased there with far less difficulty than in an attack upon England. He might regard the East as a theatre presenting a wider range to his ambition than Europe, under its present circumstances, was ever likely to afford. He could not fail to perceive that his laurels, however fruitful in glory, had hitherto been barren of real power; that he had returned from the hard-won plains of Italy nothing more than a victorious General: the Turenne or the Condè, not the Cæsar of his times. Egypt, on the other hand, seemed to offer itself as the key to the subjugation of entire Asia, and furnished to imagination dreams of illimitable conquest. The re-establishment of the throne of Alexandria or Memphis, was but a single step in the mighty scheme. The Porte, on the one side, on the other the Mogul might become the ready vassals of the triumphant sword which should vanquish the Nile, and an empire, such as had hitherto been unknown and unattempted, might be the prize of the daring adventurer who understood how to profit by success. The real state of this miserable country was ill estimated in Europe. The exagger-

rated accounts of recent travellers had falsely represented it as abounding in all the necessities for colonization and commerce; as requiring only the impulse of a powerful hand to awaken it from its long slumber of barbarism; and as possessing energies in itself, by which, if rightly directed, the oriental world might once more be civilized and enlightened. Such a task accorded with the temper and the genius of Bonaparte; and if he believed in the possibility of its execution, we need look no farther for his reasons. If he was not so deceived, he must have viewed his absence as a temporary expedient required by the state of parties in France. He saw the necessity of withdrawing for a while from intrigues which might embarrass and entangle, without elevating or advancing him. No immediate field was open to military exertion in Europe. Popularity trembles on a breath, and might become extinct by his inaction. The experience of past convulsions suggested that it was the wisest policy to avoid, while they were collecting, the storms which it required no deep penetration to foresee, must ere long overthrow the present motley and fluctuating government: and he might prepare so to time his re-appearance, that, without encountering the brunt of the tempest, he might profit by it when it had discharged its fury.

The real object to which the great preparations of France were directed was sedulously concealed, and for a time it baffled the sagacity of conjecturers. England was the only power with which she remained at war, and the invasion

of that country was the ostensible pretext under which the voluntary donations of the patriotic were invited and employed; and when Bonaparte set forward to Brest on the 31st of March, even the most sceptical were convinced that this long projected invasion would in truth be attempted. But his stay was brief: and an event which occurred soon after his return to Paris, it is said, very nearly removed him from his command.

The negotiations which succeeded the treaty of Campo Formio, were proceeding slowly under the direction of the several Plenipotentiaries at Rastadt: and Bernadotte, meanwhile, had been invested with the functions of Ambassador of France at the Court of Vienna. On the 16th of April, the people of that capital prepared to celebrate an anniversary festival, to commemorate the arming of their volunteers. Bernadotte represented that this ceremony would be highly offensive to the Directory, and demanded its suspension. His remonstrances, as may be supposed, were ineffectual; and he resolved, as he could not prevent the festival, to convert it in some degree to his own purpose. His household was instructed on the same day to make ready a banquet, in the hotel of embassy, in honor of the victories of France. Revolutionary emblems were displayed at his gates; and, in the court yard, floated a tri-coloured standard inscribed with the watch-words, LIBERTY AND EQUALITY. Towards the close of day the populace shewed signs of tumult; and, as their indignation increased, the doors of the hotel were forced,

several shots were fired by its inmates with fatal effect, and after a riot of five hours, during which the Austrian troops refused to interfere, the Ambassador's furniture was pillaged and destroyed.

Bernadotte quitted Vienna instantly: but the Directors were unwilling to involve themselves in the quarrel. They were not yet prepared for a renewal of war with the emperor, and they listened to the Ambassador's angry representations with silence and unconcern. In the end a conference was appointed between two deputies of the respective nations; but when this took place, it was not even ostensibly directed to the subject of Bernadotte's complaint, and the matter was in the end neglected and forgotten.

When the news of this occurrence arrived at Paris, Bonaparte declared to the Directors that he should suspend his departure to Toulon, the port selected as the dépôt of the left wing of the nominal army of England, till the intelligence from Vienna should be of a more pacific nature. In the mean time, anticipating a rupture, which would have wholly changed the destination both of himself and his armament, he assumed a tone of command in the deliberations of the Executive. The Directory for the present was resolved not to break with Austria, and, alarmed at the haughty demeanor of the General, issued orders for his departure on the 4th of May. Bonaparte hesitated, and even threatened to tender his resignation. La Reveilleire is said to have presented him with a pen, at the same time observing that such a step required nothing more than

the form of his signature. On the morrow Bonaparte quitted Paris, and his words at setting off, if they are reported truly, were almost prophetic: "The fruit is not yet ripe, but I shall return to pluck it in due season."

Some expressions in his letters from Egypt, which were afterwards intercepted by the English cruisers, confirm the suspicion that he considered the expedition in which he was engaged as tedious and uncertain; that he only adopted it amid a choice of difficulties; and that he had already resolved to secure his return, after attending it through some of its opening operations.

The main armament was prepared at Toulon; but three minor divisions were assembled at Genoa, at Ajaccio in Corsica, and at Civita Vecchia. The land force in all consisted of 36,000 men, officered by most of the veterans who had shared in the triumphs of Italy. Among them were names which have since become "household words" in the annals of our times: Berthier, Kleber, Desaix, Menou, Bon, Regnier, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Lasnes, Murat, Davoust. Attached to the expedition, was a corps little used to follow the march of an army. Monge and Berthollet, already distinguished for their care of the works of art plundered from Italy, had been instructed to organize a body of men of learning, whose researches were to be directed to the natural wonders and the antiquities of Egypt. This committee of the Arts and Sciences, as it was termed, was distributed into various classes: Geometry, Astronomy, Mechanics, Chemistry, Mineralogy,

Botany, Zoology, Surgery, Pharmacy, Antiquities, Architecture, Geography, Sculpture, Engraving, and Music, each was assigned to numerous professors. Engineers, Designers, and Printers, presided over an extensive apparatus adapted to their several pursuits; and the most celebrated watchmaker in Paris was invited to enrol his name on this list of *Savans*. Thirteen ships of the line, one mounting 120, and two others 80 guns each, five frigates of 40 guns, three of 36, a long train of armed vessels, and a flotilla of 400 transports was provided for the conveyance of the best equipped army which had ever embarked from the shores of France.

The proclamation which Bonaparte issued on his arrival at Toulon, May 9, was purposely couched in ambiguous language. It addressed itself to one of the wings of the army of England. It spoke of an approaching maritime war, of the mighty destinies which were now to be fulfilled under the eyes of Europe, for the prosperity of France, the happiness of mankind, and the glory of the heroes employed: and in the concluding paragraph, it gave an obscure hint of the object of the armament, by stating that the Republic, already the arbitress of Europe, was about to become that of the ocean, and of the most remote nations.

Contrary winds prevented the squadron from sailing till the 20th of May, when it coasted the shores of Provence to Genoa; then, slowly penetrating the channel between Corsica and Italy, it effected a junction with its other divisions, as it advanced; and on

the morning of the 9th of June, it cast anchor in sight of Malta.

The possession of this island was indispensable as a preliminary to the occupation of Egypt. Its government, in the course of the Revolution, had frequently manifested opposition to Republican principles, but had as yet avoided the commission of any act which could justify the open hostility of the Directors. The disposition of the knights had been sounded by an agent sent clandestinely some months before the appearance of the French; and, although no avowed negotiation took place, there can be little doubt that large funds and still larger promises were expended in buying over the majority of the order.

In proportion as the occupation of Malta was desirable at all, so it was absolutely necessary that it should be attained without delay. The English could not long remain ignorant of the designs and the progress of the French expedition; and it was not on these coasts that Bonaparte wished to engage for the first time with an enemy, who, whatever might be the result of the battle, could scarcely fail to cripple his means of conveyance to the ulterior object of his wishes.

A pretext was readily found for hostility. The French demanded permission to enter the port to take in water and provisions, that is, virtually to take possession of the island. On receiving a refusal, their troops were immediately disembarked. A shew of resistance was at first made, but the disunion and the treachery of the greater part of the knights

rendered unavailable the courage and the fidelity of the few, who saw another Soliman in Bonaparte, and were willing to renew the glories of La Vallette in themselves. In two days, a shameful capitulation was signed, by which the knights surrendered to the French all right of dominion over the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino. The claims of the grand master for compensation, in some other principality, were referred to the congress of Rastadt; and, pending these discussions, an annuity of 300,000 francs, (12,500*l.*) was guaranteed to him, with two years payment in advance. To the remainder of the order a residence in France was offered, and a small pension little exceeding 30*l.* a year for each.

A few days sufficed to organize a new government on the customary Republican model. The islands were distributed into separate cantons, each containing a population of 3000 souls. Each canton was regulated by a municipal body of five members and a judge. A national guard was instituted, equality of ranks was proclaimed, slavery was abolished, and, with a prospective view to the conquest of Egypt, all Turkish slaves found on the island were retained prisoners of war, as hostages for the French or Maltese who might be in possession of the Beys.

Thus terminated the existence of an order, which, for three centuries had maintained itself in the undisputed and independent sovereignty of an island gained, in the first instance, as the reward of its valour. The treasure which

the occasional piety or munificence of every power in Europe had contributed to the adornment of the Maltese temples, was rudely pillaged. The church of St. John in particular afforded a splendid booty. Innumerable images of saints were torn from their niches, and the precious metal by which the plunderers were allured was committed to the furnace. But the devotion of the chief inhabitants rescued from this profane ravage the twelve silver apostles which were the chief ornament of their choir. The ransom was an equivalent weight of money. Such relics as could be found were speedily divested of their gems and precious setting; and a golden lamp suspended in the nave, which is said to have weighed 230 pounds, was converted into ingots, and subsequently coined into sequins of Cairo.

In the dock yards were found two ships of war, one of them yet upon the stocks; a single frigate, and four galleys. The arsenal supplied the conquerors with 1200 pieces of cannon, and 40,000 stand of arms. The maintenance of the island was committed to General Vaubois, with a garrison of 4000 men: and Bonaparte transmitted to France, by the hands of Baraguay d'Hilliers, the great standard of the order of St. John as the harvest of his victory. The envoy was instructed to lay this trophy at the feet of the Directory, with an assurance that Malta, the strongest place in Europe, and the heart of the Mediterranean, was annexed *for ever* to the Republic. But the prophecies which are hazarded

in the first moment of triumph, are not always the fruit of inspiration.

On the 20th of June the French lost sight of Malta, and on the 1st of the following month they cast anchor in the bay of Alexandria. The troops had been prepared for the task which now awaited them, by a proclamation dispersed among the fleet during the voyage from Malta. They were told that their present attempt was a sure prelude to the death-blow of England, that the fate of the Beys was already decided, and that a few days after the disembarkation they would cease to exist. The religious prejudices of the inhabitants were earnestly recommended to the indulgence of the soldiery; and they were urged, in the language of profane indifference, to extend the same toleration to Mahomet which they had already shewn to Moses and to Christ. The example of the Romans, as the protectors of all faiths alike, was pressed upon them for imitation: and their enthusiasm was awakened by a brief allusion to the magnificent associations which every step they were about to tread in Egypt could not fail to recall.

An English fleet had already shewn itself two days before the arrival of the French off the port of Alexandria; and, as its subsequent movements were unknown, Bonaparte, upon receiving this intelligence, determined to effect his landing without a moment's delay. In spite of a high surf and difficult shore, three divisions under Kleber, Menou, and Bon,

of the 11th at the tower of Marabou, about a league and a half from Alexandria. The landing was not completed till eleven at night, under a rolling sea and blowing wind, but no opposition was offered by the natives. On the following morning the city was invested. In the course of the march, not a few stragglers were cut off by the Arab cavalry and the Mameloucs, who hovered round, ever greedy and watchful for their prey; but no serious resistance was attempted till the army approached the walls. A garrison of 500 Janizaries, under the command of Scherif Seid Mohammed Coraim, defended the city with unavailing obstinacy. In the assault, Kleber, who directed his column in the front of Pompey's pillar, and Menou, who attacked a redoubt on the old port, were both wounded; and not fewer than 300 French fell on the ramparts. Their artillery had not yet been landed, but the works required no regular approaches. A straggling fire was continued from the windows and roofs of houses even after the enemy had gained possession of the city, and Bonaparte himself narrowly escaped death from a random shot. The soldiery enraged at this unusual warfare, and encouraged by their General, whose object, with a cruel but decisive policy, was to strike terror in his first engagement, hurried on to indiscriminate massacre; and during four hours the sword was dyed in the blood of every age and sex. Coraim, who had thrown himself with the small remnant of his garrison into the Pharos, surrendered

at discretion. He was treated with marked distinction: and on an assurance that the object of the expedition was only to recover Egypt from the usurpation of the Beys, and restore it to the dominion of the Porte, he took an oath of fidelity to the Republic, and resumed his functions, under the orders of Kleber, whose wound demanded repose, and who was left as commandant of the city.

In a proclamation, directed generally to the inhabitants of Egypt, on the day after the capture of Alexandria, Bonaparte avowed similar motives for his invasion. The Beys, as this extraordinary document insisted, had for a long time insulted France; but the hour of their chastisement had now arrived. The soldiers by whom it was to be inflicted, were said to reverence God and the Koran with a devotion which the Mameloucs never could equal; and they had proved themselves in truth to be sincere followers of the Prophet, for they had overthrown the Pope who perpetually excited war against all Mussulmen. Peace to the neutral, honor to their allies, and extermination to their opponents and the Mameloucs, concluded this unprecedented manifesto.

Rosetta soon participated in the fall of Alexandria; but as it surrendered without resistance, its treatment was milder. A flotilla, with artillery and provision, was directed to ascend the Nile from its port; and while the two leading Beys, Mourad and Ibrahim, were organizing their troops at Cairo, the invaders, on the 8th of July, the remainder of their army being landed, entered upon

a long and painful march across the desert. The division of Dessaix formed the vanguard; that of Regnier followed, and from the want of guides and from ignorance of the route, it endured the utmost extremity of suffering. But the whole march was a tale of horror. For seventeen days the troops were exposed for the most part on a pathless wilderness, to a sun from which there was no shelter, and to sands upon which every step seemed as on flame. During this period they never tasted bread: wine and brandy were equally wanting; and the few wells of brackish water with which they met, had been frequently exhausted, or filled up by the Arabs. A Louis d'or was offered and refused for a single glass. A scanty supply of water-melons, and gourds, formed the chief articles of subsistence; and at every step some fresh sufferer dropped, overpowered by hunger, thirst, heat, or fatigue. Night and day the whole body was under arms; and the Bedouins, who manœuvred incessantly around the flanks, took advantage of every halt or slightest confusion. No individual was secure at five and twenty paces distance from the main army; death was preceded in many cases by dishonor more intolerable than death, and the march was a perpetual battle. Forage was sought for in vain, and the horses subsisted on a limited allowance of beans and chopped straw. In many instances the officers fared worse than the common soldiers; for the small store of poultry, fruit, and grain, which the few miserable huts in their line of advance supplied was seized, in the

first fury of hunger, by the law of force, without distinction of rank; so that more than once, the commander-in-chief himself was without food for twenty hours. The cup of bitterness was poured out to its very dregs. Wretchedness was in every face; despair in every heart. If to retreat had not been equally hopeless as to proceed, entire corps would have abandoned their standards. "Horrible things were done," is the simple but powerful expression of an eye-witness and a sufferer. The blood of the dying was eagerly swallowed by those who yet lived: and many rushing up to their General, and exclaiming, *Voila ton Ouvrage*, blew out their brains in his presence.

Two days repose, if such it could be called, were first taken at Demenhour. On their route from this spot to Rahmaneh, while suffering under the extremity of thirst, their torments were heightened by the optical illusion of the *mirage*, that singular phenomenon of the desert, which presents delicious waters to the eye perpetually receding as the parched traveller advances to quaff them. On approaching the Nile at Rahmaneh, whole battalions dashed at once into its stream; and the cry of the 10,000 Greeks when they caught the first glimpse of the sea from the mountains of Armenia, was in a manner renewed in the impassioned congratulations of the French.

The flotilla which was ascending from Rosetta, moved with little regard to order. The navigation, at all times difficult, was now in many places impossible for vessels of large burden; for the

Nile had but just commenced its rising. Pilots were wanting, and the boats intermixed with each other, and entangled in the shoals, found themselves unexpectedly in the front of a Mamelouc camp at Schebreki. The stream in this spot is narrow, and the banks lofty. The flotilla was exposed to a plunging fire, and several djerms were sunk or driven on shore. The destruction of the whole squadron was inevitable but for the opportune arrival of the army.

A few huts on the flanks were seized as keys of the position which was rapidly taken up; and the troops, though overcome by thirst and toil, formed hastily in hollow squares, with the baggage in the centre, and artillery in the intervals of the five divisions. As the Mameloucs galloped up they were received by a destructive volley at half musquet shot; discharges of grape pursued them as they wheeled back, and when they rallied again, they were met by the bayonet. They drew off in the end defeated though undaunted, and renewed with more effect their system of desultory and harassing skirmish.

Mourad Bey heard the ill success of the first regular battle, in which his Mameloucs had been engaged, on his return from Cairo to Gizeh. Here he assembled five thousand horse, and encamping on the west bank of the Nile at the village of Embabeh, while Ibrahim remained on the opposite bank at Bulak, he resolved to await the advance of the French.

The march of the invaders was slow, and their privations

hourly increased. All communication with Alexandria had been long suspended, and the attack upon their flotilla had materially diminished the resources which they looked to it to supply. On the afternoon of the 21st of July they approached the Mamelouc camp. The pyramids of Gizeh were already in sight, when the horizon was darkened by clouds of horsemen, and a host of cavalry in glittering armour appeared forming on the plain. The French had marched from day-break, but their line was instantly formed; and Bonaparte resolved to embrace the Mamelouc camp in a semicircle by his five divisions, with each flank resting on the Nile. The time admitted but of few words, and such as he used were well adapted to the scene. "Soldiers," he exclaimed, pointing to the pyramids, "the eyes of forty centuries are fixed on you from those summits."

The divisions of Regnier and Desaix were ordered to advance on the right, between Gizeh and Embebeh; and against this movement the first charge of Mourad was directed. Giving their horses full rein, two thousand Mameloucs bore down like a torrent. But they were unacquainted with European tactics. As before, they were awaited immoveably, and, when within ten paces, a murderous running fire, with discharges of artillery, was poured in so decisively that more than 150 dropped at the single volley. Mourad unused to find infantry that could withstand him, returned a second time to the charge with as little success. After endeavouring to manœuvre on the rear, in which

design he was prevented by the cross fire of the other squares, he took post among some scattered palm-trees; and being dislodged from them by the light troops of the enemy, he retreated with all speed into Upper Egypt.

A hasty entrenchment had been thrown up by the Mameloucs in front of the village of Embabeh. Bon and Rampon were ordered to carry it. As they approached, the cavalry galloped out, and surrounding the division of the latter, threw it into confusion, and succeeded in cutting down several of his men. A shower of balls drove them back on the moment, and the French entering the entrenchment in rapid pursuit put part of its garrison to the sword, and forced the rest into the Nile. Few were able to reach the opposite bank, for such as escaped from the volleys which followed them were drowned in the river.

Ibrahim who was an inactive spectator of this defeat from his camp at Bulak, struck his tent at the conclusion of the battle, and retired towards Syria. Previously to his retreat he set fire to, and destroyed his flotilla at Gizeh; and as the French had no immediate means of crossing the Nile in pursuit, he succeeded in carrying off the greater part of his baggage.

Highly as these successes were vaunted by Bonaparte in his despatches to the Directory, they in fact afforded but little real increase to his military fame. His struggle had been with the deficiencies of the country, not with the hostility of the inhabitants: and if he could once accustom his army to the peculiar fatigue and

privation of an Egyptian campaign, there was little doubt, at present, of his triumph in the field. Thirty thousand French (notwithstanding the often renewed assertion that he fought against superior numbers) were under arms at the battle of the Pyramids*: Veterans trained by six years of continued victory, commanded by the most expert Generals, and supported by a formidable train of well-served artillery. Against these was arrayed the undisciplined valour of 6000 barbarian horse, without either military tactics, or the slightest knowledge of the art of war. They were truly described by one of their conquerors as men perfectly well mounted and well armed who came to be massacred. "We have had two battles," adds another eye-witness, "or rather we have had two butcheries." Such were the opinions of Bonaparte's officers unreservedly expressed in their private correspondence with European friends. The dangers and difficulties of their condition to which they were not less feelingly alive, increased the necessity on his part of exaggerating their victories: and it was a policy which from a deep knowledge of human nature, he adopted, with one exception, throughout his career.

Cairo was abandoned on the night after the battle, and a disposition to tumult manifested itself among its inhabitants. It was quieted by a proclamation on the

following morning announcing the assembly of a Divan; the French troops garrisoned the city in the course of the day; and Bonaparte, deferring his public entry, fixed himself in the palace of Mourad at Gizeh, where a few days were devoted to the organization of the future government of Egypt.

Neither Mourad nor Ibrahim was unemployed. They steadily rejected all overtures of accommodation, and met the French propositions with one unvaried reply, that they recognized no treaties between legitimate rights and unprovoked violence, and that they admitted no sovereign excepting the Porte. Preserving an attitude of menace, they intercepted all communications with Lower Egypt, and stimulated the spirit of revolt which had manifested itself from the moment of the ascent of the French army to Cairo. On the 27th of July, Bonaparte transferred his head-quarters to that city, and in a few days advanced with his cavalry ostensibly in pursuit of Ibrahim.

The real object of this expedition, however, was not merely the overthrow of the Bey. The caravan of Mecca, led by the Emir Hadgy, the prince of the pilgrims, was expected on its route; and the immense treasure which it conveyed, promised an overflowing reward for the toils of the soldiery. The pilgrims, terrified by the indistinct accounts of invasion which reached them, quitted the caravan, and hastily dispersed

* Fourteen demi-brigades, of 2,200 men each, seven regiments of cavalry of 400 each, and a corps of artillery, &c. of 2000 embarked at Toulon. The whole armament therefore consisted of 36,000 effective men; 4000 were left at Malta, 1800 at Alexandria, and 200 at Rosetta. So that 30,000 men crossed the desert.

themselves. In the confusion attendant upon their panic, some of the merchants were pillaged by their Arab escort, a few fell into the hands of the French, and the majority threw themselves on the protection of Ibrahim, who marched immediately on Salahieh. Near this post the Bey, for the first time, met his foes on equal terms. Bonaparte advanced by forced marches with his cavalry only; and the superiority of the Mamelouc horse, when opposed man to man, compelled him to retrace his steps with considerable loss. Ibrahim was satisfied with the repulse, and deeming pursuit imprudent, penetrated still farther through the desert to Syria, permitting the French, when they had rallied, to take possession of Salahieh, which formed the uttermost limit of their conquests.

On his return to Cairo from this unsuccessful foray, Bonaparte first learned the overwhelming disaster which his fleet had suffered at Aboukir. So completely were the communications in the hands of his enemies, that the news of the mighty naval victory of the English, which rendered the very existence of his army, for the future, most painful and uncertain, was twelve days in travelling a distance of 120 miles.

On the first intelligence of the great preparations at Toulon, the British were on the alert to discover their object. The Earl of St. Vincent was directed, if he thought fit, to employ the whole of his fleet on this service; and the squadron which he detached upon it was intrusted not less by his own choice, than at the sug-

gestion of the Admiralty to Sir Horatio Nelson. Orders at the same time were issued that any port in the Mediterranean should be considered hostile which refused supplies to his ships of war.

Nelson sailed from Gibraltar on the 9th of May, with the Vanguard, carrying his own flag, the Orion and Alexander, 74's; the Caroline, Flora, Emerald, and Terpsichore frigates; and the Bonne Citoyenne brig. Some damages, sustained in a violent gale off the gulph of Lyons, compelled him to refit in the Sardinian port of St. Pietro. Turin was at that time in possession of the French, and an objection was raised to his entering the port. He answered it by a spirited remonstrance; and anchoring in the harbour by extraordinary exertion was again ready for sea within four days. The delay in many respects was fortunáte. His frigates had been separated from him in the storm, and he was compelled to sail without them, but he received a large reinforcement which Earl St. Vincent had promptly despatched. The Culoden, Goliath, Minotaur, Defence, Bellerophon, Majestic, Zealous, Swiftsure, Theseus, and Audacious, 74's, and the Leander of 50 guns. With this addition to his strength, he did not, however, obtain any farther information of the enemy's course, and, accordingly, that which he himself was to follow, was committed wholly to his own judgment. The first certain intelligence which he received was that of the capture of Malta, and he formed a plan of attacking it while at anchor at Gozo. But he soon learned that

the enemy had quitted this island, and he concluded that Egypt was their destination. The want of frigates here pressed heavily upon him; for in his voyage to Alexandria, at which port he arrived on the 28th of June, he spoke but three vessels, and not one of them had heard of the French. The news of the surrender of Malta had reached the governor of Alexandria, and he was preparing himself for defence, not doubting that he was the next object of attack; but no hostile fleet had as yet shewn itself, and Nelson steered for Caramania, with a contrary wind.

Frustrated in his search here also, he returned to Sicily; and the neutral policy which the Neapolitans had resolved to observe, from fear of the Directory, well nigh deprived him of those supplies which were absolutely necessary for his future operations. The extraordinary influence which Lady Hamilton maintained at the Court of Naples overcame these scruples, and procured, by secret orders, all such stores as a voyage of six hundred leagues had made indispensable. On the 25th of July he sailed for the Morea, and in the gulph of Coron he heard, to his inexpressible joy, that the French had been seen, about four weeks before, shaping a south-easterly course. By steering direct for Candia Brueys had made an angular passage to Alexandria, while Nelson's pursuit of him had been direct. The compact order in which the English sailed, their want of frigates, and the haziness of the weather prevented the hostile fleets from discovering each other: though, by a subsequent

comparison of their separate journals, it was evident that the two squadrons must actually have crossed on the night of the 22nd of June,

On the 1st of August, about ten in the morning, the British fleet came in view of Alexandria, and a forest of masts, surmounted by the tri-coloured flag, was discovered towering above its port. Nelson, observes his biographer, for many preceding days had hardly taken either sleep or food: he now ordered his dinner to be served, while preparations were making for the battle of the next day, and when his officers rose from table, and went to their separate stations, he said to them, "Before this time to-morrow, I shall have gained a Peerage or Westminster Abbey." -

Bonaparte, by express orders under his own hand, had prohibited his Admiral, Brueys, from quitting the coast of Egypt. It was of importance to him to prevent all communication between the natives and Constantinople: and, unless he commanded the harbour, intelligence from the seat of government might prove the falsehood of his assertion that he acted in concert with the Porte, or advices from the seat of war might hasten the armament which sooner or later must be expected for the preservation of the invaded province. He might perhaps also be naturally unwilling to part from the only means of retreat, in case of failure, before he had secured a firmer establishment. The port of Alexandria, neglected and ruined, could not receive the French, and their line was anchored four leagues to the

East, in the bay of Aboukir. The headmost vessel was supposed to be moored as closely as possible to a shoal on the North-west, and the curve which the line formed on the opposite quarter prevented it from being turned on that side. In this position, according to the rash assertion of their own commissary, they might safely bid defiance to twice their force. In numbers they slightly exceeded, in weight of metal and in crew they were greatly superior to the British fleet. Nelson had thirteen 74's, and one 50 gun ship, carrying in all 1012 guns, and 8068 men. Brueys had the same number of ships of the line, but one mounted 120 guns, and two others 80; beside these he had four frigates. In the whole they carried 1170 guns, and 11,230 men*.

On the moment in which Nelson perceived the French position he determined upon his own method of attack; and founding it on the principle that where there was room for an enemy's vessel to swing the length of its cables, there must also be room for one of his own to sail between it and

the shore, he gave the signal for doubling on the French line. The Goliath led the van, and as the rest of the fleet advanced in silence, showers of shot and shells poured into the bows of the English, from the land batteries and the starboard broadsides of the enemy. The Goliath anchored inside by the second ship, the Conquerant, and in ten minutes shot away her mast. The Zealous disabled the Guerrier, which was the headmost, in less than twelve more. The Orion, having sunk a frigate as she passed, took her station inside also, between the Franklin and the Peup'e Souverain. She was followed first by the Audacious, which having poured her broadsides into the Guerrier and the Conquerant, passed on to the Peuple Souverain; and next by the Theseus, which, after destroying the remaining masts of the Guerrier, engaged the Spartiate, the third of the French.

The battle commenced at a quarter past six on the evening of the 1st of August. The sun was down soon after seven, and the fire of the contending squadrons

* BRITISH LINE.

Vanguard..	74..	{	Admiral Nelson.
		{	Sir E. Berry.
Culloden	74....		T. Trowbridge.
Theseus	74....		R. W. Miller.
Alexander ..	74....		A. J. Ball.
Minotaur....	74....		T. Louis.
Swiftsure....	74....		B. Hallowell.
Audacious ..	74....		D. Gould.
Defence	74....		J. Peyton.
Zealous	74....		S. Hood.
Orion	74....		Sir S. Saumarez.
Goliath	74....		T. Foley.
Majestic	74....		G. B. Westcott.
Bellerophon	74....		H. D. E. Darby.
Leander	50....		T. B. Thompson.

FRENCH LINE.

L'Orient	120	{	Admiral Brueys.
		{	Casa-Bianca.
LeGuillaume }	80		Saunier.
Tell..... }			
Le Tonnant..	80		Du Petit-Thouars.
Le Franklin ...	74		Gillet.
L'Aquilon	74		Thevenard.
Le Genereux...74			Lejoste.
Le Mercuri ..	74		Laboude.
L'Heureux ...	74		Etienne.
Le Guerrier ..	74		Trulet, Aîné.
Le Timoleon..74			Trulet, Cadet.
Le Peuple }	74		Racors.
Souverain }			
Le Conquerant	74		Dalbarade.
Le Spartiate ..	74		Emerillan.
La Diane	40		Peyret.
La Justice....	40		Villeneuve.
La Junon	40		Pourquier.
L'Arthemise ..	40		Stanley.

gave the only light to the scene. Nelson himself in the Vanguard, anchored within half pistol shot on the outer side of the Spartiate. The Minotaur was next ahead, engaged with the Aquilon, the fourth in the enemy's line. The Defence attacked the Franklin, the sixth; while the Bellerophon was anchored on the starboard bow of the Orient, whose weight of metal, from the lower deck only, exceeded the whole broadside of the English vessel. The Majestic, after suffering much from the fire of the Admiral's three decker, while she was entangled in the main rigging of one of the ships astern, disengaged herself, and came to close action with the Tonnant and Heureux, the eighth and ninth of the enemy.

The Culloden, leading the four remaining ships, advanced with difficulty through the increasing darkness. Before the lead could be hove again, after sounding eleven fathoms, she ran fast aground, and no exertion could get her off. Mortifying as this accident was to her Captain, Trowbridge, who was thus prevented from an active share in the glorious labours of his shipmates, it preserved the Alexander and Swiftsure, which, as their course lay still higher on the same reef, without this warning must inevitably have been lost. The Swiftsure took the station of the Bellerophon, which had drifted out of the line overpowered by the enormous Orient. The Alexander passed under the stern of the French Admiral, and dropped anchor within side on his larboard quarter; while the Leander, completing the British line,

took a position which enabled her to rake the Franklin.

By half past eight, the five headmost ships of the French had struck. Nelson had received a severe wound in the head, and Brueys was already dead. He had been thrice wounded, but refused to be carried below, saying, "An Admiral ought to die on the quarter-deck," when a chain shot cut him in two. Nelson's wound, from its first appearance, caused great alarm, but he refused to have it examined before his turn; and, believing it to be mortal, gave his instructions with calmness, and prepared the outline of his despatches. The crew awaited the surgeon's decision with breathless anxiety; and, when they were assured that the hurt was no more than superficial, they broke out into tumultuous joy. It was no sooner dressed than he rushed once more on deck, at the cry that the Orient was in flames.

The sides of this ship had been painted not long before she came into action, and the oil jars had been imprudently left on her poop. A few minutes after the death of Brueys, a piece of lighted wood fell among them, and the flames gained rapidly on the body of the vessel. The fresh painted beams added strength to the conflagration, and in a short time her destruction became certain. Many of the officers and men threw themselves overboard; and about seventy were picked up by the English boats. The greater part, however, with the courage of desperation, continued firing from the lower deck till the flames reached the magazine. At this moment, about 10 o'clock, she

blew up. The sky was one expanse of ruddy flame, and a shock like that of an earthquake was felt through every vessel of the two fleets. Each ship was distinctly recognised, by the light, and the cannonade ceased for a few minutes as if by mutual consent. This brief silence was first broken by the loud splash of the blazing planks and shattered bodies, which fell into the waves from the vast height to which they had been driven upwards. The sound acted as a fresh signal of battle, and the fight was renewed with undiminished fury.

Ganteaume saved himself in a boat. *Casa-Bianca*, the Commodore, perished in the flames, and his son, a boy of distinguished talents and courage, resisted all the importunities of the sailors, who in vain persuaded him to attempt his escape, and shared his father's fate. Part of the plunder of Malta, 600,000*l.* sterling in money, went to the bottom; and more than 500 men were blown up in the explosion. For a time, several of the English ships were endangered by the fall of the fiery masses; but they were saved by the skill and foresight of their commanders.

When the dawn broke, the two rearward ships of the French, the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Genereux* which had not been in action, alone retained their colours. The *Tonnant* had burned to the water's edge soon after the destruction of the *Orient*. Nine others had struck. Of the four frigates, one the *Arthemise*, was set fire to, and deserted by her crew, after she had surrendered; and another was sunk early in the engagement.

The *Guillaume Tell* and *Genereux*, and the two remaining frigates, the *Justice* and the *Diane*, cut their cables in the forenoon, and crowded all sail. No ship but the *Zealous* was in a condition to pursue, and Nelson perceiving her unsupported, gave the signal of recall.

The battle had been fought in the presence of thousands of Arabs and Egyptians who lined the shores: and the death-blow to the French navy was celebrated by bonfires on the hills for three successive nights. The British Admiral commemorated his triumph with more sober gratitude: and the first general orders which he issued, commanded a general thanksgiving throughout the fleet, for the victory with which Almighty God had blessed his Majesty's arms. The conquest, indeed, was most complete; for though the immediate prizes might have been still more numerous if Nelson had not been deprived of his frigates, the mighty results were yet to be felt throughout the most distant limits of Europe and Asia. In point of men, the loss of the two fleets was widely disproportionate. The killed and wounded, on the part of the British, amounted to 895, and among the first was the gallant Westcott. On that of the French 3105, including wounded, were taken prisoners, and no less than 5225 perished.

India was now secure from this formidable armament, and one of Nelson's earliest cares was to inform the Governor of Bombay of its destruction, by an overland despatch. This opportune precaution saved the extraordinary expences which the Company was

on the eve of incurring for defensive preparations, and was met by the Directors with suitable gratitude. A sum of 10,000*l.* was unanimously voted to Nelson as a testimony to his high deserts. Nor were the sovereigns, whom his victory beneficially affected, backward in their acknowledgments. From the Turkish Sul-taun he received a pelisse of sables valued at 5000 dollars, and an aigrette of diamonds valued at 18,000 more. The mother of the sultan offered a box, set with diamonds, valued at 1000*l.*; and these presents were accompanied with a bounty of 2000 sequins to the wounded. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Sardinia, each wrote a congratulatory letter with his own hand. The first presented, in a gold box, his portrait, enriched with diamonds; the second, a costly box, set with diamonds also. From the Greeks of the island of Zante Nelson received a golden-headed sword, and a truncheon set round with all the diamonds the island could furnish, in a single row. Not even the prodigality of gratitude, which awaited him on his return to Naples, was more touching to his best feelings than this simple tribute; and he esteemed it as

proudly as the Sicilian Dukedom, with the estates of Bronte, and the diamond-hilted sword, which Charles III. of Spain had girt on the side of Ferdinand, when he mounted the throne of the two Sicilies.

The public feeling in England was roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and there were few official bodies which did not come forward with tributes. It may be doubted how far this ardor was satisfied by the measured allotment of honors which the Crown was advised to bestow. An augmentation to his armorial bearings*, a pension of 2000*l.* a year for himself and two successors, and an elevation to the peerage, as Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, was the limit which ministers assigned to themselves in rewarding the greatest naval victory then on record; and which has been since only once outdone by the same commander.

Four of the prizes were burned off the coast of Egypt, the remainder were sent home, and on the seventeenth day after the battle, Nelson stood out to sea on his return to Naples, at which place, as the despatches received by his frigates informed him, his presence was indispensable.

* A chief undulated, *argent*: thereon waves of the sea; from which a palm-tree issuant, between a disabled ship on the dexter, and a ruinous battery on the sinister, all proper: and for his crest, on a naval crown, *or*, the chelengk or plume presented to him by the Sultan, with the motto: *Palmarum qui meruit ferat*, selected by Lord Grenville, from Jortin's eighth Ode. Supporters being a sailor on the dexter, and a lion on the sinister, were augmented with a palm branch in the hand and paw, proper: and a tricoloured flag and staff in the lion's mouth.

CHAPTER V.

Affairs of Holland. Dissatisfaction of the French with the Government of the Batavian Republic. New Revolution. Tyranny of the Oligarchy in Power. Discontent of the Dutch. Conduct of General Daendels. He is supported by the French Directory. Third Revolution. Changes in the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics. The Grisons refuse Incorporation with the Helvetic Republic, and invite the Assistance of Austria. Situation of the King of Sardinia. Hostility of the Ligurian Republic. Revolt of the Piedmontese. Demands of the French in Favor of the Rebels. The King resists them. Occupation of Turin by the French. Corruption of the Neapolitan Government. Demands of the French. Vacillation of Ferdinand. He is encouraged to Resistance by Austria. Prepares for War. His Determination strengthened by Nelson's Victory. Triumphant Reception of Nelson at Naples. Nelson induced to remain there. Capture of Goza by the British. And of Minorca. March of the Neapolitan Army under General Mack. Surrender of Rome. Abdication of the King of Sardinia. Comardice and Defeat of the Neapolitans. They are repeatedly defeated. Retirement of the King to Naples. Flight to Sicily. Victories of Championet. Surrender of Gaeta and Civitella. Championet refuses an Armistice. Treachery of Mack. An Armistice concluded with Pignatelli. Rising of the Lazzaroni. Their Bravery. Treachery of Prince Moliterno. Desperate Resistance of the Lazzaroni. Capture of Naples. Establishment of the Parthenopæan Republic.

WHILE Swisserland and the Papal states were remodelled by the sword, the no less certain weapon of intrigue produced partial changes, equally advantageous to France, in other parts of Europe which offered less avowed resistance. The Republic of Holland, after her first revolutionary process, had been left for the remainder almost entirely to her own guidance: and the form of government which she had arranged, in proportion as it was less exposed to foreign interference, so was it more adapted to the peculiar wants and wishes of the people governed. In the eyes of the Directors, however, it still re-

tained too much of its former nature; and when they were at leisure to direct their attention more closely to this first offspring of the mighty throes which had agitated France, they determined to destroy every remnant of the ancient federative constitution, to which they considered it even now far too closely assimilated. It was easy to awaken the suspicions of the populace. Rumours were scattered of a designed restoration of the Stadtholder; the loss of the fleet was broadly attributed to treachery; hopes of revived commercial prosperity were held out as depending upon a more intimate connexion with France;

and the flame of disaffection, which is always more or less ready to break out in seasons of national distress, was covertly fanned by the artifices and the excitements of revolutionary emissaries. The private ambition of a faction of patricians was denounced as the sole impediment to a free and representative government; and the expulsion of these from all share in legislation was declared equally necessary with that of the family which had already been proscribed.

Arrangements for the projected change were constructed between La Croix the agent of the Directory, and General Daendels, who had the chief command of the French troops in the Batavian service. The passions of the multitude were roused, and the whole country was under military occupation. Nothing more was wanting for success; and on the morning of the 22nd of January, the Hall of Assembly was surrounded by an armed force; no representatives but such as had been previously secured to the French interest were admitted, and the six members of the commission of foreign affairs were placed under arrest.

The first acts of the revolutionary assembly, which consisted of little more than fifty deputies, were to annul the former commission; to pronounce the definitive exclusion of all members of the opposite party from the Councils; and to constitute itself the sole executive and legislative body with plenary powers. A provisional Directory of five was appointed, and committees were named to assist it in framing a

Constitution, and in preserving public repose. Satisfied with the overthrow of their opponents, the new rulers had no thirst for blood. The whole proceeding was conducted with a lenity and forbearance little customary in revolutions, and it terminated in the dismissal from power, and, in a few instances, in the brief imprisonment of the rival leaders. The Dutch at large rejoiced in the change. The burghers had long been jealous of the aristocracy; and wearied with continual agitation, they thought a permanent form of government was only to be obtained by the concurrence, and under the protection of France. They regarded the consolidation of the seven provinces in a Republic one and indivisible as more than an apparent increase of strength; and closing their eyes to the real curtailment of liberty, which must necessarily result in the end from the admission of foreign rule, they imagined that their freedom resided in the words of the civic oath, which pledged them to eternal hatred against the Stadtholder, Aristocracy, Federalism, and Anarchy.

But, though moderate in its outset, the oligarchy which now swayed Holland soon adopted a rigid system of exclusion and partizanship. Similarity of opinions, and devotion to its own views, were the only tests of political merit which it required; and the most vexatious scrutinies were instituted not only into public conduct, but into private opinions. The bulwarks by which it endeavoured to confirm itself in possession of the sovereignty which it had attained were prose-

lytism and persecution, rather than active regard for the national welfare. This oppressive exercise of a power, which at first had met no opposition, soon disgusted the great body of the people, and the party which had been ejected, already strong in talent and in numbers, rapidly increased in popularity also.

Impediments of no ordinary nature had been raised to circumscribe within very narrow limits the privilege of voting: and those whom the ruling faction pronounced disaffected, or even dangerous, were deprived of this important right. For a while no resistance was offered to the oppression of the new Directors. They held the reins of a government only provisional: and as their powers were to cease on the promulgation of the Constitutional act, and as the day appointed for the acceptance of this act now rapidly approached, discontent was confined to murmurs alone; and the 5th of May was anxiously awaited as a renewal of freedom and better order. But when the expected day arrived, and, instead of a dissolution of this tyrannous oligarchy, the hopes of the nation were met by a decree, emanating from the oppressors themselves, and confirming them in power for another year, popular hatred could no longer be restrained. The declaration by which the provisional legislative body, and the provisional Directors were renewed, by their own will, without election, was justly termed a breach of faith solemnly pledged to the country, a violation of all constitutional rights, and a total deviation from the system of France;

which had been proposed as a model to be implicitly followed. Amid the loud and little measured reprovals which broke from all other quarters at this manifest usurpation, La Croix alone was silent; and he met the remonstrances, which Daendels hastened to convey to him, at first with coldness, and soon with rebuke. Whether he was deceived as to the intentions of the French Directors, or had suffered himself to be gained by the Batavian faction in power, the strength of which he perhaps estimated too highly, is not to be determined. But he openly espoused its cause; and when Daendels accused him of separating the interests of Holland from those of France, by abetting the tyranny of an unpopular party, he treated the complaint as unfounded: and, assuming that his diplomatic appointment gave him authority over the military commander, he threatened to denounce him to the French rulers as a public disturber. The Dutch government followed up this threat by an order for the arrest of Daendels. The General escaped to Paris, and there his representations produced a far different effect from that which had been anticipated by La Croix. It was in no way consistent with the policy of the Directory to permit the formation of an independent government in Holland; and the jealousy of popular control manifested by the party which had now forced itself into power foreboded little inclination to submit to foreign influence. Daendels was assured of support, and instructed to produce a counter-revolution. In his absence he

had been proclaimed a rebel and a deserter : but he knew the impotence of these denunciations ; and confident in the approval of the French Directory, the fidelity of his troops, and the general discontent of the Dutch, he presented himself, without fear, before his enraged opponents. The violence of their resentment accelerated their fall. The country was declared in danger, preparations were made for defence, and all such persons as had assembled at the house of Daendels to congratulate him on his return, were stigmatized as conspirators. The moment was critical, and it was not neglected. Daendels proffered an oath of allegiance to his own troops, and harangued the National Guards who had been called out by the government. They required but little persuasion to abandon their masters ; and a few hours produced a repetition, under the same hands, of the same events which had occurred in the preceding January. The palace of the Directors, the hall of the Legislative, and the hotel of the French Embassy were surrounded by armed men. Of the Directors, two escaped, two others tendered a voluntary resignation, and the fifth was arrested. Le Croix was conveyed to France, and there encountered the severe displeasure of his employers. The subversion of this brief government was effected with as much ease as its erection, and was equally bloodless. A second provisional commission was appointed by Daendels and his adherents, with an assurance that the power, necessarily assumed by it for the moment, should be abdicated as

soon as the primary assemblies, which were then convoked, could elect a representative body. The promise was faithfully observed in the ensuing month of June. On the 13th of July, the legislative body opened its sittings ; and on the 10th of August, a Directory was nominated by it, according to the forms of the Constitution. The influence of the Parisian cabinet had predominated in the elections, and Holland, though nominally independent, must henceforward be considered as an integral part of the French Republic.

Changes of a similar nature were effected in the summer of 1798 in the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics. These states, though favorite creations of Bonaparte, had not received the finishing touches of his hand before he quitted Italy. In the former, a struggle had commenced between the Executive and the Councils from their first meeting, which was only terminated by the interposition of the French Directory, and the annulment of several of its early appointments. But the anxiety of France to fortify this important outpost against the secret influence, or the open attempts of Austria, induced her to urge the final ratification of a treaty of alliance and commerce, destroying the brief shew of independence with which the Cisalpines had at first been permitted to amuse themselves. The provisions of this treaty engaged the new Republic to the strictest offensive and defensive alliance. They stipulated for the maintenance of 25,000 French soldiers within the territory, and at the expence of the Cisalpines ; and

for the organization of a subsidiary force, the amount of which was to be regulated by annual conventions. French Generals were to be intrusted with all leading commands, and the chief fortresses and frontier towns were, in all cases, to have one half of their garrisons composed of French troops. These humiliating clauses were discussed with much vehemence in the legislative Councils, and tardily and reluctantly accepted. But resistance led only to the exclusion of the more active opponents, and in some instances to their arrest: and, in order to punish the untractable government to whose existence it had given birth, and whose implicit obedience it expected in consequence, the French Directory resolved to mould it into a more yielding shape. Brune was chosen on his departure from Swisserland as the military agent of the projected Reformation; the civil portion of it was intrusted to Trouvè. A Constitution by which the power of the Executive was largely extended, that of the Legislative proportionably diminished, and the right of election almost destroyed by its frequency, was presented to the degraded Republic on the 1st of September. The removal of all suspected opponents had preceded its appearance; and domiciliary visits, and numerous arrests, though they secured its acceptance, could not stifle the deep murmurs of an insulted and indignant people. Their cause was warmly advocated in Paris, by Lucien Bonaparte, who protested against the violation of faith by which this transaction was distinguished, and the abridgment of

popular rights occasioned by the new Constitution. He deprecated, in vehement terms, the confusion of executive and legislative powers, introduced by conferring the privilege of originating laws exclusively on the administrators of the former, and he prophetically warned the people of France against the disgust and hatred which they must excite, by proffering the semblance of freedom, and exercising in reality over the nations which they pretended to liberate, a tyranny more offensive and more grinding than any which they professed to overthrow.

The Ligurian Republic had already contributed the flower of its troops to the armies of France, and at its first formation had accepted, without difficulty, the treaty of alliance proposed by Bonaparte. There was little therefore in its government which needed reform; and it is probable, that its original Constitution would have still remained unaltered, if the spirit of innovation, ever restless and unsatisfied, had not approached its frontiers too nearly not to cross them. The alterations, however, were few, conducted for the most part in the same spirit as those of the Cisalpine state, but confined more to the exclusion of individuals from the legislative body, than to changes in the nature and administration of the laws themselves.

The submission of Swisserland, after its long and arduous struggle, was the result of necessity: and it was by force only that the French could hope to maintain a dominion which their rapacity and oppression had rendered universally odious. Warned by the fortunes of their neighbours, the

Suabians carefully avoided the alliance of France, and abandoned the intention which they had at one time expressed of forming themselves into a Republic. The Grisons, less capable of maintaining independence in their choice of masters, determined to admit a sovereignty, which, however much they abhorred it, seemed to rest on fixed principles, rather than expose themselves to the capricious tyranny of the French yoke: and they met the demand, which summoned them to incorporation with the Helvetic Republic, by an appeal to the Emperor for protection. As a field for military operations, the country of the Grisons was most important to the interests of France. Fortified by nature, and occupied by a warlike and hardy population, it formed the connecting link between the Helvetic and Cisalpine Republics, it held the keys of the Tyrol, and it completed the circle with which Piedmont was now almost environed. Every effort was made by the agent of the Directory both to conciliate and intimidate, but without effect. The letters which he addressed to the individuals in power, were torn and trodden under foot with marks of indignation and contempt; and the advance of Schawénberg with the Helvetic contingent was effectually anticipated by the earlier admission of an Austrian force. The manifesto, issued by the Court of Vienna on this occasion, was firm and temperate. Disclaiming all intention of extending his territories, the Emperor pledged himself only to act as an ally against the French, if they proceeded in their schemes of invasion and re-

volution. This proclamation was dated on the 18th of October. It spoke a plain note of hostile preparation; it checked the progress of the French troops which were already assembled in the Rhinthal: and it furnished a pretext to the Directory for raising new contributions upon the Swiss, the honor of whose country was represented to be at stake, and the organisation of whose army required extraordinary exertions.

Though foiled in this attempt, the French had been more successful in their views on Piedmont. The treaty concluded by the King of Sardinia with Bonaparte, in 1796, amounted to a virtual surrender of his throne: and the nominal sovereignty which descended from the broken-hearted Victor to his son, was still more hopelessly curtailed by the peace of Campo Formio. Surrounded on all sides by the conquests of France, his territories were partitioned into military posts and roads: and demands the most oppressive, and insults the most galling, forewarned the unhappy monarch of the approaching destruction even of that shadow of power which he was still permitted to retain. The marked attentions with which he had prepared to receive Bonaparte on his passage from Italy, were contemptuously rejected, and the General of the French Directory hurried from Turin without an interview with the King, their ally. The inveterate hostility of the Genoese to the House of Savoy increased with the misfortunes of their rival; and the first act of the new Ligurian Republic, was to accelerate the fall of its ancient enemy. The burdens arising from military oc-

cupation and pecuniary requisitions, pressed most heavily upon the Piedmontese; and mistaking the unwilling instrument for the substantial cause of their distress, they gradually directed their discontent and disaffection not against their oppressors, but against their King. The first symptoms of revolt were manifested at Carosio, a place under the dominion of the crown of Sardinia, but to reach which it was necessary that part of the Ligurian territory should be crossed. The Genoese gladly embraced the pretext thus offered for a breach, and in direct violation of the customary law of nations, refused a passage to the troops, which had been ordered to march upon the insurgents. The King, with more than usual firmness, had resisted all demands of the French ambassador (for his representations were couched in terms the most imperative) which claimed immunity for the rebels, and asserted them to be under the protection of the Republic; but he was not prepared for the contest in which he now found himself unexpectedly involved. The haughty Ligurians proceeded without delay to acts of open hostility, and the property and the persons of the resident Piedmontese were forcibly detained. Secure of the assistance not only of the Genoese but of the French, the numbers of the revolvers largely and rapidly increased; and the ambassador of the Directory, in the name of his masters, persisted in the demand of general amnesty and oblivion. The King still hesitated to complete this last sacrifice of kingly right; and his compliance, when at length ex-

torted, was deemed unsatisfactory. The levies which he had made to put down rebellion, were said to be intended to act against the French in concert with Naples; and it is indeed most probable that a secret understanding did subsist between the two Courts. His army, though small, was finely equipped and well disciplined, and in the short campaign which it had made against the Ligurians, it had displayed no inconsiderable skill and courage. Employed against the French, this force might be dangerous; secured in their favour, it promised a great accession of strength. The surrender of the citadel of Turin, the master-piece of Vauban, a fortress which had more than once decided the fortune of war in the history of Europe, was peremptorily demanded, as the price of the continuance of peace. No modification of these terms was admitted, and the wretched Prince completed his degradation by placing his capital and his person at the disposal of a foreign garrison. The royal prisoner was treated with a mockery of state, but his confidential servants were dismissed, he was placed in the immediate custody of a French guard, his ministers were adjudged to banishment, his ordinances against his rebellious subjects were annulled, his troops were disbanded, and the strong places which had been won from the Ligurians, were unconditionally restored.

The gigantic ascendance which France was thus attaining in the north of Italy, had been long regarded with deep anxiety by the Court of Naples. The overthrow of the Papacy, and the establish-

ment of a Republic at Rome, gave a natural alarm to the neighbouring seat of monarchy; and the internal state of Neapolitan feeling was ill calculated to quiet apprehensions thus excited. No government in Europe was less entitled to the affections of its subjects than that which subsisted under the Spanish Bourbons; and the weak character of the Prince of that house, who now swayed the sceptre of the two Sicilies, not improved by its contrast with the violence of his Queen, had carried to their extreme height, favoritism, misrule, and corruption. This detestable system had linked men of the most opposite characters and principles in a common bond of hatred to their existing institutions: and it was not only the needy and the profligate, the base and the busy, the treacherous who seek private advantage through public confusion, and the giddy who love change for itself; but with them the few who were attached to their country and smarted under its degradation, who all earnestly looked forward to some amendment of their Constitution, and were inclined to consider any means as hallowed which should bring them to this desired end.

Such, during the workings of the French Revolution, had been the state of the public mind in Naples. The enormities to which that great convulsion had given birth in its progress weaned the enlightened and the reasonable from any hope of bettering their country by connection with the Parisian anarchists; and they readily perceived that rapine was the sole object which the Direc-

tory sought to compass while proffering the boon of freedom. But there were others who had already sold themselves to France; and every step which was advanced in the northern parts of Italy, increased the hopes, and added to the numbers of the Neapolitan revolutionists. The ground was already hollowed under the throne, and the Directors proceeding from demands to threats, waited only for the fit moment to spring the mine which was to complete its destruction. The liberation of all persons confined for political offences was first insisted upon, and Ferdinand was compelled to set at liberty every agitator whom he had secured. The exclusion of English ships from the Neapolitan ports was next enjoined, and in violation of his neutrality, a friendly Prince was obliged to offend and injure a power with which he was allied. The ultimate object of France could not now be mistaken, and the choice to which the King of Naples was reduced was either passive obedience till it pleased the Directory to issue the mandate for his dethronement, or the almost desperate hazard of prompt resistance. With a timid and wavering policy he halted between the two. While he complied with the requisitions of Garat, the regicide ambassador, who, with studied insult, had been sent to represent France in the court of the sister of Marie Antoinette, he looked to the broken reed of an Austrian alliance. Encouraged by the occupation of the Grisons he entered into active negotiations with Vienna, and the base and treacherous policy of that

cabinet, deluded its ally with promises of assistance which it never intended to realize, and stimulated the Neapolitan court to a war, the probable issue of which would be its overthrow, with the secret hope, that Austria, by her intrigues or her arms, might ultimately participate in the spoil. To complete his defensive arrangements, Ferdinand drew largely upon the revenues of all orders of his subjects. The property of the Church was unsparingly appropriated, and the assessments levied upon ecclesiastics alone raised a force of twelve thousand soldiers. The plate which was sequestered to the uses of the public treasury produced fifty millions of ducats, and personal service was enjoined upon every fifth man throughout the dominions capable of bearing arms.

Meantime, amid these extensive preparations, which could not fail to awaken jealousy and suspicion in Paris, no avowed declaration of intended hostility escaped from either party. The expedition from Toulon, while its object was doubtful, struck Naples with deep alarm; but the storm rolled by for the moment. The French strengthened their force in the Roman territories, and Ferdinand continued his levies. Le Comte St. Michael, the ambassador of France, poured in the remonstrances of the Directory, he resorted to open threats, he pointed out the distance of Austria, the proximity of the French, and the prevalence of internal discontent, and in the end he presented a formal demand, that Naples should disarm upon pain of immediate hostilities. How far this menace might

have determined the vacillating councils of Ferdinand to submission, under ordinary circumstances, cannot now be affirmed: but his resolution to break with France, was fixed at once by the battle of the Nile. It was not only on the shores of Egypt, where he had at a single blow swept the navy of his enemies from the ocean, and shut up their most successful General and their finest army, hopeless, as it seemed, of return, that the triumph of Nelson was most signally perceived. His victory gave a new impulse to Europe, and from Constantinople to St. Petersburg, for the first time since the commencement of the revolutionary war, it was felt that France was not invincible. Her power was shaken to its base, and a new coalition was aroused against her of a far greater and more extensive range than any of the preceding alliances. Austria, wearied out by the protracted intrigues at Rastadt, was equipping herself for the field: The Ottoman Porte had already declared war, and had invited the co-operation of all the European powers to repel the perfidy and usurpation of France, which it had denounced in more vigorous and enlightened language than any which had as yet been known to eastern manifestoes: and the untried resources of Russia, under a commander whose name was linked to conquest, and a monarch whose insane caprices had not yet blighted the fair promise which dawned on the commencement of his reign, threw a weight into the scale which of itself was sufficient to incline the beam.

The influence of the British

ambassador, and still more of his wife, Lady Hamilton, the ascendancy of whose talents and whose beauty was without bounds at Naples, had induced Ferdinand to violate the strict injunctions of the Directory by the admission of the English fleet into his ports. The resentment of the French was proportioned to the magnitude of the service which had been afforded their enemies, for without the repairs and supplies thus obtained, Nelson's farther course had been impossible. It was no longer doubtful therefore that the tide of destruction would roll with increased fury upon this long devoted city, now an object of revenge as well as of ambition. The Court of Naples had foreseen its peril, and having shuddered for its existence, received the conqueror, to whom it justly attributed its preservation, with frantic transports of joy. Ferdinand himself, with all the pomp of royalty, went out three leagues to sea, to meet and embrace his deliverer. The bay of Naples was one vast mass of boats and streamers, and its shores resounded with music and acclamations. Tears of delight, and prayers for the hero, were poured out by the enthusiastic populace, and the Lazzaroni, to whom no other mode of displaying their gratitude was afforded, held up birds in their cages, and gave them liberty as he passed.

Fete succeeded fete, each surpassing the other in boundless magnificence, after Nelson's arrival. It seemed as if the greatness of the impending danger was forgotten in the joy for that which had been escaped; and the pre-

cious moments which ought to have been spent in action were devoted to pleasure. Nelson was unceasing in his representations to the King; and when he had at last obtained an assurance from him that he would go on, as Ferdinand strongly expressed it, trusting in God and Nelson, the British commander resolved to comply with the earnest desire of the Court, and keep his squadron on the Neapolitan station, instead of returning to complete the destruction of the French shipping in Alexandria. It was fortunate for the Royal family in the end that he came to this determination.

That he might not be altogether idle while the army was preparing for the field, he sailed to the assistance of the Maltese. The requisitions of the French pressed most severely on the inhabitants of this island, and a general rising had taken place on the 26th of August. The garrison took refuge in the forts, and a British squadron assisted in blockading it by sea. On the 28th of October the small island of Goza surrendered to Nelson, who left Captain Ball with three sail of the line, a frigate, and a fire ship, to continue the observation of Malta, where two sail of the line and three frigates were detained ready for sea. Soon after, (November 15th) the island of Minorca, garrisoned by nearly 4000 Spanish troops, was captured by General Stuart and Admiral Duckworth with a very disproportionate force, and without the loss of a single man.

A landing was effected on the 6th of November in the bay of Addaye, and 800 men who were

disembarked drove back 2000 of the enemy after a feeble resistance. The state of the roads, and the multitude of high and strong stone inclosures rendered the progress of the army as slow as in a mountainous country. And it was not until the 14th. that the British could invest Cittadella, the principal fortress in which the Spanish commander had concentrated his forces. Here the judicious arrangement of the general supplied his deficiency of men and artillery. He formed his small army on the little eminences which surrounded the garrison, leaving only a few light infantry concealed in the intermediate hollows. Large fires were burnt at night; and the enemy concluded that the English force from the space of ground which it occupied, could not be less than 10,000 men. Under this impression the garrison surrendered on the following day, when the prisoners were discovered to outnumber the invaders considerably *.

The nominal force of the Neapolitans consisted of 80,000 men. To command these, Mack had been sent for from Vienna as captain general; and the long train of cowardice and treachery, which has since rendered his name so infamous in the history of his times, commenced with this campaign. Five divisions amounting in all, to nearly 40,000 men, advanced into the Roman territory, from each side of the Apennines; a strong reserve protected

the Neapolitan frontiers; and two detachments were embarked, the one, to harass the flanks of the French, at the Presidii, a small district between the papal and Florentine states; the other to co-operate with the British squadron, at Leghorn, and so to cut off the retreat of the enemy into Tuscany.

Leghorn opened its gates without resistance. The King of Naples joined his army on the 22nd of November; and having announced that he took up arms in self defence and for the restoration of religion, in seven days he entered Rome in triumph. The populace received him with joy; and it was not easy to restrain them from excesses. The tree of liberty was cut down amid the execrations of those voices which, a few months before, had cheered when it was planted, and Duphot's monument in the Capitol was levelled to the ground.

Championet, the French commander in the Roman states, on the approach of the Neapolitan army, threw a garrison into the castle of St. Angelo, and fell back with about 10,000 men, to Castellana on the upper Tyber. Here he paused awhile collecting his forces and observing his enemies, while the active vengeance of the French, burst in the first instance, on the King of Sardinia. The entrance of Rome was a signal for a general movement of the troops occupying Piedmont, under Joubert; and a formal act of abdication being drawn up was ac-

* General Stuart with singular generosity distributed his own share of prize money to the wives and families of his soldiers, although his private fortune was very circumscribed.

cepted by Victor Emmanuel, on the 9th of December. This Prince, long since in substance dethroned, renounced all power in his continental dominions, in favor of a provincial government, to be established by the French. He transferred the Piedmontese army to Joubert as an integral part of his own; and he stipulated only for permission to retire to Sardinia. At midnight in the depth of winter, he was hurried from his Capital; and embarking at Leghorn in a Danish frigate under British protection, he found an asylum in the insular part of his dominions, in which the maritime sovereignty of England still afforded him a hope of security.

The Neapolitan troops continued their advance in detached columns, and Championet whose reinforcements increased his army to 15,000 men, resolved to attack them singly. In all his attempts he was successful; cowardice, desertion, and want of skill exposed the Neapolitans to perpetual defeat. In the first engagement at Ponto Fermo 19,000 men under St. Philip were completely routed with the loss of cannon, tents, baggage, and military chest. The commander himself, in the beginning of the action went over to the enemy; and narrowly escaped the just reward of his treachery, by a shot from his own men. Every where, at Otricoli, Calvi, Terni, Torre de Palma and Monterosi, the French with much inferior numbers chased all before them. Mack himself, though surrounded with strong intrenchments, near Cantaluppo was completely defeated: and on the fifteenth day after he had taken possession of

Rome, with the most sanguine hopes of ulterior success, Ferdinand, betrayed and abandoned on all sides, was compelled to retire hastily upon Naples.

Here, in his capital, without the power of resistance; his army broken and dispersed, and new conspiracies surrounding him, with no prospect of stopping the enemy, and uncertain of his personal safety even with his own subjects, the wretched Prince turned to Nelson for succour. The populace clamorously demanded the presence of their King; and the Lazzaroni, in particular, who sufficiently manifested their devotion to him by their subsequent bravery, still looked to the preservation of Naples while he remained at their head. In this disturbed state of the public mind no removal could be openly planned, and the courts of the palace itself, during four days of extraordinary agitation, more than once exhibited scenes of popular tumult, and were stained with blood. The private arrangements were intrusted to Lady Hamilton; and the British Admiral's ship, the *Vanguard* was prepared for the reception of the royal fugitives. A subterraneous passage, leading from the state apartments to the sea shore, enabled those to whom the secret was intrusted to convey on board the English fleet the treasure, and jewels of the Crown, the choicest pictures and statues of the royal collection, and other property amounting to nearly three millions. On the night of the 21st of December three barges were in waiting under the immediate directions of Nelson himself. The sea ran mountains high, and

through a bitter wind and a tremendous surf, the royal party was carried in safety, though not without alarm, on board the Vanguard. The two following days were employed in receiving on board the fleet, the British residents at Naples, and such other persons as sought for an asylum: and on the night of the 23rd the squadron weighed anchor. It seemed as if the very elements were leagued against the banished Ferdinand. A storm, such as Nelson himself had never before encountered, arose on the following morning: and for three nights and two days the Vanguard was tossed about unable to preserve its course. The youngest of the princes, Albert, overcome by fatigue and terror, died in Lady Hamilton's arms: and pursued by domestic and public calamity, the unhappy King landed at Palermo on the 26th.

Championet lost no time in profiting by his success. The Neapolitans fled at all points before him, and having cleared the Roman territory, he hastened to pursue them into their own. Portioning his army into several divisions, he left no post unattacked on his broad line of march, which extended to either sea. His right pressing on by Terracina, carried the defiles of Fondi and Itri though strongly intrenched: and sat down before Gaeta, a fortress since immortalized by its heroic defence, and which nature seems to have adapted to military resistance. On the rocky promontory of a small peninsula, bathed by the sea on all sides but that on which a narrow isthmus connects it with the continent, and leaves a single road between steep

mountains and the scanty shore, this celebrated fortification lifts its white ranges of angles and batteries: 4000 men at that time garrisoned it, it was supplied with a year's ammunition and provisions, and the sea was open for protection or escape. Yet it surrendered at discretion at the first shot, and placed at the disposal of the French its stores, which were of no small importance to the wants of an army rapidly advancing through an enemy's country.

The remains of Mack's army were concentrated at Capua; and Championet on appearing before this town, summoned them to surrender. Without waiting for a junction with his other divisions, he followed up Mack's refusal by an ill judged attack, and was forced to abandon, with considerable loss, two redoubts which he had carried. Meantime, his left wing had swept the mountains of Abruzzza; the opposition which they encountered from the Neapolitans was feeble: but the rugged nature of the country and of the season rendered their operations toilsome and hazardous. Aquila, Sulmona, and Pescara, successively fell into their power: and all contained invaluable magazines. The fortress of Civitella which defends the last named town is deemed nearly as impregnable as that of Gaeta; and it is not easy to refer the surrender of the 3000 well appointed troops who composed its garrison to other motives than want of courage or of fidelity.

In numbers Mack still exceeded his opponent, and the position which he had chosen could not easily be forced. The Vulturno

was in front, and the passage of this river was protected by the works of Capua. Notwithstanding these advantages, and the check which the French had suffered, Mack prepared to treat: but his advances were not accepted, and a suspension of arms which he proposed on the 31st of December, was rejected with disdain.

This haughty refusal on the part of the French commander was dictated more by his knowledge of the perfidy and pusillanimity of those opposed to him, than by confidence in his own situation. If Naples had possessed a single leader of virtue and of talent, she was not yet lost: and Capua might once more have been the grave of an invader. Championet had neither heavy artillery to force his passage, nor tents to enable him to encamp. His supplies were failing; his communications were interrupted; and assassination was already thinning his ranks. Of two among his generals, Rey fell at Gaeta by the hand of a woman, and Rusca was taken prisoner by the armed bands of peasants, who had risen in Abruzzo. But Mack had been already gained over, and Prince Pignatelli, whom Ferdinand had appointed his Vicar General, had expressed a desire to negotiate. By a simple suspension of arms Championet could gain little, and he would diminish the impression which the rapidity of his success had stamped so deeply. His object was to be won at a blow rather than by delay; and profiting by Pignatelli's fears, he admitted his plenipotentiaries, and concluded a more effectual armistice, which in fact,

placed the kingdom at his disposal. On the 10th of January a convention was signed, by which Capua, with all its magazines and artillery, was surrendered to the French. A line of demarcation was assigned passing through Acerra and Benevento to the mouth of the Ofanto on the Adriatic. The ports of Naples were to be shut against all powers at war with the Republic, and the King was engaged to pay ten millions of livres, and to send an ambassador to Paris, to treat concerning a definitive peace. Such were the conditions accepted by the Viceroy, who, twenty days before, had sworn to abide by the instructions of his Sovereign, and to defend the kingdom intrusted to him to the last stone of the last rock in Calabria.

One class alone of the Neapolitan population, and that the most oppressed and despised, was true to the interests and the honor of their country: and if they could have found guidance for their enthusiasm, the Lazzaroni might have saved their birth-place when all others had deserted it. The army on the notification of the treaty gradually disbanded itself, and disappeared, and not a few of all orders mixed with the enemy's ranks. The fury of the Lazzaroni, on the other hand, knew no bounds. They rose in a body, and seizing arms wherever they could be found, indiscriminately directed their attacks against all whom they suspected to be partisans of France. The blind rage of an uncontrolled and savage rabble is not likely to be closely inquisitive as to the objects upon which it is exercised; and it is to be

feared that while the cries of the King and St. Januarius resounded through the streets of Naples, the stiletto was not always directed by patriotism. Mack, as he deserved, was the great object of popular vengeance; and, on this pretext, with fears perhaps not feigned, he sought an asylum, with his whole staff, in the French camp. He was escorted to Milan, and for awhile, to preserve appearances, he was regarded as a prisoner.

Castel Nuovo, and Castel di Carmina were already in the hands of the Lazzaroni: and the advanced posts of the French were unable to resist the impetuosity of their onset. But this first success was soon frustrated by treachery. The Prince Moliterno, a young nobleman of popular family, but secretly leagued with the revolutionists, had the address, by mixing with the insurgents, to persuade them to nominate him their commander. Having gained this object, he dispersed his partizans among them, and garrisoned the Castle of St. Elmo with some followers upon whom he could implicitly rely. Then repairing privately to the French camp, he disclosed his plan to Championnet, and returned unsuspected to the multitudes, whose destruction he had prepared and concerted. At his suggestion a part of this fierce and undisciplined band comprising not less than 30,000 men, half armed, half clothed, without officers or artillery, but thirsting for blood and spoil, and fired by a rude sense of the injuries of their country, poured out upon the road to Capua. The havoc made among their masses as they approached the ramparts, was

horribly destructive: but they still rushed towards the walls, and in the absence of other means, endeavoured to scale them on the piles of their fallen comrades. An unexpected movement of the enemy in flank, threw them into disorder, and a second column anticipated their retreat, and hastened by forced marches upon Naples. For sixty hours the plain between Capua and Naples was the scene of a most confused and bloody contest: and even after the artillery of the French had mowed whole ranks before it, and a communication had been established between the besiegers and the garrison of St. Elmo, the Lazzaroni slowly retired from street to street, disputing every step of ground. Musquetry and stones were showered from the roofs upon the French as they advanced, and the reprisals were the sword and fire. On the night of the 23d of January the fight was still undecided; the Lazzaroni pressed and harassed on all sides, had given way but were by no means conquered: and the French overcome by fatigue, and glutted with slaughter, were unable to follow up their success, and reposed amid the flaming houses, and the bloody and half burnt dead. The morning dawned, and the struggle most probably would have been renewed, to the total destruction of the capital. But the priests had been gained: and St. Januarius was declared favourable to the revolution. His blood had liquified in approval of the French. The report of the miracle flew from mouth to mouth, and as the holy legend circulated amid the ranks, each

manhauled the French as deliverers, and changed his cry to St. Januarius and the Republic. Not a hostile sound was heard as Championet hastened to the Cathedral, and paid his homage at the shrine of the protector of the city. Acclamations accompanied him in his passage. Crowds pressed upon his horse to touch or even to see the devout soldier: and when he celebrated *Te Deum*, the air re-echoed with applauses and benedictions. The chief difficulty now was to restrain the zeal of his new allies. The hands, which had been lately raised in protection of the Royalists, were turned to their extermination, and fresh ravages from the same source, though with different objects, menaced the yet smouldering remains of the city. The palace was attempted, but an order was

issued on the moment, to disarm the citizens without distinction: and by a second proclamation, these arms were bestowed on a national guard chosen from the Revolutionary faction. It embraced the most distinguished names in Naples.

Little more remained for the conqueror to do. The tree of liberty was solemnly planted in the Palace court. Royalty was abolished, and the dethronement of the King was accompanied by the creation of the Parthenopæan Republic. The new state however, was confined to little more than the narrow limits of the city: for the Calabrians were firm in their loyalty; and events which belong to the following year were at hand, to prevent the invader from agitating farther schemes of Italian conquest.

CHAPTER VI.

English Military Operations. Bombardment of Havre. Destruction of the Works at Ostend by General Coote. Surrender of his Force. Origin and Progress of the Rebellion in Ireland. Defenders and Orangemen. United Irish. Theobald Wolf Tone the Founder of the Society. Its Civil Organization. Negotiation with the French through Jackson. Arrangements for the Invasion of Ireland. False Hopes held out by France. Military Organization. Numbers. Acts of Violence. Insurrection Act passed. Yeomanry. Licentiousness of the Press. Reynolds acquaints Government with the Plan of the Conspirators. Arrest of the Leinster Delegates. Of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. His desperate Resistance and Death. Of the two Sheares. Sanguinary Proclamation found among their Papers. The Rebellion openly breaks out. Defeat of the Rebels at Naas. Their Attacks upon Clane, Ballymore, Eustace, and Kilcullen. Massacre at Prosperous. Ferocity of the Rebel Women. Singular Instance of cold-blooded Treachery in Desmond. Defeat of the Rebels at Rathfarnham. At Carlow, Monastereven, Hacketstown, Tarah and Rathargan. They offer to negotiate with General Dundas. Negotiation broken by Treachery or Accident. Rebellion in Wexford. Conduct of the Priests. Destruction of Colonel Foote's Detachment at Oulart. Occupation of Camolu

and Ferns. The King's Troops abandon Enniscorthy. The Town fired by the Rebels. Their Barbarities. Establishment of a Camp at Vinegar Hill. Daily Massacres there for Three Weeks. Remarkable Escape of two Protestants. A Party of the Meath Regiment cut to pieces at Three Rocks. Fanaticism of the Rebels. The Bridge of Wexford fired. Negotiation attempted through Messrs. Harvey, Fitzgerald, and Colclough. Retreat of the Wexford Garrison. Part of it beaten and dispersed in its March to Duncannon Fort.

THE military operations of England, who, in the commencement of 1798, stood alone in the mighty contest, which had lately deluged the face of Europe with blood, were necessarily much contracted by the desertion of her Continental allies. In the course of the spring a bombardment of Havre was attempted with little effect; and a still more unfortunate result attended an expedition directed against the Flemish coast. Protected by the cannonade of a flotilla under the command of Captain Home Popham, Major General Coote succeeded in landing somewhat more than 1000 men, on a ridge of sand hills about three miles to the east of Ostend. The squadron reached its destination at one o'clock in the morning of the 19th of May. The disembarkation occupied about four hours; a considerable body of the enemy's sharp shooters was gallantly repulsed, and cut off from the town by a rapid march: and before noon the gates and sluices of the canal of Bruges, to complete which had cost five years labour, were entirely destroyed; and several vessels in its basins were damaged and disabled. Thus far successful, the troops returned to their landing place, with the intention of immediately re-embarking.

The wind and surf, however, had increased so much, that all communication with the squadron was interrupted; and it was with no slight difficulty, that the boats which were at first launched regained the shore. As night approached, every requisite precaution was adopted to defend the position upon which the little army was unexpectedly detained. A howitzer, and the few field pieces which had been landed for the *coup-de-main*, were planted in the most favorable spots; and such slight intrenchments were thrown up as the pressure of the moment permitted. It was not till 4 o'clock on the following morning, that the enemy had concentrated their forces; and they then bore down in several columns, formed from the united garrisons of Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk. After a warm cannonade for nearly two hours, their superior numbers enabled them to outflank the British. The light companies of the guards, and of the 44th were ordered to extricate the left, and suffered much in the attempt. The officers who headed them* were wounded; and General Coote himself, about the same time, while endeavouring to rally the front which was giving way, was disabled by a shot. All further resistance was evidently

* Colonel Campbell, (3d guards) who died of his wounds; and Major Donkin.

unavailing, and the British being entirely surrounded, were compelled to surrender. The loss in killed and wounded amounted to about 150 men; and the destruction of the enemy's works was dearly purchased, at the price of many valuable lives, and the capitulation of nearly 1000 gallant troops.

It was, unhappily, in a painful domestic service that the military force of England was principally employed during the remainder of the year. The discontents of Ireland were matured, and at length burst out into the flame of open rebellion. As far back as the year 1784, the Roman Catholics in the county of Armagh had assumed the title of *Defenders*; and many wanton outrages, not unfrequently terminating in bloodshed, were committed on the houses and persons of the protestant inhabitants. The organization of this body rapidly extended itself, and in the years 1792 and 1793, it had branched out through the greater part of Ireland. Its members were sworn to secrecy; and the objects to which they were instructed to direct their exertions, were the general progress of the Roman Catholic cause, relief from the payment of hearth money, tithes and cess, and the diminution of poor's rates. To forward these purposes, contributions were levied to a considerable amount, under the authority of printed circulars; and arms and ammunition were the principal objects of nightly depredation. So violent were the atrocities committed, and so numerous the

offenders, that in the spring assizes for the county of Louth in 1793, seventy-one indictments were laid for conspiracy and murder; and eighty bench warrants were issued against persons absconding*.

The spirit of religious hatred, thus manifested on the one hand, was increased by the opposite combinations to which it gave rise among the Protestants on the other; and societies formed by individuals, with the most praiseworthy intentions, contributed to keep alive the remembrance of a feud, which the law, by itself, ought to have been strong enough to extinguish. The defence of the Constitution in Church and State, as established by the revolution, was the object avowed by the *Orangemen* who arose in 1795; and the odious distinctions of sect and party, thus formally embodied, completed the distraction of the kingdom.

The progress of the French revolution awoke a new species of fanaticism, and political bigotry was ingrafted on that to which difference in religion had already given birth. A society was instituted in 1791, under the title of *United Irish*, which proposed to embrace every religious persuasion, and to direct itself to the two objects of Roman Catholic emancipation, and Reform in parliament. The parties which advocated each of these principles separately were taught to believe that neither of them could succeed without mutual co-operation. Those who looked to an increase of religious privilege were assured that it was necessary to obtain the

* Twenty-one capital convictions took place.

sanction and approval of a number of Protestants. Those who sought for the extension of representative suffrage were sedulously imbued with a feeling, that ecclesiastical and civil changes must be attempted together : and the secret abettors of revolution thus found an ostensible pretext for uniting in one great league, all who were discontented with any part of the existing institutions.

The chief founder of this society was Theobald Wolf Tone, the son of a merchant. He had received his education in the University of Dublin, and had subsequently been called to the bar. His abilities were of no common order, but he was unsuccessful in his profession ; and poverty and disappointment goaded a naturally proud and ardent spirit, to compass by turbulence and confusion, that distinction which he had failed to attain in the ordinary course of events. The first operations of the society were confined to the press ; and the public mind was gradually prepared for the unravelment of their ultimate design, by the circulation of seditious writings. It was not until the beginning of 1793, that they attracted the attention of Government ; and it was then first excited by a paper which issued from their assembly in Dublin, reflecting in severe terms upon the powers assumed by a secret committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the disturbances occasioned by the Defenders. The House voted this paper a gross libel and a breach of privilege. The Hon. Simon Butler (brother to Lord Mountgarret) the Chairman, and

Oliver Bond, the Secretary of the meeting, whose names were annexed to the publication, were committed to Newgate, and fined 500*l.* each.

Premature insurrection was by no means the object even of the most violent of the conspirators : and their measures, for the first four years of the institution of the society, appear to have been confined to perfecting its internal organization. The whole body was subdivided, in the lowest degree, into small parties of twelve each. These twelve elected a secretary and treasurer : and the five secretaries of every five minor societies, formed a *lower Baronial Committee*, for the immediate superintendence of the bodies by which it was constituted.

Each *lower Baronial Committee* furnished one member to an *upper Baronial Committee*. These again, delegated members to *District Committees* in populous towns, or *County Committees* in counties : and in each of the four provinces a *Provincial Directory* was chosen from the *District and County Committees*. In the highest stage the *Provincial Directories* elected five members to a *General Executive Directory*, which exercised the supreme command over the whole body of the union. The most profound secrecy was observed respecting the persons in whose hands this dangerous sovereignty was lodged. The election was by ballot, and none but the Secretaries of the Provincial Directories were acquainted with the names of the candidates upon whom the choice fell ; for the appointment was not reported to the electors : and all orders from the General

Executive were communicated to the minor agents, not immediately by the Directors themselves, but through the channel of these secretaries.

By the operation of this machinery the society was regulated at home with sufficient accuracy, to induce it to attempt a material extension of its power through the assistance of France. Much obscurity necessarily attaches to these treasonable communications, but it is probable, that the first direct overtures to the revolutionary government were made through Jackson, a Protestant Clergyman, who was convicted of high treason in 1795; and died of poison, in court, before sentence could be pronounced. The early part of this man's life had been employed rather in private, than in political intrigue; and in the service of the notorious Duchess of Kingston, as her secretary, he had been initiated in much flagitiousness which demanded concealment, and had learned, moreover, how it might best be concealed. The evidence on his trial proved that he was employed to promote the invasion of Ireland by the French.

In 1795 and 1796, the united Irish sent an accredited and resident ambassador to Paris*; and the subsequent confessions of the conspirators leave no doubt as to the object of his mission. The descent in Bantry Bay was arranged, through his representations, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, on the one part, and General Hoche on the other,

during some conferences held in Switzerland, in the summer of the latter year. The failure of that expedition has been already noticed in its fitting place; and the tranquillity of the disaffected, during its attempt, must be principally ascribed to the difficulty of any direct communication between the inviting party and the invaders, and to the contradictory intelligence forwarded from Paris, relative to the precise time of attack.

This first disappointment in the expectation of foreign assistance, only increased the appetite for its attainment. The great difficulty of the leaders of the conspiracy, was to prevent unseasonable and partial insurrections: and they repeatedly and urgently memorialized the French Directory to hasten their promised succours. Offers were made, through Dr. M'Nevin, a new agent, of the re-payment of all expences incurred, to be guaranteed by a mortgage of the revenues of the Church and of the Royalist property which was already destined to confiscation. M'Nevin was authorised to raise 300,000*l.* for the service of the Irish Republic, and to supply the great loss of arms which had been occasioned by seizures.

But the objects of the French and the Irish Directories were too distinct from each other to admit of prompt adjustment. The Irish had sufficiently profited by the experience and the memorials of history, to perceive that the introduction of foreign auxiliaries was the first step to submission to a foreign yoke: and however

* Edward John Lewins.

eager they might be to throw off the dominion of England, they were ill prepared to admit that of France. Their demands, therefore, were very cautiously limited, and they were unwilling to accept the aid of any force which could endanger their independence: they required not less than five thousand, and not more than ten thousand men, forty thousand stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced captains. On the last point, above all, much anxiety was expressed; and offers of high rank were tendered to such native Irish officers as were engaged in foreign service.

The French on the other hand, under the shallow pretext of Republican fraternization, looked only to the acquirement of a new province. They were unwilling to send an army which should be incompetent to retain the country for themselves, after it had been won from the English: and the number of troops which they assigned for the expedition in the summer of 1797, was accordingly much larger than their allies had required. Lord Duncan's victory suspended the double treachery.

The rebel leaders had not been wanting in domestic military arrangements; but had substantially ingrafted an army on their civil system; the division of both being similarly graduated. Thus the whole body which accepted the oath of union, was supposed capable of bearing arms. The

secretaries of the lowest subdivisions of twelve were non-commissioned officers. The delegates of five societies to the lower Baronial committees were captains of companies; each, through those whom he represented, commanding sixty privates. In like manner the delegates of ten lower Baronial committees, to the upper Baronial committees, as colonels, each commanded a battalion of 600. Adjutant generals, selected by the colonel in each county, communicated immediately with the Executive; and a military board was employed in the observation of the country, and the collection of intelligence. One leading instruction to each individual of the confederacy was to provide himself with fire-arms and ammunition, or in case of these not falling within his means, at least with a pike. The number of persons acting under this distribution, in the commencement of 1797, exceeded 100,000, and the returns of arms seized by the King's troops in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster only, sufficiently evinced the activity of the insurgents*.

Without as yet proceeding to avowed rebellion, frequent acts of atrocity were perpetrated, especially in the last named province. Witnesses, magistrates, and prosecutors were ferociously attacked, and in many instances assassinated with circumstances of unexampled barbarity. Where violence was not offered, menaces were unremittingly employed: profession, property, and character were too

* 48,169 guns, 1756 bayonets, 4163 pistols, 4183 swords, 248 blunderbusses, 119 musquet barrels, 106 sword blades, ordnance 22, pikes 70,630.

often at the mercy of the disaffected; and their numbers were increased as much by the operation of terror, as by the delusion of false opinions.

In the mean time, the whole energies of government had been actively employed in preparing to meet the dangers evidently gathering round it. In 1796 a bill, termed the Insurrection Act, was carried through parliament, by which the administration of unlawful oaths was made a felony punishable by death; and the powers of magistrates in disturbed districts were largely extended. But the measure which most essentially contributed to the preservation of the country in its subsequent distractions, was the establishment of an embodied yeomanry. The great mass of the sound and loyal inhabitants were thus placed at the disposal of the State in armed associations; and in less than six months from the developement of this plan, 37,000 loyalists had voluntarily enrolled themselves. In the course of the rebellion not less than fifty thousand yeomen were employed at one time, sharing in the services and the dangers of the regular army.

It was easier to meet rebellion, if it should come, in the open field, than to combat its stratagems and ambuscades. The press largely contributed to the designs of the traitors. Thus drafts of the most abominable tests were printed and circulated, under the pretence that they had been adopted by Protestants, for the general extermination of the Roman Catholics. England was represented as the source of all Irish miseries,

and a separation from her as the only remedy for them. In order to embarrass the revenue, an abstinence from exciseable commodities was urged upon the poorer classes, and the refusal of paper currency was strenuously recommended. To complete the series of enormities, a periodical paper, termed the *Union Star*, secretly distributed by night, pointed out for assassination, such individuals as were supposed to impede the progress of the society. "The *Star*," said the bloody prologue which headed each several number, "offers to public justice the following detestable traitors as spies and perjured informers. Perhaps some arm more lucky than the rest, may reach their hearts, and free the world from bondage." Such was the sanguinary admonition of a paper professing to be "official," and to come "from authority."

How long the materials for insurrection would have continued to accumulate without actual explosion, it is now impossible to determine. It is not probable that the French Directory would ever have assisted the rebels, unless on its own terms: and the hopes which were constantly excited in Paris, and as constantly disappointed must have occasioned a feverish restlessness in the conspirators, ill adapted to the deliberate progress of their design. The vigorous measures of government, no doubt, contributed to increase this feeling, and the difficulty of restraint where large bodies are to act without any determinate control, the collision of separate interests, and the hourly hazard of betrayal,

all render it a matter of surprise that the plot proceeded so slowly to its catastrophe. In the spring of 1798, the rebel leaders were confident of the realization of their hopes by France. The military committee announced their readiness for open war, and every sun was expected to dawn on the arrival of the allies of the conspiracy. These prospects were dashed and destroyed by a blow which had not been anticipated.

One Thomas Reynolds, a silk-mercer of Dublin, after retirement from business, had purchased a large property in his native county of Kildare; and by residence on his estate had acquired considerable influence among his Roman Catholic brethren. He was too important a personage in his neighbourhood to be passed over by the conspirators: and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond had endeavoured, with success, to attach him to their cause. He had been sworn an United Irishman, and in 1797, had accepted the rebel commission of Colonel, the office of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and lastly of delegate for the province of Leinster.

The motives of him who reveals the secrets of his party are always exposed to suspicion: but, as far as appearances can guide the judgment, there are few cases of treachery, (if such it can be called) to treason, which partake less of an odious character, certainly none which have contributed more to national safety, than that which we are about to relate. The society of United Irishmen from the beginning had dealt largely in

esoteric doctrines, which were only revealed by degrees to the initiated; and it is more than probable that many of those who first enrolled themselves in the confederacy perceived nothing of the ultimate scope of its design. The abolition of religious distinctions, and the reform of state abuses, were objects to which a generous and ardent spirit might naturally be allured: but the subversion of the constitution, and the massacre of the leading members of government, were crimes from which the same spirit would just as naturally revolt.

Reynolds perceived the undoubted symptoms of approaching rebellion, and was struck with remorse at the share which he had contributed towards its advance, and still more with horror at that which he was henceforward expected to contribute. He had money dealings, and an intimate friendship with Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant in Dublin, and a person warmly attached to the government. In frequent conversation with that gentleman on the condition of the country, he was led to reflect still more deeply on the enormity of the crime then in agitation; and at last he dropped some hints to Mr. Cope, that he knew a person who had been beguiled into the society of United Irishmen, and who, he believed, was anxious to atone for his offence by communicating their treasonable projects to government. Mr. Cope urged him vehemently to press the disclosure; he painted the rewards and honours which would await the information, and he represented in strong colours the paramount and imperious duty

by which such a person as Reynolds described was bound to his country. Reynolds denied that it was possible for his friend to come forward; but his repugnance gradually yielded to the earnest and pressing solicitations of Mr. Cope, and he at length promised that his friend should appear in person and make unreserved disclosures on the following conditions: that he should not be compelled to prosecute any United Irishman; that the source whence government derived its intelligence should be kept secret, at least for a time; and that, as his safety would require a temporary expatriation, his expences should be reimbursed. Mr. Cope readily acceded to these proposals, and Reynolds then informed him, as if from his friend, that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's, on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an immediate insurrection.

On the 12th of March, accordingly, the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, were arrested, upon this information, at the place pointed out. Papers, containing the outline of the plot, were found upon them: and at the same time were secured the persons of Messrs. Emmett, M'Nevin, Bond, Sweetman, and two Jacksons. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Messrs. Sampson and M'Cormick, effected their escape.

These arrests were followed up by a proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant (March 30th) declaratory of the state of the country: denouncing the existence of a traitorous conspiracy which had manifested itself by acts of open violence, and issuing orders for the

advance of his Majesty's troops to disarm the rebels, and suppress the rebellion by summary measures. The commander in chief, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was vested with full discretionary powers; and the disturbed districts were filled with soldiery. The horrors of a civil struggle rapidly increased; and the necessary severities of military occupation were eagerly magnified by the conspirators; and adduced as arguments to win over the weak and the wavering to the cause of rebellion.

The escape of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was a matter of profound anxiety to government. The nobility of his house, the influence which he was known to possess with the lower orders, his daring courage, and, above all, his deep implication in the traitorous plot, rendered his being at large most hazardous to the public welfare. Lord Edward, a brother of the Duke of Leinster, had been early tinctured with revolutionary principles; which were, perhaps, strengthened by his marriage with a natural daughter of the infamous Duke of Orleans. The violence and incaution with which he expressed his political opinions had led to his dismissal from the army. By this disgrace his original prejudices were heightened into the bitterest and most passionate disgust; and, in order to compass his revenge against a government by which he blindly conceived that he was injured, he threw himself headlong into the ranks of rebellion.

A reward of 1000*l.* was offered for his apprehension; and it was not long before it was effected.

On the 19th of May, the Town Major, Sirr, Mr. Swan, an active magistrate, and Captain Ryan, a yeomanry officer, with eight soldiers in disguise, surrounded a house in Dublin in which they had received positive information that Lord Edward was concealed. Mr. Swan was the first who entered his Lordship's room. He was lying half dressed on a bed, which the magistrate approached, and presenting his warrant informed him that resistance was useless, and that he should be treated with all respect on his surrender. Lord Edward sprang hastily from the bed, and snapped a pistol, which missed fire, at Mr. Swan. He then drew a dagger of singular construction; it had three blades, at right angles to each other, and could be wielded in opposite directions with unusual facility. Mr. Swan, in closing with his prisoner, received several wounds from this desperate weapon, and was too much disabled to secure him. At this moment Captain Ryan burst into the room, and presented a pistol which missed fire. He then thrust at his Lordship with a sword-cane. It bent on his ribs, and from the pain he fell upon the bed. Captain Ryan threw himself upon him, and in the struggle which ensued was mortally wounded by the dagger. When Major Sirr appeared he saw his two companions bleeding on the floor, and clinging to the legs of Lord Edward, who was endeavouring to disengage himself and gain the door. Major Sirr instantly fired, and wounded him in the shoulder. His Lordship then surrendered, and was conveyed to the castle, though not without an attempt at

rescue. The papers found in his possession confirmed his guilt, and he escaped the punishment of treason by dying of his wounds on the third of the following month. Captain Ryan, who had been wounded in fourteen different places, expired a few days before him.

Government had long been in possession of intelligence that the 23d of May was appointed for a general rising, and the days previous to it were distinguished by several other arrests. Among the prisoners were two brothers, Henry and John Sheares, natives of Cork. Attempts have frequently been made to annex an interest to the fate of these young men which, in fact, they little merited. Their abilities are said to have been powerful: but they were warped to a republican bias by a residence in Paris during the early stages of the revolution, and the brothers, having actively engaged, after their return, in the designs of the United Irish, were raised to the fatal eminence of the Rebel Directory. Few, if any, of the documents, which were brought to light in the course of the rebellion, breathed a more detestable, or more bloodthirsty spirit, than a proclamation which was found in an unfinished draught among their papers. It was intended for distribution on the first morning of insurrection: and it spoke of the deadliest vengeance upon the persons and the property of their opponents. It refused quarter to all soldiers who did not join their standard; it vowed eternal hatred against the English; and it urged every patriot to devote all his moments to war, or

the means of war : " for war, war alone," it continued " must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies."

The two Sheares were condemned on the clearest evidence on the 12th of July, and were soon after executed. On their trial it appeared, that the castle of Dublin, the camp at Lehaunstown, and the artillery at Chappel-izsoa, were to have been seized at the same moment. The detention of the mail-coaches was to have been the signal for more distant insurrection; so that the flame of rebellion in a few hours would have spread from the metropolis to the northern and southern extremities of the kingdom.

The peace of Dublin was preserved by these arrests and by other precautions. The existence of the plan for its seizure, and the leading details of the conspiracy, were communicated in a letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Lord Mayor, and in a message to both Houses of Parliament. An address was immediately voted in reply by the Commons: and, to increase the solemnity with which they declared their loyal sentiments, the whole House, preceded by the Speaker and their officers, walked in procession to the Castle.

The strong hold of rebellion was broken down by the disorganization which the seizure of its leaders produced; but the passions of the misguided rabble of insurgents were roused to fury by their discomfiture. The metropolis, as has been observed, was in repose, though it assumed the appearance of a garrisoned city. In the immediate vicinity several

acts of violence were committed simultaneously on the appointed day; either from the difficulty which the chiefs found in circulating intelligence of the failure of their general plan, or from their inability to control the impulse which they had previously communicated. The mail coaches on the northern and western roads were destroyed; several skirmishes were fought; and the towns of Naas, Claine, Prosperous, Ballymore-Eustace, and Kilcullen were attacked on the morning of the 24th; while Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven shared the same fate on the following day.

The insurgents, as might be expected, were almost every where defeated: at Dunboyne, and at Barretstown only did they succeed in surprising small parties of the King's troops, and cutting off their baggage. Lord Gosford, the commander at Naas, had received anonymous information of the projected attack. This town lies fourteen miles to the west of Dublin, and was garrisoned by detachments of the Armagh militia, the fourth dragoon guards, and the Ancient Britons. The rebels, amounting to somewhat more than a thousand men, made a bold attempt on the gaol. Being repulsed in this attack, they persisted in occupying the chief avenues to the town, till after an irregular fire of forty minutes they gave way in every direction, and were pursued, with great slaughter, by the cavalry. Several of the prisoners were hanged upon the spot, and about 140 fell in the action. Of the King's troops, two officers and thirty men were killed.

At Clane, the soldiers were sur-

prised at their quarters in the town, and each house being beset by a body of pikemen, the inmates were obliged to fight their way through, a service which they effected with gallantry and success. The town of Ballymore-Eustace was fired in the night, and more than 800 assailants were repulsed after some brisk fighting. At Kilcullen, the rebels were at first more successful. The church-yard of the old town offered a strong position, and behind its wall and dyke three hundred pikemen were intrenched. The cavalry was repulsed by this body with considerable loss, in three successive charges, most injudiciously ordered by the obstinacy of Gen. Dundas. They cost the lives of his best officers, who in vain dissuaded him from the attempt. The King's troops rallied at Kilcullen bridge, and were there reinforced by a small detachment of infantry. The rebels, largely increased in numbers by their former triumphs, and displaying three green standards, rushed to the attack; but the second volley broke and dispersed them. Their pursuit was soon discontinued; and it was thought necessary to abandon the town for the sake of concentration. It was speedily re-occupied by the rebels; and such of the loyalist inhabitants as had been unable or unwilling to accompany the retreat to Naás, fell victims to the fury of their enemies.

Far bloodier scenes occurred at Prosperous. This little town stands about seventeen miles from Dublin, and was intended as a seat for cotton manufactories. It was occupied by a small detachment of the city of Cork militia, and

of the Ancient Briton cavalry. The first, consisting of eighth-and-twenty men, under Capt. Swayne, were quartered in barracks. Twelve of the Ancient Britons slept in a house opposite to these, and the remaining eight were dispersed at single billets. Soon after midnight, on the morning of the 24th of May, the barracks were surrounded by a large force of rebels variously armed. The sentinels were surprised and killed, and Captain Swayne, who slept on the ground floor, was murdered in his bed. The soldiers ran to arms, and opened a straggling fire of musquetry from the windows. But their defence was unavailing, straw was heaped round the building, and lighted faggots being thrown upon it, the whole barrack was soon in a blaze. A few of the troops leaped from the windows and were caught on pikes below. Some rushed forward on their assailants and were instantly butchered. The rest maintained their post till they were beaten down by the falling roof, and perished in the flames. A dreadful yell proclaimed the consummation of this work of blood, and the ferocious perpetrators hastened on in search of new victims. Nine of the Welsh regiment were massacred, and among the peaceful inhabitants who fell, was Mr. Brewer, an Englishman, distinguished for his humanity and benevolence, and whose commercial engagements had contributed largely to the welfare of the rising town. When the rebels approached his house, he voluntarily unbarred his doors, unsuspecting of an enemy. He was immediately piked, and the blow of a sabre, which cleft his skull,

finished his sufferings. His corpse was dragged into the street and exposed to view, amid shouts of "Behold the body of a heretic tyrant!"

Mr. Stammers, a neighbouring gentleman, shared the same miserable fate; nor did his years protect an infirm old man, who once had served as serjeant in the army. These barbarities were heightened by the frantic exultation of the women who followed in troops. They kissed and congratulated their fathers, brothers, and husbands; and stimulated them to fresh deeds of blood: exclaiming "The kingdom is our own! Dublin and Naas are taken! down with the heretics!" The chief actors in the massacre had voluntarily expressed their contrition for their connection with the Union, before Captain Swayne, on the preceding day; and having surrendered their arms in the presence of a Romish priest, had entered into solemn oaths of loyalty and allegiance. Their leader, Dr. Esmond, a physician of large fortune, was the brother of a baronet of ancient family in the county of Wexford. He held a commission as First Lieutenant in the Clayne cavalry; and dined at the regimental mess, with the unfortunate Capt. Swayne, on the evening of the massacre. On the morning after it he joined his regiment, as if unconscious of the horrors in which he had just-borne the principal share. His arms were bright and his accoutrements clean. But his person had been distinctly observed by some of the few who escaped the massacre. He was arrested at the head of his troop, tried by a court martial, and being convicted of high treason, on evi-

dence which it was impossible to doubt, he was executed at Carlisle-bridge on the 14th of June. The officer who commanded at Clayne, after repulsing the insurgents, was advised of the carnage at Prosperous; he hastened to its relief, and by his seasonable appearance he saved the remaining protestant inhabitants from slaughter. Their extermination had already been resolved upon; but the approach of the King's troops struck panic into the rebels; and, ignorant of the weakness of their opponents, they hastily dispersed. Lord Roden also succeeded in routing more than 500 men in a skirmish at Rathfarnham. Messrs. Ledwich and Keough, gentlemen of property in the neighbourhood, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately executed.

War was now openly raging in the very heart of Ireland. The deliberations of parliament were conducted under the protection of a military guard; and the severe measures which the danger of the country rendered necessary, were no longer met even with a show of opposition. The privy council issued a proclamation for the establishment of martial law, and the Commons, without a dissentient voice, voted an address of approval. At greater distances from the capital than those to which we have hitherto referred, the rebellion broke out proportionately later; and in no instance until the detention of the mails had satisfied the insurgents of co-operation in Dublin. This signal gave the note of preparation at Carlow on the morning of the 24th, and towards night-fall, large

bodies of peasantry were observed gathering in the suburbs. The garrison of the town amounted to 450 men, and being apprised of the intended attack, they were judiciously distributed in various quarters. About one in the morning horrible yells announced the approach of the rebels; a force of 2000 men had assembled at the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, and marched forward with the most unbounded confidence, and with little arrangement. On entering the streets they were met by a steady and unremitting fire, and gave way on the moment without any attempt at resistance. Their flight was intercepted, and they dashed for refuge into the first houses to which they could gain access. The soldiery set fire to their hiding places, and about eighty houses were consumed. The pursuit was continued into the fields, and without the loss of a man on the side of the military, it is computed that not less than 600 rebels fell on this occasion. Sir Edward Crosbie himself was among the number.

Nearly as bloodless, on the part of the King's troops, were the defeats of the rebels, on the same morning, at Monastereven and Hacketstown. The former was defended by eighty-five yeomen, recently embodied, and half of these only were mounted; but they gallantly repulsed a band of 1300 insurgents, who left sixty dead in the streets. At Hacketstown 3000 men gave way in like manner before the determined resolution of less than a tenth of their numbers. The hill of Tarah, in the county of Meath, and Rathagan,

a village in Kildare, witnessed short combats with similar results. In all of them the rebels made a furious onset, but recoiled after the first discharge of the military.

These repeated defeats in the commencement of their undertaking discouraged the hopes of the insurgents, and overtures were made to Gen. Dundas, the commander at the affair at Kilcullen, by a body of three thousand men, which occupied the eminence of Knockallin, on the borders of the Curragh of Kildare. After communicating with the Castle, Gen. Dundas was authorised to receive the arms and submission of the insurgents. Pardon was unconditionally granted them, and they were permitted to return home under the protection of government.

To this act of lenity have been ascribed by some most of the atrocities which unhappily succeeded it. It is said that the Popish doctrine which denies the necessity of keeping faith with heretics, had been sedulously inculcated by the priests with a view to the probability of such capitulations; and that the rebels who were thus secured from immediate peril, dispersed for the time only that they might unite again as opportunity offered. Others have affirmed, that the spirit of insurrection was already broken by the ill success of its early efforts; that sound policy dictated to government measures of conciliation; that a general amnesty would have disarmed rebellion more effectually than the severest military execution; and that a willingness to accept submission would have called forth a willingness to submit.

An incident which soon afterwards occurred is adduced by each party in support of its own opinion.

Sir James Duff, on the first intelligence of the insurrection, had hastened from Limerick by forced marches, with 600 men, to open a communication with the metropolis. He arrived at Gibbet-rath, a spot on the Currah, appointed by Gen. Dundas for the surrender of a body of rebels, a short time before the officer deputed to that service reached it. Sir James Duff demanded the arms of the insurgents, and as he advanced to receive them some shots were fired. This, whether the result of design or of accident, (and both have been asserted) was considered a breach of the negotiation, and the troops immediately took ample vengeance for the treachery; three hundred rebels were left upon the field.

It is difficult to decide between these conflicting statements which severally attach the blame of protracted warfare to the rebels and to the soldiers; and in the mutual exasperation produced by a civil struggle, the supporters of each interest unfortunately pay more regard to the party which they have espoused than to the balance of truth. In the particular instance in question, it is admitted on both sides that shots were fired by the rebels; but it is said, in excuse, that they were fired in the air, and in a spirit of wantonness only, by some of the insurgents, who had declared that they never would surrender their arms otherwise than unloaded. On the other hand, the King's troops could scarcely be expected to distinguish,

with much nicety, the motives which occasioned, at least, a seeming act of violence, by a body of men who were known to be arrayed against them with hostile intentions, and who had already been opposed to them in battle. Even if no treachery was designed at the moment, the events of the following days sufficiently proved the little reliance which was to be placed on the nominal surrender of the insurgents; for on the persons of many who fell in the defence of neighbouring camps, were found the protections granted by Gen. Dundas, upon their apparent submission.

But it was in a part of Ireland in which disturbances had been least apprehended, that the rebellion burst out and raged with the greatest violence. So little suspicion was entertained of the general prevalence of disaffection in the county of Wexford, that its protection was intrusted to not more than 600 regular troops and militia. The Roman Catholic population, at the close of 1797, had voluntarily addressed the Lord Lieutenant with a loyal declaration, pledging themselves to arm; if they were permitted, in defence of government, whenever their services might be deemed necessary. The residence of the gentry, and the generally flourishing state of the county, had hitherto rendered it among the most peaceable in Ireland; and it is well worthy of remark, that the district in which the greatest barbarities in the end were committed, was precisely that which could least complain of oppression or mal-administration.

The rebellion in Wexford bore distinct characters of a religious war. The Romish priests were in all instances the stimulators, in many the leaders of it. Father John Murphy, the curate of Bouvalogue, was the first who appeared in arms. On the morning of Whitsunday, the 27th of May, he assembled between four and five thousand peasants on the hill of Oulart, midway between Gorey and Wexford. A detachment of the North Cork militia, 110 men, under Lieutenant Colonel Foote, marched to dislodge them, and the result of an engagement between such unequal numbers may be readily anticipated. At the first advance of the King's troops, the rebels gave way, firing in their retreat from the numerous hedges which intersected the hill, and falling back in disorder upon their main body of pikemen. As the militia pursued, they were outflanked and surrounded, and so desperate was the charge of the pikemen who now rushed forward, that five only of the whole detachment escaped destruction. Of these, Colonel Foote, though wounded in two places, was fortunately one.

A second party of rebels had been driven, about the same time, from the neighbouring hill of Kilthomas; but Father Murphy's brilliant success much more than counterbalanced the defeats of his friends, and spread consternation over the country. A broad line of flame marked the advance of the insurgent army, and as it passed the deserted roofs of the loyal inhabitants who sought refuge in the neighbouring towns, their ranks perpetually increased by an influx

of the disaffected. Flushed with victory, they hastened first to Camolin, and then to Ferns. The bishop, a prelate whose gentle qualities and active benevolence had long endeared him to all but those who were animated by the ferocious bigotry of treason and fanaticism, was compelled to provide for the safety of his family by a hasty flight; and the ruffians, whom he had blindly supported by his bounty, while they plundered and fired the episcopal palace, were heard to express their regret that they could not moisten its ruins with the blood of himself and his family.

The town of Enniscorthy is distant about six miles from Ferns; it is divided into two parts by the river Slaney, and its suburbs extend to Vinegar Hill, a strong position on its north. The population before the rebellion amounted to between four and five thousand souls; and the river being navigable, Enniscorthy was a place of considerable trade. Its streets were now thronged with fugitives who poured in from the adjoining country, and every new comer brought some additional account of a cruelty which had been perpetrated, or a menace which had been uttered. The garrison consisted of 300 men, partly militia and partly yeomen; of the latter, 50 were cavalry. The drums beat to arms early on Monday morning, (May 28th.) The bridge was occupied by the North Cork militia, the street leading to it was assigned to the cavalry, and the remaining troops were posted on the Newtown barry road, the line on which the rebels were expected to advance. Between five

and six thousand men had already marched to the hill of Bally-Orle, about two miles from Enniscorthy, and having attended the solemn performance of mass by Father Murphy, they proceeded to the assault. The onset was furious and irregular. Raising loud and fearful shouts, the rebels endeavoured to disorder the ranks of the military by driving a number of loose horses before them. The high clay banks, which formed the fences of the neighbouring fields, afforded breast works as they advanced; and under cover of these, they fired with precision and security. Wexford abounds with water-fowl, and its peasants, for the most part, are excellent marksmen. The yeomen stood firm till the rebels extended their wings: retirement then became necessary to prevent them from being surrounded. To secure their retreat the cavalry charged, with some effect, but with severe loss. A disorderly fight was now maintained in the streets of the town. The disaffected inhabitants fired it in many parts at once, and even shot from their windows at the troops. The streets are narrow, and the flames formed an arch over the heads of the combatants. Yet so fluctuating was the success of the day, that the green or orange ribbon, the distinguishing emblems of the rival parties, was alternately hoisted by the trembling inhabitants, as they saw either side prevail, for the moment. The bridge was still unattempted, but both above and below it the rebels had forded the river; and after a gallant defence of three hours, in which 75 of the garrison were killed and

18 wounded, it was resolved that the town should be abandoned. It is not easy to paint the consternation of the loyal inhabitants when the military commenced their retreat. To such as were unable to accompany them, it was the signature of a death-warrant. A confused multitude, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, pressed through the flames, and thronged the road to Wexford. Fortunately the wind favoured their escape, and the rebels were as yet too little skilled in the advantages of victory to follow up their success by pursuit. Fourteen miles were to be passed before an asylum could be gained; and over this distance, many ladies, accustomed hitherto only to the ease and the luxuries of affluence, passed on foot, and in some instances with children in their arms. Thus, under the fire of both parties, the wife of a yeomanry officer who had fallen in the conflict, waded twice through the river, and escaped with one child unhurt. Her husband was dead on the field of battle, and six other children were dispersed among the ruins of the burning town.

Now began a series of unexampled horrors. The rebels burst into the streets with cries of vengeance upon the heretics. Some parts of the town were already destroyed, and in others, the conflagration still continued to rage. The half dead and the dying were groaning amid the flames, and the carnage seemed as if it were but just begun. Before the dawn of the 29th, 478 dwelling houses, the church, glebe house, and all the public receptacles were re-

duced to ashes. The walls only of the sacred edifice defied the fury of the assailants; and the bell, which had sounded hitherto to invite the peaceable and the devout to worship, was removed to the insurgent camp as a signal in case of alarm or surprise.

This camp was pitched on the adjoining height of Vinegar-hill, and here, under the direction of a committee of twelve, four of whom, Murphy, Roche, Kearns, and Clinch, were priests, the work of massacre commenced. Large parties were employed in scouring the neighbouring country, and all protestants who could be discovered were murdered on the spot, or carried off as prisoners to Enniscorthy. During the three weeks in which the rebels maintained this position, mass was daily said at the head of each column after morning parade, and when the priest had concluded an exhortation, the burden of which was the duty of extirpating heresy, the door of an old windmill on the top of the hill, which was employed as a temporary prison, was opened, and the captives one by one were led out to butchery. More than 500 victims were thus sacrificed to the spirit of fanatical rancour, and the last moments of the unhappy sufferers were embittered by the most refined cruelties. Murphy, on horseback, and raising a large crucifix in his arms, frequently adjudged sentence, after the mockery of a trial, and denounced the terrors of eternal punishment upon the expiring heretic. A certain number were assigned for the offering of the day, and in order to increase the bitterness of death to the misera-

ble objects of their wanton barbarity, the rebels purposely conveyed many more to the windmill than were destined for immediate execution. Here, sharpening their pikes in their presence, they held out the momentary expectation of the fatal summons; or, as a first step towards the murder of the ensuing day, condemned them to the torture of the scourge. At night, without sustenance, and bound by cords to some fellow captive, the sufferer was thrown once more into gaol, till the morning renewed or terminated his miseries.

It is not our purpose to detail the numerous instances of ferocity and blood-thirstiness which have been largely collected, and which unhappily rest on too assured evidence. The sole question asked at the place of execution regarded the religion in which the prisoner would die, and his reply was followed by a volley of musquetry, or repeated stabs from pikes. Before, and during the execution, the perpetrators commonly knelt and prayed: and at the conclusion, an old man went round the field with a scythe, examining the bodies, and striking on the head such as shewed any signs of remaining life. On one occasion, a woman, who had witnessed the murder of her husband, clasped his bloody corpse in her arms. A thunder-storm was raging at the moment, and as the lightning flashed vividly around them, the rebels fell on their knees and crossed themselves. Some of them asked the woman the reason of the thunder. She answered, God was angry at their acts. "No," they replied,

with a coarse epithet, "God is sounding the horn of joy because an Orangeman is killed *."

Even the few who escaped with life, for the most part, owed their preservation to some impulse of superstition. A father and his two sons, (Neal of Ballybrennan) were condemned by Murphy. One of the sons was first stabbed and shot, and the father was next placed upon his knees. The executioner's musquet missed fire three times, when Father Roche desired him to try if it would go off in the air. He tried, and succeeded. Roche then imputed the escape of the prisoner to the visible interference of God, and dismissed him with a protection.

Another person, Davis, a glazier, of Enniscorthy, had joined himself to the military in defence of the town. On its evacuation he was taken prisoner, after four days concealment, in a loathsome retreat, during which he had no sustenance but a fowl, which he had caught, and devoured raw. Upon being carried to Vinegar Hill, the first object which met his eyes were more than forty naked corpses, among which he recognized several of his townsmen and acquaintance. The rebels placed him upon his knees among the bodies, and insultingly desired him to lay his hand upon the heretics. They then shot him through the body and the arm, and having, as they imagined, extinguished all life by numerous pike wounds, they covered him lightly with sods. From seven in the evening when he fell, till five on the following morning, he

lay senseless; and upon recovering recollection and motion he found his dog, which had scraped away the sods, licking his wounds. In the first moment of revival he imagined that the pikemen were returned to stab him, and he faintly pronounced the name of Father Roche. The rebels heard the name, and surrounding him without farther violence, shouted, "The dead is coming to life." They then committed him to a priest, who administered the rites of the Church, and at whose house in the end Davis was entirely restored.

The protestants of one parish only in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, (Killegny) escaped unmolested; and their safety must be attributed to a temporising conformity with the Roman worship. The incumbent and his family nearly perished at the time from want of sustenance, and he himself died within a few months after the suppression of the rebellion, in consequence of the mental agitation which he had undergone. The fate of his parishioners though suspended, would not long have been delayed if the rebels had remained in power. Menaces were hourly directed against them, and their professed conversion to the prevailing faith was more than suspected to be only accommodated to their state of peril. In the adjoining parish, a ferocious rabble had collected the protestants of both sexes with the intention of burning them alive in their own Church, or of making them into that which in their savage levity they termed an *Orange*

* Evidence on the trial of William Fenlon.

Pye. The faggots were already piled for this horrible purpose, and it was only prevented by an unexpected movement of the military. It was not by the lowest of the populace alone that these fearful atrocities were perpetrated. Many of the leaders were in opulent circumstances; some of them well educated, and a few connected with ancient families. Luke Byrne, one of the most forward in the massacres at Vinegar Hill, was a wealthy brewer, and though advanced in years, was distinguished by his remorseless cruelty. His sons, Bryan and Mogue, rivalled their father; and his brother frequently solicited the office of executioner.

The defeat of the King's troops at Oulart, and the capture of Enniscorthy excited well-grounded apprehensions for the safety of Wexford. Such detachments as were in its neighbourhood hastily concentrated themselves in the town. A detachment of the Meath regiment with two howitzers, and eighteen gunners, moved from Duncannon Fort on the 29th of May to Taghmon. Though disappointed of a reinforcement which was expected here, they marched on towards Wexford before day-break on the following morning, lulled into security by assurances which they every where received, that the road was open, and that they would encounter no opposition. At the hill of Three Rocks at the extremity of the mountain of Forth, within three miles of Wexford, several thousand rebels suddenly opened a sharp fire from the heights. The militia threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight; most

of them (nearly 70 men) including their commander, Captain Adams, were killed. The artillery horses became unruly, and, it being impossible to spike the guns, both of them fell into the hands of the insurgents.

The gunners, whom the rebels took prisoners, were compelled to serve in their army. Six of them were protestants, but one who was a Papist knew the object of the question as to religion when it was proposed, and saved the lives of his comrades by the promptness of his answer. This continued success, and the store of arms and ammunition obtained by it, increased the confidence and the numbers of the rebels. The priests maintained that the triumphs of a rude and undisciplined peasantry, over a regular military force, distinctly manifested the favour of God; they prophesied the downfall of the heretical government which opposed them, and to animate their followers to greater daring, they openly proclaimed their own invulnerability, and that of every true Papist who was fortified by sincere faith. To corroborate this assertion, they frequently took musquet-balls from their pockets, declaring that they had been struck by them in battle, but that they were entirely harmless. "We, on the other hand," continued the fanatical impostors, "need throw but chaff or gravel from the road to kill and disperse the heretics." Extermination was the watchword of the chiefs; and one of Murphy's sayings is recorded, "that if there was but one drop of protestant blood in a family,

that whole family ought to be put to death."

Major-General Fawcett had marched from Duncannon Fort to Taghmon to support Captain Adams, but hearing of his defeat he retired. Colonel Maxwell, on receiving the same information, advanced immediately from Wexford with 200 of the Donegal regiment, and about 150 yeomanry cavalry, in the hope of co-operating with General Fawcett, and recovering the howitzers. On arriving at Three Rocks, a heavy fire was opened upon him from rocks, hedges, and houses, at the foot of the eminence; and shells were thrown from the top of the ridge with a precision, which marked the direction of some hand skilled in military science. The narrowness of the road embarrassed the cavalry, which was unable to form; and its retreat opened the left flank to the enemy. The rebels attempted a charge with the hopes of intercepting the infantry, but they were repulsed by the steadiness of their fire. No advantage could be reaped by endeavouring to maintain a hazardous post against such superior numbers; and Colonel Maxwell withdrew in good order, though not without the loss of an officer of distinction, Colonel Watson*, and a few privates.

The inhabitants of Wexford, on the first alarm of insurrection, endeavoured to place their town in a state of defence. Barricades were erected in the streets, the roofs were stripped of their thatch to prevent the rapid spreading of

fire, and every precaution was taken to hinder the entrance of suspicious persons. The town is irregularly built, and consists of narrow streets; the harbour, though capacious, is shallow, and unable to admit ships drawing more than ten feet of water. The most magnificent work in the town, is a stupendous wooden bridge over the Slaney, more than 1500 feet in length. On the morning of the 30th of May, the inhabitants were roused at an early hour by cries that this superb pile was burning. It had been fired by a party of rebels to prevent the retreat, or the reinforcement of the garrison. The flames advanced rapidly, and were extinguished with difficulty; but a small portion only of the bridge at the eastern end was destroyed.

The rebels encamped at the Three Rocks mountain were fifteen thousand in number; flushed by victory, and now well armed. Wexford was surrounded by hills; and incapable of regular defence; a great part of its population was prepared to join the insurgents on the first attack, to fire on the garrison, and to renew a conflagration similar to that of Enniscorthy. Six hundred troops, and there were few more within the walls, could have little hope of successful defence under these circumstances. All of them were dispirited, and part was mutinous. Colonel Maxwell, on these accounts, resolved to evacuate the town.

One attempt at accommodation had been previously made, and had

* A retired officer of the 65th regiment, who lived at Wexford, and who volunteered on this occasion.

failed. Three gentlemen, each of large property in the country, Beauchamp Bagenall Harvey of Bargycastle, John Henry Colclough of Ballyteig, and Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, had been arrested a few days before on suspicion of treasonable practices; and it was hoped, that through their mediation, the rebels might be persuaded to disperse. Colclough and Fitzgerald were deputed for this purpose, on their parole: but it does not appear that they were authorized to conclude any distinct treaty in case of submission. They found the rebel camp at Vinegar Hill with little discipline in its ranks, and with distraction in its Councils. Attacks upon Newtown-barry, upon New Ross, and upon Wexford, were discussed, and supported with such violence by their several proposers as threatened the dissolution of the Confederacy. Shouts of joy announced the arrival of the *gentlemen prisoners*, as they were termed; but they either had little influence with the infatuated rabble, or they exerted it not to repress, but to stimulate their fury.

A resolution to attack Wexford was instantly entered into, and Fitzgerald dishonorably* remained to direct their operations. Colclough, in observance of his parole, returned to confinement. He stated the design of the rebels, and obtained an extension of his parole till the following day.

Not a moment was to be lost in securing the retreat of the garrison, and it can scarcely be wondered at that it was conducted with some precipitation and irregularity. A few of the yeomanry, who had enrolled themselves only as a cloak to disaffection, deserted to the enemy. The main body, under Colonel Maxwell, arrived without molestation at Duncannon Fort: but a detachment which had preceded him by a different route, was attacked in the rear by the rebel horse at Taylor's-town-bridge. The darkness of the night, their unacquaintance with the country, and their total ignorance of the numbers of their assailants, all contributed to increase the panic of the soldiery, and they dispersed, after considerable loss, both in killed and prisoners.

CHAPTER VII.

Occupation of Wexford. Bagenall Harvey elected Commander-in-chief. Character of Keugh the Rebel Governor. State of the Inhabitants. Three Divisions of the Insurgent Army. Defeat of the Rebels at Bally-cannon and Newton-barry. March of General Loftus to Gorey. Rashness of Colonel Walpole. He falls into an Ambuscade at Tub-

* Such is the only interpretation which can be put upon the expression of a writer, (Mr. Gordon) by no means inclined to exaggerate the crimes of the Rebel Chiefs. He speaks of Colclough who returned, as "a man of honor," and then adds, "but Fitzgerald remained with the rebels." It is scarcely possible to avoid an inference that the attack on Wexford was resolved upon through Fitzgerald's suggestion.

berneering. His Rout and Death. The Rebels occupy Gorey. Retreat of General Loftus to Tullow. Desperate Attack upon New Ross. Success of the Rebels at first. They are finally repulsed. Massacre of Scullabogue. Bagenall Harvey deprived of his Command. Father Roche succeeds him. Consternation in Dublin. Measures of the Lord Lieutenant. Carelessness and Inactivity of the Rebels. Arklow abandoned by the King's Troops. They return. The Garrison augmented. Attack on Arklow. Gallantry of Colonel Skerrett. Death of the Rebel Leader, Murphy. Defeat of the Rebels. Atrocities at Wexford. The Protestant Prisoners obliged to assist at Military Executions. Cruelty of Dixon. Ten Prisoners sent for Execution to Vinegar Hill. Capture of Lord Kingsborough. His Treatment. Concentration of the Royal Troops for the Relief of Enniscorthy. The blessed Priest of Bannow. Massacre at the Bridge of Wexford. Interrupted by the News of General Moore's Victory at Goff's Bridge. Investment and Capture of Vinegar Hill. Flight of the Rebels. Proposition for the Surrender of Wexford. Assassination of Ensign Harman. Abandonment of Wexford by the Rebels.

It was on the 30th of May that the rebels entered Wexford. Their first operation was to release Bagenall Harvey from prison, and to appoint him president of a committee of seven in which the supreme command was invested. Harvey, as soon as the arrival of the rebels within a short distance was known, despatched a message to their leaders in the hope of preventing a massacre similar to that which had followed the capture of Enniscorthy*: and it is said, that he expressed a wish to retire secretly to Duncannon-fort, and there unequivocally to renounce his connection with the insurgents. In an unhappy moment he allowed himself to be persuaded against his better genius; and shortly after the occupation of the town, he was una-

nimously elected commander-in-chief of the force which now assumed the title of the united army of the county of Wexford.

As the rebels approached, they halted at a spot called the Spring, about two hundred yards from the gates. Here they knelt down and joined in prayer. Then with horrible yells they rushed through the streets, bearing upon their shoulders one of their officers, Keugh, a Protestant, whom they nominated Governor. This singular man was originally a private in the King's service, and by his gallantry and good conduct obtained the rank of captain in the 65th regiment, in which he fought with some distinction in America. A pleasing manner and a handsome person led him to a fortunate marriage: and he lived, for

* "I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to Christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners' lives."

B. B. HARVEY.

Wednesday, May 30, 1798.

some time, in affluence and respectability in the county of Wexford. The restlessness of an ambitious temper, however, induced him to lend too ready an ear to the plans of the conspiracy; and from the hope of aggrandizement in the troubles of a civil struggle, he entered into the closest ties with the revolutionary faction. His disaffection was so notorious, that in 1796 it became dangerous to permit his name to remain in the commission of the peace; and from the moment of his dismissal, his fury against government became undisguised and unmeasured.

Some few of the Protestant inhabitants accompanied the garrison in their retreat. Others, with difficulty, effected their escape on board the vessels in the harbour, to which, in many instances, they were obliged to wade from the shore, and part of them even after paying the large sums which were exacted for their safety, were betrayed, and forced once more on land. Such as remained in the town were either held close prisoners under their own roofs with the hourly menace and apprehension of death, or were committed to the gaol, and other public places of confinement. The majority of the population received the insurgents with unequivocal signs of joy, and largely participated in the atrocities and massacres which ensued.

Their rapid increase of numbers after their recent victories, and the multitudes which their knowledge of the temper of the country induced them to believe would continue to throng their

ranks, enabled the rebels to undertake more extensive operations than they had at first contemplated. Their force was now divided into three corps. One under the command of Bagenall Harvey and Father Roche was to encamp on Carrick-byrne hill with a design upon New Ross, the possession of which would have opened a communication with Munster. A second, under Kern, Doyle, and Redmond, reinforcing the body on Vinegar-hill, was to threaten Newtown-barry, which place if gained in addition to Wexford and Enniscorthy, would place the river Slaney entirely under their control; and the Murphys heading the third detachment, were to proceed from the hill of Corrigrua, in the first instance to Gorey, and ultimately to Dublin itself. The weakness of the garrisons in the intermediate towns gave them full confidence of reaching the metropolis. They trusted that the whole country would rise in their progress; and the communication which they steadily maintained with the capital, assured them of the junction of a numerous, well armed, and well organized body within its walls.

The disaster at Oulart had intimidated the detachment of King's troops quartered at Gorey, and they had abandoned their post on the 28th of May. Fortunately at this time the rebels were fully employed in the South; and the military, having received a small reinforcement, resumed their station after two days absence. On the evening of the 1st of June, it was known that a

corps of the insurgents, much above 1000 men*, had taken possession of the village of Ballyconnor, four miles south of Gorey, and was preparing to occupy an advantageous post on Ballyma-naa-hill, midway between the above named village and the town, preparatory to an attack upon the latter. Lieut. Elliott, with his little party, determined to anticipate their movement. His force consisted only of ninety infantry, (fifty of which were yeomen) and three troops of yeomanry cavalry. The rebels had fired the whole country in their advance, and the march of the main body might be traced by the line of flame. So little did they expect to be attacked, and so ignorant were they of the smallness of the force opposed to them, that after a short resistance they gave way on all sides. If the cavalry had pursued, the slaughter would have been as great as the rout was complete. About a hundred of the insurgents fell, with the loss only of three wounded on the side of the Loyalists. The conquerors, after burning the town of Ballyconnor, returned to Gorey with a large booty of captured horses.

Newtown-barry was attacked on the same day by five thousand men. It was defended by Colonel Lestrange with five hundred. Two large insurgent columns advanced on each side of the river under the protection of hedgerows, and commenced a fire of round and canister shot from a six-pounder, a howitzer, and some

swivels, which drove in the outposts of the King's troops. Father Kern, a chief distinguished by extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity, animated the rebels to the charge; and Colonel Lestrange, fearful of being surrounded, gave the signal for retreat. The insurgents rushed hastily and in disorder into the town, and scattered themselves in straggling parties to plunder and burn. The yeomanry were roused by the danger of their families and property, and observing that the few determined loyalists who remained in the town resolutely continued to fire from their windows, they earnestly demanded to be led once more to the charge. The movement was unexpected on the part of the rebels, and it was long before they could collect their dispersed men. Showers of musquetry and grape prevented them from rallying, and they abandoned the town precipitately, and were cut down on every side by the cavalry. Two hundred men were left upon the field, and among them were distinguished the bodies of two priests attired in their sacerdotal vestments.

The confidence of the rebels was checked by these disasters, and they rested on their arms at Corrigrua-hill till the 4th of June. Meantime, General Loftus, who had been despatched from Dublin to collect and assume the command of a larger force than had hitherto appeared in the rebellious districts, arrived at Gorey. Fifteen hundred troops and five

* It has been stated in some accounts that the number was 4000.

pieces of artillery accompanied him. There could be but little doubt that this army was sufficiently strong to restore the repose of the country, and the total dispersion of the rebels was confidently anticipated. Unhappily these pleasing hopes were dissipated by the rashness and disobedience of an inexperienced officer. Colonel Walpole, a brave but an untried soldier, was a relation of the lord lieutenant, and held a confidential situation in the castle. His orders were to conduct a body of troops to Gorey, and there to place them under the command of General Loftus; but, eager for distinction, and desirous to enjoy the principal merit of any action which might be achieved, he appeared on his arrival more disposed to claim an independent command, than to be willing to receive orders. His instructions from General Loftus were to proceed with the main body of troops towards Ballymore by Clough, while parallel columns advanced in the same direction both on his right and left. An easy communication was afforded by cross roads on all the points of march.

The utmost precaution had been recommended in this advance; but Walpole carelessly proceeded without even throwing out flankers. Straggling parties of the rebels hovered round, and reconnoitred his disposition from the first: but he persisted in disregarding them, and when urged by more veteran officers to send an express to General Loftus, he peremptorily refused, saying, the action should be *his*, and no other man's.

At a little distance beyond Clough the road becomes low and narrow; high clay banks, crowned with lofty bushes, bound it on either side, and beyond these are broad and deep trenches. The adjoining country is inclosed in small fields by thick quick-set hedges; and the coarse rank grass and potatoes in which they abound, afforded ample cover for the ambuscade which the rebels had planted at Tubberneering. Walpole advanced unsuspecting of the snare. His fine person was conspicuous on a white charger, and one of the first shots from the destructive volleys, which on all sides poured in upon his devoted troops, brought him lifeless to the ground. The column was surrounded in a spot, which from the height and number of its inclosures, was favourable for the irregular and desultory warfare of the untrained rebels, and in which military tactics, when too late adopted, were readily baffled by ferocity and numbers.

The 4th Dragoon Guards and the Ancient Britons, under Sir Watkin William Wynne, attempted to disengage the detachment by charges on the right and front of the enemy; but the disadvantage of ground made their repeated efforts unavailing. After an unequal conflict of nearly an hour, their commander having been killed, and three of their guns captured and turned against themselves, the King's troops fled in confusion. A detachment of the Antrim militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cope, was the only portion that could be rallied; and to the steady valour of this gal-

lant little handful may be imputed the safety of the few who escaped on this disastrous day.

Every inch of ground, as far as Gorey, was disputed in retreat by Colonel Cope. The passage through this town was effected with the utmost difficulty, the houses being mostly occupied by insurgents who fired repeatedly from the roofs and windows. Though beaten, and flying before superior numbers, it was impossible to restrain the fury of the troops on this unexpected attack; and, regardless of their own safety, many rushed into the houses upon their new assailants, and were slain by their pursuers almost in the same moment in which their thirst for vengeance was gratified.

So completely had Walpole neglected all communication with General Loftus, that the small detachment which the latter pushed forward when he heard the firing, in order to ascertain its cause, was cut off to a man: and it was not until his arrival on the field of battle, on which the stripped and bloody corpses of his comrades were lying, that he discovered the extent of his disaster. His situation was now most critical; he was left with little more than two hundred men opposed to enemies flushed with success, gathering from all the vicinity, and who, after their several junctions were effected, could be estimated at scarcely less than 20,000 men. Upon reconnoitring Gorey, he found it already in their possession. Large bodies were in motion on the adjacent hills, which were mounted with the artillery recently cap-

tured. To penetrate the town was impossible even for the most desperate valour; and General Loftus determined to join the troops at Carlow by marching round the enemy's right. To this town he effected his retreat about midnight, carrying with him his guns and tumbrils over a steep mountain road. This post, however, was decided to be untenable against the overwhelming force which in a few hours might be directed against it. Gen. Loftus fell back still farther upon Tullow; and the following day brought with it the plunder and demolition of the town which he had been thus reluctantly compelled to abandon.

Meantime, the division under Bagenall Harvey, (June 1st) moved from the encampment of Carrickburn-hill upon New Ross. On the evening of the 4th it occupied an eminence called Corbet-hill, within a mile and a half of the town; and a summons was addressed early on the following morning by Harvey to the garrison. No flags of truce were admitted by the King's troops from the rebels, and the bearer of the despatch was shot by a sentinel as he came near the walls. The ferocity of the insurgents was increased by this, which they deemed a violation of the laws of war: and a galling fire kept up by the outposts of the garrison, precipitated the assault much earlier than Harvey had intended. While arranging his ulterior dispositions, he ordered five hundred men to dislodge the troops who were annoying him. A tumultuous body far exceeding the number which

he had ordered, stimulated and headed by their fanatical priests, and shouting with the most savage yells, rushed forward at the first word. The torrent was irresistible, and the King's troops fled at all quarters, while fresh bands of insurgents rolled on to the charge, undismayed by the fall of their companions, who were mowed down in whole ranks by the distant artillery*.

The rebels for some time appeared master of the whole town; and but for the coolness and gallantry of General Johnson, the commander, the defeat of the Royalists would have been certain. "Will you desert your General?" he called after his flying men, and they continued to fly. "Will you desert your countryman?" They turned, gave three cheers, and rallied. Profiting by this momentary enthusiasm he assured them of the arrival of fresh troops, and led them once more across the river to the charge. His efforts were ably seconded by M'Cormick, an inhabitant of Ross, who had once served in the dragoons. Conspicuous by his huge stature and brass helmet, he was constantly on the spot of greatest danger; and General Johnson, who had two horses shot under him, was scarcely more surprisingly preserved than himself.

The battle was renewed, but the fortune of the day still was poised in the balance. The outskirts of the town were in flames,

and the rebels fought awhile as if secure of victory. Thrice they returned to the ground which they had at first won, but the disposition made by Gen. Johnson in their rear impeded their retreat, and prevented them from receiving reinforcements. After a conflict of ten hours, they abandoned the assault. They left behind them fourteen swivels, and four ship guns, and more than two thousand slain. The killed, wounded, and missing in the royal army amounted to 230, and ninety of these were dead upon the field. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, fell in the first onset, and his loss, both as an officer and a man, was a subject of deep regret to all who had served with, or known him.

The repulse from New Ross was the signal for one of the most atrocious of the many sanguinary outrages perpetrated in the course of this unhappy civil war. During the encampment at Carrickburn-hill the neighbourhood had been scoured nightly by rebel detachments, and such prisoners as they captured were lodged in a barn at Scullabogue, about half a mile from head quarters. On the morning of the attack of Ross, three hundred men were left to guard these prisoners under three captains, Murphy, Sweetman, and Devereux. As the rebels gave way, orders were twice forwarded to these men to put their prisoners to death; and twice they refused the horrible mandate. The priests

* It is related, on the affidavit of an eye-witness, that one of the rebels advanced before his fellows, seized a gun, and having crammed his hat and wig into it, cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is stopped." At that moment the gunner laid his match to the touch-hole, and blew the unfortunate wretch to atoms.

at length imperatively renewed the command; and Father Murphy, of Taghmon, is said himself to have been the bearer of the sentence of massacre. Two hundred and twenty-one prisoners of both sexes and all ages were confined in the barn. Thirty-seven of these were led out, and piked or shot before its door, and the remainder, the thatched roof having been fired, and straw thrown upon the blazing mass to increase the conflagration, were burned alive within its walls. Circumstances of barbarity which would be incredible, were they not founded on evidence which it is not possible to reject, are related to have accompanied this atrocity. More than one of the murderers boasted that he would try the taste of Orange blood, and dipping his fingers in the wounds of some scarce-dead corpse, or passing his tongue over the red point of his pike, satisfied his ferocious thirst, with horrible joy. A child, during the confusion, had crept under the door of the burning barn. It was hurt and bruised, but might have escaped with life: it was observed, however, by a vigilant sentinel, who plunged his pike into its bosom, and tossed it back into the flames. Such were the effects produced by the oath of extermination which had been recently exacted from the rebels, and printed copies of which were found upon numbers of the slain at the battle of Ross. "I, A. B. do solemnly swear by our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us on the cross, and by the blessed Virgin Mary, that I will burn, destroy, and murder all heretics, up to my knees in blood. So help me God."

The elevation of Bagenall Harvey lasted but a short space: and the same tumultuary assembly which on the 1st of June had raised him to his unenvied supremacy, degraded him on the 6th, after the loss of his first battle. He was unfitted for the ferocious scenes in which his want of judgment and his indecision had engaged him. The insubordination of his followers, and the cruelties which they perpetrated, disgusted him with his post, and he willingly abandoned it at the first murmurs which accused him of incapacity. He retired from the camp to Wexford, having by his last general orders endeavoured to stop the atrocious crimes which in many instances sheltered themselves under the pretended sanction of his name. The penalty of death was denounced against any person who should kill prisoners, burn houses, or commit plunder without especial written orders from the commander-in-chief.

After two days delay at Carrickburn-hill, the rebels took post at Sleeve Keelta, another hill rising above the river of Ross. Their object probably was to obstruct the navigation between Waterford, Ross, and Duncannonfort, and in this, though frustrated on the whole, they partly succeeded. A mail which had fallen into their hands, furnished them with much important intelligence. At Sleeve Keelta they elected Father Philip Roche as Harvey's successor; a man of gigantic stature, boisterous manners, and the deadliest hatred of Protestantism. Hence they moved to the hill of Lacken near Ross, and for several days they lay in a

state of drunkenness and inactivity, negligent of their safety, and careless, as it seemed, of farther operations.

The intelligence of Walpole's defeat naturally excited great consternation in the metropolis, in which the news arrived on the very evening of the disaster itself. The success and the force of the rebels were magnified by report; the occupation of Dublin and the overthrow of the government were triumphantly prophesied, or sadly anticipated; and the hopes and fears of the contending partizans had ample field for their opposite exercise. The Countess of Camden, and many ladies in the middling, as well as in the higher classes of life, sailed for England; and it was only by the assistance of the civic yeomanry that the lord-lieutenant was enabled at this hazardous moment to overawe the increased daring of the rebellious, by preserving the customary strength of his garrison, and to support the drooping spirits of the loyal, by detaching reinforcements towards Arklow.

If the rebels, after their victory over Walpole, had advanced immediately upon this town, they must have obtained its possession without resistance. The garrison, panicstruck by the first report of their misfortune, hastily abandoned it, and fell back upon Wicklow, a post which Major Hardy, its commander, had not been able to maintain without considerable difficulty. This officer strongly remonstrated against the evacuation of Arklow, a position of great importance, and one which he thought might be defended successfully. Under his orders

the garrison returned without halting even for refreshment. During the few hours of its desertion, the distress of the inhabitants of this miserable town may be more readily imagined than described. Until the garrison had marched, no person was permitted even to prepare for retreat: and if the insurgents, as was expected, had advanced, the whole multitude of loyalists must have fallen into their hands; and the massacres of Vinegar-hill and Scullabogue might have been repeated in Arklow.

General Needham on his return found the force under his command augmented to more than 1400 men, and among these was a regiment, the Durham Fencibles, which, under the command of Colonel Skerrett, had already distinguished itself highly by its bravery, activity, and success. These qualities were speedily put to the test once more. On the morning of the 9th, the only day in which Arklow had been in a state of competent defence, the rebels put themselves in motion from Carnew and Gorey for its attack. Their numbers were nearly 30,000, of whom 5000 were armed with musquets. They were preceded by three pieces of artillery; and the tumultuary body of pikemen which followed bore the appearance of a moving forest. It was four in the afternoon before they reached the town; the attack then commenced on all sides, but that which is washed by the river. Waving of hats, and the customary yells announced their progress, which was interrupted at intervals by pauses, during which the priests knelt before the ranks,

and roused the desperation of their bigoted followers by all the arguments of fanaticism. They advanced in an irregular line which was frequently broken by parties running forward to gain the cover of the hedges. Numerous masses, dispersed apparently without much order, supported the front rank at different points, ready to supply the place of such as might fall, or to be detached on separate services, as occasion required. Each company was marshalled under a small green flag, bearing a harp in its centre; and the leaders were recognized, riding through the ranks, arranging their various dispositions, and giving loud and vehement orders.

A column which advanced by the sea-shore drove in the picket of yeomanry-cavalry stationed in that quarter: but all farther progress was stopped by the steady fire of three regiments, the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham Fencibles. This, though it prevented the advance of the insurgents, was not likely to drive them back, for the ground which they occupied, by its inequality, and the numerous ditches intersecting it, afforded them ample shelter. Colonel Skerrett on the other hand was much exposed: but protecting his men, to the best of his power, by a slight breastwork on his left; confident in their spirit, and knowing that if they gave way but a step all was lost; he silenced every suggestion which was offered of the necessity of retreat; and waited, with ordered arms, till the enemy, from their impatience, should leave their cover for open attack. He was not deceived in his expectation. The rebels either did not

know or despised the advantage of their position; and thinking nothing gained which was not gained by force and rapid movement, they quitted their first ground, and rushed on to the charge. Three times they were received with a murderous and most effective fire. Every shot told, for it was not aimed till they came within a few yards of the muzzle. In the last charge their leader, Father Murphy, of Ballycarnew, headed them. The pretences of this man among others to invulnerability have been already noticed. On this occasion, when his followers hesitated, he produced some musquet bullets from his pocket, which he affirmed that he had caught in his hands while they flew from the guns of the enemy. He assured them that the balls of the heretics could not injure them, provided they were steadfast in faith: and having succeeded in inducing them to advance, he was cut in half by a cannon ball, while shouting, and waving a flag inscribed, LIBERTY OR DEATH, within thirty yards of the line of the Durham Fencibles.

The fall of the rebel leader was the signal for general retreat; but the evening had now begun to close, (it was then 8 o'clock) and all pursuit would have been hazardous in the extreme. Thus they succeeded in carrying off their wounded, and prevented any correct estimate of their loss. The King's troops did not lose above five and twenty men in killed and wounded, a number very disproportionate to the length and obstinacy of the action, and to the exposed position which they occupied: but the guns of the rebels

were worked by artillery men whom they had taken prisoners; and in most instances they were designedly levelled too high.

This gallant stand at Arklow was the point upon which the rebellion, as to its ultimate issue, may be said to have turned. Of the calamities from which it saved Ireland, some opinion may be drawn from the transactions which occurred in the devoted town of Wexford during its three weeks occupation by the insurgents; and to these we shall now return before we pursue the military operations which immediately succeeded the battle of Arklow.

The number of Protestants in the town of Wexford when it fell into the hands of the rebels had been largely increased by fugitives from the adjoining country. An eager search was immediately instituted after all who professed the reformed faith: and when the town gaol and other places of imprisonment had been glutted with victims, the remainder were diligently watched within their own houses.

Domiciliary visits and single executions marked the first few days of occupation. The naked body of a yeoman of Enniscorthy, who had been shot in the street, was tied to one of the piers of the bridge, and remained there till the abandonment of the town. Nor was it only against their prisoners that the first marks of vengeance were directed. Such of their own party as were suspected of lukewarmness, or convicted of treachery, were condemned to death, and the executioners were selected from the loyalist captives. Notwithstanding

ing their reluctance to fulfil this bloody office, three Protestants were chosen on the 4th of June, under the threat of immediate death, to shoot a Papist, who had been detected in giving information to government. The prisoner was surrounded by a hollow square of pikemen, a black flag headed the procession, which moved to a dead march over the bridge, a mile and a half up the bank of the river. The culprit was placed on his knees close to the water with his back to it, and the rebels having formed a semi-circle, knelt down and prayed. When the musquets were given to the executioners it was suggested that it was not safe to intrust them with three at a time, since they might turn them against their employers: and it was determined, with equal cowardice and cruelty, that each man should fire singly. The first levelled his piece, which missed fire three times. With a second musquet he shot the wretched prisoner through the arm. The next advanced to the task with two men on each side of him with cocked pistols, and two with drawn sabres behind, menacing instant death if he missed his mark. He fired, and his aim was true; but though the prisoner fell dead, the third was compelled to fire at him while lifeless on the ground. It was then proposed, but the proposition was overruled, that the successful marksman should wash his hands in his victim's blood. He was excused from this horrible ceremony, because, as they observed, he had done his business well. The whole transaction lasted more than three

hours. The executioners were then led back to prison. The rebels formed round the body, and after chanting a song in honour of the Irish Republic to the tune of—"God Save the King," they dispersed for the night.

Though Keugh had been elected by acclamation governor of the town, most of the atrocities committed in it were perpetrated under the direction of one Thomas Dixon, a ferocious ruffian, who had acquired an unfortunate influence over the most blood-thirsty and fanatical of the rebels. This Dixon kept a low house of public reception in Wexford, which had been much the resort of the rebel clubs. He had been bred to the sea, and was proprietor of two large trading sloops, which gave him influence over another important class, the sailors. His first exploit was to reland a number of fugitives, who had taken refuge in one of his vessels, on an assurance that they should be conveyed to Wales. On board, when they were once in his power, he tortured them by hourly renewed menaces of death, and at length returned with them to the harbour, and gave them up to their pursuers. On his landing he was made captain by the rebels; and, in conjunction with his wife, who breathed an equally inhuman spirit with himself, he appears to have presided at all the subsequent orgies of blood.

The thirst for vengeance had been increased by the defeat at Ross; and, on the morning after it was known, fifteen of the Wexford prisoners, and ten of the fugitives from Enniscorthy, were drafted from the gaol of the for-

mer to suffer death on Vinegar-hill. Many victims had been summoned thither before, but never yet in such large numbers. A priest was sent to one of them who had recently professed himself a Romanist. He came, dressed in his cowl, and bearing a crucifix. The rebel guard knelt while he prayed, and he then exhorted them to mercy. He witnessed to the quiet disposition of the Wexford people during all their sufferings, and at length he succeeded in obtaining a counter-order for the execution of the fifteen. The ten from Enniscorthy were marched to Vinegar-hill, and butchered there.

The priests indeed appear to have possessed unbounded influence during this period of terror; but it is to be feared that it was not always exerted with equal benevolence, and had it not been for the active interference of Harvey and Keugh, to the detriment, no doubt, of their own power, an indiscriminate massacre of Protestants was daily to be apprehended, in which the rebel chiefs themselves of that persuasion would inevitably have been included. It was to the favourable representations of Keugh that Lord Kingsborough was more than once indebted for his life. This nobleman, the colonel of the North Cork militia, had proceeded from Dublin in order to join his regiment, the head quarters of which were at Wexford. Off the harbour of that town the vessel in which he sailed was captured by the rebels: and his lordship and two of his brother officers were carried first to the house of Keugh, next to an inferior inn,

thence to the prison-ship, and lastly to a private lodging in which they were detained under a guard. The rank of their prisoner was highly esteemed by the rebels; and the value which they set upon him as a hostage mainly contributed to his preservation; as from his personal character and his ardent loyalty he was particularly obnoxious to the United Irish. On one occasion a band of pikemen under Dixon's guidance, surrounded the house in which he was confined, and clamourously demanded his head. It was with difficulty and at the risk of his own life, that Keugh diverted them from their object: and scarcely a day passed in which the danger to both was not, in some shape, renewed. A pitched cap, (an instrument of torture which, it is said, was first introduced by the soldiery, in derision of the *Croppies*, as they termed the rebels, from the shortness with which they wore their hair as a badge of party,) was in another instance prepared for Lord Kingsborough; and this cruelty, it was avowed, was only to be the prelude to assassination.

But the miseries of this wretched city were yet to be heightened. After the battle of Arklow, dispositions had been made for concentrating the royalist troops, and by combined attacks upon the principal rebel position at Vinegar-hill, for wresting from the insurgents the strong hold of which they had too long been possessed. The movements commenced on the 19th of June. A division under

General Moore marched from the side of Ross towards Wexford. His approach excited great apprehension among the rebels; and, to rouse their courage, it was found necessary to employ the agency of Father Keane, who, under the title of *the blessed priest of Bannow*, was an object of deep popular veneration. For three miles, the distance of Wexford from the camp, the road was lined with old men, women, and children, praying for the success of the cause upon which the Priest of Bannow was about to pronounce his benediction. Keane soon after appeared on horseback, distributing scapulars, and placing his hands upon the heads of such armed men as knelt to receive his blessing.

On the morning of the 20th, the fate of the protestant captives at Wexford was decided. In the forenoon, between ten and eleven o'clock, a body of rebels paraded over the bridge, bearing a black flag, blazoned on one side with a red cross, on the other with the letters M. W. S.*, in white. After a circuit of the town, the flag was erected on the custom-house quay. For a while all was quiet; spirits were largely distributed; and when the intoxication and fury of the mob was supposed to be sufficiently excited, a shout "To the gaol, to the gaol," was raised by Dixon and his wife. In the gaol were nearly 150 prisoners; in the guard-ship and other places of confinement, more than 100 more. The names of these persons had been previously laid

* This has been explained *Murder without sin.*

before a committee of examination; and the time and place of their separate executions had been deliberately fixed, according to a calendar framed for the purpose. Such as had been condemned to immediate death, (and the only respite contemplated for their companions was till the following day,) were led out with horrible solemnity in small parcels, from ten to twenty each, from the gaol to the bridge. A strong guard of pikemen surrounded them; and the streets resounded with the execrations and huzzas of drunken and ferocious women, as each new face was recognized. A few, from the eagerness of the assassins, fell before they reached the spot which had been appointed for the massacre. But this disorderly vengeance was checked by the wife of Dixon, who intreated that the people at large might not be deprived of the pleasure of the spectacle. The greater part on their arrival at the bridge were put to death singly. Four pikemen, standing two before and two behind the victim, thrust their pikes into his body at once, and raising it from the ground, held it on high, writhing with pain while any sign of life remained. After about forty had been put to death in this manner from the gaol, a supply was demanded from the guard-ship, and a boat put off, and returned with a selection from its prisoners.

The butchery commenced at two in the afternoon, but the distance from the gaol to the bridge, and the deliberation with which each sufferer was put to death, filled up much time. At seven in the evening ninety-seven per-

sons had been massacred, when the bloody work was interrupted by a report that General Moore had been victorious, and that Vinegar-hill was surrounded by the King's troops. Three prisoners were at this time on the bridge, and the pikemen every moment awaited the signal to pierce them through. The feelings excited by the news among the mob were various. Part fled in consternation—part clamoured loudly at the slowness of the execution—and called for a general massacre. The pikemen were proceeding to their task, when a priest, Father Corrin, having in vain supplicated them to desist, commanded them at least to pray, before they struck another blow. They uncovered themselves, and knelt amid the blood and corpses of their victims. He then dictated a prayer, *that God might shew the same mercy to them which they should show to the surviving prisoners!* Fresh news of increasing danger obtained the respite which, perhaps, his prayer might have been unavailing to procure. The rabble dispersed, and the prisoners were led back to gaol by their guard, who vowed that by the morrow's sun-rise no man, woman, or child of the Protestants should be left alive in Wexford.

This horrible menace would, without doubt, have been fulfilled to the utmost, had it not been for the success of the king's troops in another quarter, during the perpetration of these atrocities, and for their still greater victory on the following day. On his march to Taghmon, General Moore, with 1,200 men, had been

attacked by an insurgent division of five or six thousand, near Goff's bridge. The action was long; it lasted seven hours; and the rebels are said to have displayed considerably more skill and not less courage than in any former engagement. They were repulsed in the end with great slaughter; but it was too late for the conqueror to follow up his success by pursuit, and having been joined by some reinforcements at the end of the battle, he contented himself by remaining master of the field.

On the morning of the 21st, General Lake's arrangements for the attack of Vinegar-hill were completed. The position was strong; the ground itself being abrupt and steep, intersected with high clay banks, fosses, and inclosures, and mounted with thirteen pieces of cannon. The force employed in its assault amounted to about 12,000 men. The plan had been skilfully adjusted; and the enemy, finding themselves nearly surrounded, after a short resistance, abandoned the height and fled with precipitation by the only road which was left open, that to the south-east, leading to Wexford. A misapprehension of orders prevented General Needham from occupying this post, which had at first been allotted him, and thus afforded an unlooked for means of safety to the rebels. The loss in the king's army was trifling. Of the rebels several hundreds were killed. Enniscorthy, after three weeks occupation was relieved; and it will readily be believed, after the atrocities which had been openly perpetrated in it, and the hourly

intelligence of new horrors which poured in from Wexford, that it was not easy to restrain the troops in many instances from a summary vengeance. Excesses, doubtless, were committed, which, it is painful to reflect, in some degree accompany every war, but which abound in a civil war more than in any other.

The news of General Moore's victory powerfully affected the rebel-chiefs in Wexford, and after a consultation at the house of Keugh, they applied to Lord Kingsborough, on the morning of the 21st, to act as mediator. It was agreed that Captain M'Manus, an officer who had been taken prisoner at the same time with his lordship, and Hay, a rebel leader, should be deputed to the officer commanding the king's troops; proposing a surrender of the town, and a free submission and return to their allegiance on the part of the people, on an assurance of safety for their persons and property.

A second officer was dispatched requesting General Moore to halt at Carrick Bridge, before he entered the town. Ensign Harman who was employed by Lord Kingsborough on this service, unfortunately encountered a rebel column, headed by Father Murphy, on its retreat from Vinegar-hill. Murphy enquired the object of Ensign Harman's mission; and when he learned that it was to propose terms, he violently disclaimed all terms: and turning to his aid-de-camp and pointing to the ensign he said, "that fellow has been condemned by a committee; he ought to die." The aid-de-camp caught the suggestion wil-

lingly, and drawing a pistol, on the moment, shot the unhappy officer through the head. Murphy reeking from the murder proceeded to the town. He there had an interview with Lord Kingsborough, in which he informed his lordship that he had been condemned already at Vinegar-hill, and menaced him with execution before night-fall. The aid-de-camp boasted at the same time of Harman's blood, and said the same pistol should drain Lord Kingsborough's without waiting for the form of execution. Fortunately Lord Kingsborough was armed; cocking a pistol and presenting it at the ruffian's breast, he declared he would shoot him instantly if he moved but a hand. The other rebel chiefs at length interfered, and succeeded in removing the ferocious intruders.

Indecision at this moment seems to have prevented the rebels from active measures. Some had already fled to the mountains of Forth: others were proposing to fire the town: and a third party

had gathered on the bridge, and were unmooring the boat for the prison-ship, with the intention of renewing the butchery of the former day. Many officers in General Moore's camp had friends in the town, concerning whose fate the most painful apprehensions naturally prevailed. The wife and family of Captain Boyd were in gaol, and impatient to ascertain their existence, of which he was doubtful, he obtained permission, accompanied with eight yeomen only, to make a reconnoissance. As they galloped into Wexford, the rebels hurried out of the town, supposing them to be the advanced guard of the army. Some straggling shots were fired as they fell back; but in a few minutes not a green cockade was visible in the street. A tumult of joy succeeded to the terror of the prisoners, who were awaiting the summons to execution; and the few survivors, who believed themselves reserved for a more lingering death, scarce credited their restoration to liberty.

CHAPTER VIII.

Exasperated State of the Public Mind. The King's Troops re-occupy Wexford. Executions of Keugh, Grogan, Bagenall Harvey, and Colclough; of Fathers Murphy and Redmond. Severities exercised by the Yeomanry. Danger of the Authority conferred on them. Attack upon Antrim. Death of Lord O'Neil. Action at Saintfield. Obstinate Engagement and Defeat of the Rebels at Ballynahinch. Execution of Munro. Dispersion of his Followers. Attack on Portaferry. Appointment of the Marquess Cornwallis as Lord Lieutenant. Immediate Change of System. Disturbances in the County of Cork. Speedily suppressed. Part of the Wexford Rebels retreat to Castlecomar. Defeated at Kilconny. Another Part repulsed from Haeketstown. They entangle the Royalist Cavalry in an ambuscade near Carnen. Separation of the Rebels of Wexford from those of Wicklow. Final Defeat of the Wexford Rebels at Ballygullin. Attack on

Clonard. Some of the Rebel Chiefs negotiate with Government. The Remainder take to the Mountains. Conciliatory Measures of Lord Cornwallis. Proclamation of conditional Pardon. O'Connor and other State Prisoners offer Information to Government. Their Terms accepted. Outrages of the Babes in the Wood. And of Holt and Hacket in the Wicklow Mountains. Horrible Retaliations. Final Dispersion of this Banditti. Act of Amnesty. Landing of General Humbert. Defeat of the British Army at Castlebar. Distressed Situation of the French. They break up from Castlebar. They are defeated and surrender at Ballinamuck. Misery of Killala. March of the King's Troops to its Relief. Battle of Killala. Landing of Napper Tandy. Sir John Borlase Warren defeats a French Squadron. Second Alarm at Killala. Capture and Suicide of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Extinction of the Rebellion.

UNDER the exasperated state of feeling by which men's minds are agitated during civil struggles, no authority can hope to restrain the victorious party from the commission of excesses which, in times of less disturbance, would be abhorred as they deserve to be. The force of which the royal army was, for the greater part, constructed, was peculiarly exposed to the strong impressions which lead to acts of violence; and it was little to be hoped that the yeomen, the inhabitants of the very soil which had been drenched with their own nearest blood for many weeks, should, when the turn of power placed the opportunity in their hands, abstain from deeds of the most fearful retaliation. War, at all times, makes the estimate of human life too cheap: but in civil war every passion which blinds us into a belief that revenge is a virtue, is pushed to its utmost height; and when barbarity has been practised upon those to whom we are bound by strong ties of kinship and affection, not to be barbarous in return is a self-conquest of difficult achievement.

Such probably were the reflections which induced General Moore to follow up his successes before Wexford with so much caution. If the troops had been permitted to enter the town immediately, there is little doubt that it would have been sacked, plundered, and destroyed. Even on its partial occupation, much of wanton cruelty was perpetrated; and the most frivolous pretexts were too often employed for the destruction of individuals, against whom the principal accusation, if investigated calmly, would have been found to rest solely on the personal animosity of the accuser.

General Moore took his station on the hills which commanded the town. A sloop of war and three gun-boats invested it towards the sea. General Lake made his entrance on the 22d of June; and a military commission was immediately instituted under his direction, for the trial of the rebel prisoners. Roche and Keugh were among the first who suffered. The fate of the latter excited much commiseration; for he had exerted his utmost means to prevent the effusion of blood, and to the

last he maintained, that fanaticism had borne down his object, which had been only the improvement, not the subversion of the constitution. But it was impossible to extend mercy to a rebel, in arms, and holding high command. Messrs. Harvey and Colclough had escaped to a place of concealment in the Saltee Islands. Their retreat was soon discovered *, and they were executed on the same day with Mr. Grogan. Grogan was a gentleman of great landed estate; and avarice had operated upon a narrow understanding to persuade him that his wealth was more safe under the protection of the United Irish, than under that of the existing government. He enrolled himself in their ranks by the treasonable oath, and accepted the office of commissary to their forces. Yet though timidity of disposition in part had occasioned his guilt, he met death with unexpected firmness. Harvey, who had frequently given marked proofs of personal courage, betrayed more fear. The general benevolence of his character, and his signal humanity during the terrific scenes into which he had allowed himself to be plunged, pleaded strongly in his behalf. But the high authority to which unhappily he had been elevated by the rebels, rendered his punishment a measure of positive necessity. He was executed with Grogan, on the morning of the 28th of June. Colclough suffered alone on the same evening. At his trial and at the scaffold, this gentleman displayed an unshaken intrepidity. He expressed sincere abhorrence

of the atrocities by which the rebellion had been stained; and he appeared to die with an entire change of political opinions.

Murphy of Boulavogue, and Redmond of Clough, two Romish Priests, were both condemned and suffered. The former had been one of the earliest and most ferocious leaders of the rebels. The latter appears to have been one of those who, in a moment of less exasperation, had strong pleas in his behalf for mercy; and who might have been securely pardoned.

For a few days after its occupation by the king's troops, the town of Wexford was little less a scene of terror than it had been during the possession of the rebels. The law was busily employed in exacting the full measure of punishment. The proceedings of the military courts were summary, and unlimited powers over life and death were extended even to the yeomanry officers, without appeal, and without a revision of their proceedings at the seat of government. It is to be feared, that Justice was not always even-handed in their decisions; that the proofs of guilt were but slenderly sifted; and that in the first moment of Loyalist triumph, the standard of attachment to the constitution was placed in willingness to listen to, and to believe in accusations of treason. Plenary authority was placed in the hands of men irritated by recent sufferings, inflamed by political rancour, and cherishing deeply the remembrance of feuds which for centuries had

* Chronicle, p. 57.

divided them from their neighbours. It is not to be wondered at, that the dangerous instrument was frequently abused: but the odium of all the injustice and cruelty which was practised by individuals, unfortunately was turned from the immediate authors to the government which had permitted and authorised these severities.

The rebellion had not been confined to Wexford only, but the superior interest of the transactions in that county hitherto, has demanded our single notice. The town of Antrim had been attacked on the 8th of June. It was vigorously defended, and after much hard fighting the assailants were repulsed: but not without the loss of many men on the part of the king's troops; among whom was Lord O'Neil, the Governor of the county. This unfortunate nobleman had ridden into the town to attend a meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that it was occupied by the rebels. While endeavouring to get his horse forward, it was wounded and became restive. The bridle was seized by a man whom Lord O'Neil shot; he was then dragged from the saddle, and so wounded with pikes, that he died within a few days.

On the day following this rising, a like attempt was made in the County of Down. The gathering of the insurgents was marked by acts of cruelty little inferior, unless in extent, to those which had been practised in the south: and the house of a loyalist near Saintfield, was invested, and its eleven occupants burnt alive, with a barbarity resembling the

similar massacre at Scullabogue. One Munro, a shopkeeper at Lisburn, posted his followers in an ambuscade near Saintfield; and succeeded in pouring in a destructive fire upon the cavalry of a royal detachment on its march. Sixty men, among whom were three officers, fell on this occasion. The infantry stood firm, and their intrepidity dispersed the rebels. The king's troops remained masters of the field, and then fell back unmolested upon Belfast.

The capture of some baggage and ammunition encouraged the rebels, and they reassembled in large numbers at Ballynahinch, near the house, and on the demesne of Lord Moira. Here they rudely fortified themselves on the heights; and their numbers having increased to five or six thousand men, they waited the approach of General Nugent, who was moving from Belfast with about fifteen hundred. The first attack of the royalists was on a hill surmounted with a windmill. They carried it with little difficulty, and executed a rebel colonel who had been taken prisoner. The night of the 12th of June was passed by the contending forces on neighbouring hills: and the flames of the town of Ballynahinch, which lay in the valley between them, illumined both camps. The action began early on the following morning. The town was obstinately disputed, and more than once taken and recovered. The rebels charged up to the very guns of the royalist troops; and, the artillery on both sides being ill served, the battle became hand to hand. At one time the Monaghan militia gave way in con-

fusion; but the ill discipline of the insurgents soon lost the advantage which their desperate valour had gained. Satisfied with their first success, and hesitating to follow it up, they allowed the defeated troops sufficient time to rally, and, a reserve hastening to their assistance, they drove the rebels in the end from the ground which they had originally won. A short stand was attempted on the heights which they first occupied. Beaten hence, the dispersion became general; the nature of the country favoured their retreat, but they were too dispirited to reassemble. Part were hunted down by the soldiery; and among these was their commander Munro. He was taken in a potatoe furrow, and offered his captor a large bribe for his liberty. The courage which he had displayed in the field did not forsake him on the scaffold. While the executioner was adjusting the fatal preparations, the dying man remembered an unsettled trading account with a neighbour. He requested the use of pen and ink, and then regularly discharged his debt. The remainder of his followers concealed themselves in the woods and mountains, or relying upon their want of notoriety, and the disturbed state of the times, quietly returned to their separate homes.

An attempt of less magnitude than those just related, was made on Portaferry, on the 10th of June. Its success might have changed the fortune at Ballynahinch; for it would have opened a ready communication between large bodies of insurgents, who only wanted means of junction to

declare themselves openly. The town was gallantly defended, and the hope of concentration was frustrated. The defeat at Ballynahinch, which succeeded, finally closed this short and partial, but while it lasted, most active and formidable insurrection.

The rapid progress and early successes of the rebels, had determined the British Government to appoint a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who could meet the insurgents in the field: and their choice was directed to a nobleman in every way highly qualified for the arduous task imposed upon him. The Marquess Cornwallis assumed the vice royalty on the 20th of June; and his accession was immediately marked by a change of system. His first step was to supersede the plenary powers of the courts martial: and an early instance presented itself of the needless and wanton severity with which they had been accustomed to proceed. Sentence of death had been passed by a military tribunal, composed of yeomanry officers, upon an unhappy peasant convicted of having arms in his possession; and had it not been for the opportune arrival of the new lord-lieutenant, this sentence would have been immediately executed. But the evidence was now to be revised at the castle. On investigation of this particular case, the single proof of treasonable intention adduced against the prisoner was, that a musquet bullet had been found in his cottage. In his defence, he contended, that he had picked it up accidentally, and put it aside for the amusement of his children. His story was discredited; and the utmost

penalty of the law would have been inflicted, but for the vigilance of the new government.

Yet though conciliation was the leading object of Lord Cornwallis's labours, there were cases in which mercy was out of the question. The crimes of many of the insurgents were of such deep dye, their fury so untameable, their thirst of blood so unquenchable, their example so mischievous, that the peace and preservation of the country loudly demanded their punishment. The new government was stigmatized by the bigots of party, who saw no remedy short of extermination, as too lenient in its sentences: yet it was the painful duty of the executive, during the first eight months of its rule, to sign no less than three hundred warrants of execution for treason.

The hopeless state of the insurgent cause permitted, if it did not in policy demand, a system of moderation. In Cork, symptoms of disturbance had been manifested, and a single action had taken place on the 19th of June, near the village of Ballynascarty. The assailants were principally armed with pikes; and though their selection of ground, and the unexpected nature of their attack at first gave them much chance of success, the arrival of a fresh body of king's troops on the field, at a very critical moment, terminated the contest greatly to the disadvantage of the rebels. This victory secured the tranquillity of the south, as completely as that of Ballynahinch had removed all apprehensions for the safety of the north.

The remains of the army of

Wexford, formidable only on account of their numbers, still persisted in unavailing resistance; and much suffering was endured in the districts, which they ravaged in their retreat. Such of their leaders as were distinguished by education and property, were lost to them. Another Murphy still remained, and under his guidance about fifteen thousand men endeavoured to force the pass which separated the county of Wexford from that of Carlow, with the hope of penetrating into Kilkenny. Here they looked for assistance from the colliers in the neighbourhood of Castlecomar; a ferocious and restless body, who, on former occasions, had shewn signs of disaffection. Some patrols of the royal army which fell in the way of the fugitives were cut to pieces; and such as did not fall on the field were reserved, after condemnation as orangemen, for more deliberate execution. On these occasions, as before, their fellow prisoners were selected for the horrible office.

Sir Charles Asgill, watched the movements of this body; but his force was at first so inadequate, and the marches of the insurgents were so rapid and uncertain, that he was unable to confront them before Castlecomar had been sacked and burned. After this outrage the rebels abandoned it, and during the following night their counsels were distracted, and their intentions undecided. On the 25th, they determined (though their object is by no means clear) to retrace their steps, and to establish themselves once more in Wexford county. On a rising ground, near Kilkenny, their

march was interrupted by Sir Charles Asgill, seconded by an additional force under Major Matthews, which had advanced on the opposite side from Maryborough. After a few discharges of artillery, the rebels perceived that they were in danger of being totally surrounded. The panic became general, and they fled in all directions; many were killed in the pursuit, which continued for six miles.

Baggage, ammunition, stores, and artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors: the latter consisted of ten light field pieces. The booty which they had collected from the vicinity was considerable; and among it were found no less than 700 horses. But the liberation of a number of prisoners who had been reserved for execution after the battle, was the most gratifying consequence of the victory.

Such of the fugitives as escaped forced their way into the mountains of Wexford and Wicklow, through Scullagh gap, the pass by which they had before advanced. Their leader, Father Murphy, was taken: his pix and a small crucifix were found upon his person; and it appeared that, although he had been excommunicated by his superiors, the populace still regarded him in his sacerdotal character. He was hanged on the spot, and his body being burned, his head was fixed on the market-house of Tullow.

The other rebel column which had retired in comparatively good order from Vinegar Hill, was joined on its retreat into Wicklow, by a large force, headed by Garret Byrne of Ballymanus. Hack-

etstown was the first point to which they directed their march. The little garrison, not amounting to 150 men, fortified themselves in their barrack as well as the exigency of the moment would permit. The town all around them was burning; yet for nine hours they maintained their post, and repulsed by the steadiness of their volleys every attempt which was made to approach the barrack. The rebels, finding their object impracticable without artillery, retired before evening. The streets were covered with their slain, and it is believed, that no less than 500 men fell in the action. The loss of the king's troops, who were under cover, was eleven killed, and fifteen wounded. But the town was already destroyed, themselves were overcome with fatigue, and their ammunition was exhausted. A second attack, if it had been made in the night, must have proved fatal, and they prudently resolved to fall back upon Tullow.

The insurgents foiled in their first attempt, and, unacquainted with the subsequent retreat of the garrison, determined to atone for this ill success by a sudden attack upon Carnew. They had been strengthened by a reinforcement from Wicklow; and they hoped to attain their object before the royalist army could be apprized of their movements. General Needham, however, suspected their intention; and a body of cavalry was sent by him on the 30th of June, to intercept their march. On the Carnew road, the rebels in the first instance feigned a retreat; till the cavalry, pursuing with too little

caution, was drawn into an ambuscade. Hedges on either side, and a neighbouring park wall afforded secure cover for the musqueteers of the enemy: and the files of cavalry were picked out singly, as certain marks, without any power of acting in return, and little even of self defence. The confusion soon became general; and the road to Carnew appeared to promise the only hope of safety. This, however, had been blockaded by the rebels; and cars placed across so entangled both men and horses, that retreat was impossible. Such as escaped the musquetry were now unhorsed and dispatched by pikes. More than eighty of the king's troops fell; and among them was the Marquis de Giffard, a young Norman emigrant, who held a commission in the Ancient Britons.

The rebels obtained this success without the loss of a man: but the delay occasioned by the action prevented the surprise of Carnew, which was within a mile of the field. The fugitive cavalry alarmed the garrison of this town, which threw itself into a malt-house, and barricadoed its approaches so effectually, that the assailants, after an unavailing attack moved off to Killcavan Hill. Here the dissensions which had commenced with their first defeats, but which had been checked awhile by the recent change of fortune, broke out afresh. The Wicklow party, under Garrett Byrne, separated itself from the men of Wexford, and pitched its camp on the hill of Ballyrakeen. The country through which it passed was burned and pillaged: and not a few of the wretched in-

habitants who were suspected of Protestantism, or who had evinced their loyalty, fell victims to the fury of the undisciplined and savage rabble. A rash attack by some yeomanry on the 2d of July, on this post, which Byrne had selected with considerable skill, confirmed him in its possession, until the failure of the insurgent cause in every direction round him, gradually drained his ranks, and obliged the few who persisted in their fanaticism, to shelter themselves in the mountains.

One more engagement only occurred in the County of Wexford. The scattered insurgents had collected in some force near a spot called White Heaps, at the foot of Croghan mountains. To prevent their re-organization, General Needham and Sir James Duff, moved with all speed on the night of the 4th of July, (the former from Gorey, the latter from Carnew) to dislodge them. The outposts of the enemy gave the alarm in sufficient time to prevent a surprise; and, under cover of a thick fog, they effected their retreat from their original encampment. At Wicklow gap, a pass between the mountains of Croghan and Conna, they were met by Sir James Duff's division, and a few rounds of grape compelled them to change their line of march, and fall back to the elevated ground of Ballygullin, about four miles from Gorey. Here, profiting by their advantage of position, they repulsed the advanced guard of cavalry, and made a desperate effort to capture the artillery which accompanied it. The seasonable arrival of the main body of infantry frustrated this attempt: and

the field-pieces beginning to sweep their position, they gave way in confusion. The pursuit was long continued; hunger and fatigue conspired with the sword in their destruction: and after more than one fruitless endeavour to reassemble at Corrigua, the reduced state of their numbers, and the universal prevalence of the royal cause completed their dispersion.

Some few, under Garrett Byrne, bent their steps to the county of Kildare, in which their comrades were still in arms under the command of a leader named Aylmer. But the union was of short continuance. Discontent and dissension tread close on the heels of misfortune: and defeat had operated differently on the spirits of the two parties. The Wexford men breathed nothing but desperation; and their ferocity seemed whetted by the discomfiture of their first plans. The rebels from Wicklow and Kildare were dispirited, and anxious to return to their allegiance. A single attempt was made during the junction of these ill associated confederates, on the village of Clonard. Athlone was the ulterior object of the attack; but so undisciplined were their ranks, and so little union was in their counsels, that three thousand men were kept at bay by the intrepidity of no greater number than 27, who had barricaded and fortified themselves in a house, under the command of a gallant yeoman, Lieutenant Tyrel. This little garrison held out till succours arriving from Kinnefad and Mullingar, obliged the assailants to retire. Their fresh disaster completed the distraction

of the insurgents. A few of the Wexford people remained with Aylmer, Garrett Byrne, and the Wicklow force, and succeeded in negotiating for their lives with government. The remainder, about 1500, chased in every quarter by the king's troops, yet deaf to conciliation, continued among the fastnesses of their wild country; and made frequent predatory incursions into the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin. Occasional skirmishes diminished their numbers: and the last regular stand which they attempted, was on the 14th of July, between the Boyne and the town of Ardee. Beaten hence, they were hotly pursued to Ballyboghil near Swords, and never afterwards shewed themselves in any force.

As soon as the predominance of the royalist cause, was restored in the disaffected counties; and it was no longer doubtful that the object of the rebellion was discomfited, Lord Cornwallis endeavoured by a firm, yet moderate policy, to open the door of pardon to all such as had been betrayed into treason, and were willing to retrace their steps. On the 29th of June, a proclamation issued from the castle, announcing that the rebels were now in the power of the sword: yet that there were many cases in which the king's government did not wish to exact punishment. To all who within fourteen days surrendered themselves and their arms, and having abandoned their leaders, took the oath of allegiance, in towns particularly specified, before a king's officer and a justice of the peace, free pardon was offered for the past: and on

an abjuration of their traitorous engagements, they were entitled to receive a certificate of protection.

The gaols of the capital were thronged with state prisoners, and a negociation was conducted between them and government, by which a great effusion of blood was prevented on the one side, and much important information was obtained on the other. Seventy-three of the prisoners, on a formal agreement that their own lives, and that of Oliver Bond, who was at that time under sentence of death, should be spared; that they should not be called upon to implicate any person by name; and that on their liberation they should exile themselves, for the remainder of their days, to such foreign country as should be mutually determined upon, engaged to give every intelligence in their power of the internal transactions and constitution of the United Irish, and of all communications which had occurred between them and foreign enemies.

The evidence of Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Samuel Neilson, and Dr. M'Nevin, was given on oath before secret committees of both houses of Parliament. The report, founded on this evidence, will be found among our State Papers*, and affords conclusive proof of the frightful extent into which the conspiracy had ramified itself. Even during the progress of this negociation, some of the leaders of the party who were thus included in the amnesty, abused the lenity which spared them, by

secret attempts to renew the insurrection. Their freedom was thus rendered incompatible with the safety of the country. Government was empowered to retain them in custody during the continuance of war with France; and twenty of the most violent among them were transmitted to confinement at Fort George in Scotland. Pending these discussions Oliver Bond died of apoplexy.

The mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods near Enniscorthy, still contained a desperate remnant of insurgents. Their numbers were not great; but the wild nature of the country which they occupied, and the suddenness and ferocity of their attacks, rendered them objects of terror to the neighbourhood. Under the title of the *Babes of the Wood*, the last-mentioned division of this banditti maintained themselves on the plunder of the surrounding villages, till they were gradually swept away by the military. Those in the mountains continued much longer to bid defiance to their pursuers; and the difficulty of access to their haunts, confirmed them in their resistance. Under two chiefs, Holt and Hacket, they issued nightly from their strong holds on the most unprotected points, and burnings and massacres were perpetrated long before the wretched inhabitants could be succoured by the neighbouring garrisons. These repeated atrocities led to equally frightful retaliations, and the murders committed by the rebels on Protestants, were in many instances avenged by the

death of a greater number of Roman Catholics. The most sanguinary of all wars, that resulting from religious hatred, continued in this manner to rage after the rebellion itself was in truth suppressed: and assassinations were nightly perpetrated till the activity of the troops, and the advance of winter drove the marauders from their shelter. Hacket in the end was killed by a yeomanry officer: and Holt surrendered himself on the condition of transportation.

On the 27th of July, the lord-lieutenant laid before Parliament a mass of papers unfolding the nature and extent of the conspiracy, and at the same time communicated the King's intention of passing an act of general amnesty. The sufferings of the loyalists were stated, and their indemnification recommended to the notice of Parliament. Three bills accordingly were framed and passed. The first for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenell Harvey, deceased. The second containing a free pardon for all persons who had been engaged in the rebellion, and who had complied with the terms of the preceding proclamation: with the necessary exception by name of about thirty persons*, chiefly fugitives, in France, and such as (otherwise than in the heat of battle) were stained with blood.

It was not until the chief danger to be apprehended from the insurrection was happily at an end, that the chiefs for the most part had either expiated or re-

nounced their treason, and that their followers were scattered and disarmed, that the feeble and distracted rulers of France contributed their tardy and unavailing assistance to the expiring rebellion. The appearance of a French force, during the occupation of Wexford and Enniscorthy, might have sealed the destruction of the existing government; and, for a time at least, might have separated Ireland from the mother-country. But the inopportune and ill conducted descent which we are about to recount, contributed in the end, when the first alarm resulting from it had passed away, only to the more complete extinction of rebellion.

On the 4th of August, two frigates, one of 44 guns, the other of 32, containing a force of 1030 men and seventy officers, under the command of Gen. Humbert, set sail from Rochelle. Humbert had risen from the ranks; he had actively distinguished himself in the war of La Vendee; and he had been second in command in the expedition of General Hoche to Bantry Bay in the winter of 1796. To escape the vigilance of the British cruizers, these two frigates steered so circuitous a course that they were eighteen days in their passage to Ireland. The first intention was to effect a landing in Donegal, but the prevalence of northerly gales, against which they uselessly attempted to beat, forced them into the Bay of Killala, in which they cast anchor, under English colours, on the 22nd of August.

The town of Killala was occu-

* Among these was the well known Napper Tandy.

pied by only fifty men, partly yeomen and partly fencibles; and this little band resolutely determined to face the invaders as soon as it was discovered that the vessels were those of the enemy. The chain of hills between the town and the spot which the French selected for disembarkation effectually concealed their movements; and it was not until eight in the evening that a terrified messenger announced at the castle of the bishop, which was the head-quarters of the soldiery, the unexpected intelligence that a body of French was in full march to the town. After a slight resistance, the troops were driven from the streets to the castle yard, and the greater part of them, with the loss of two of their body, were compelled to surrender.

On the following morning the French pushed forward a detachment of 100 men in the direction of Ballina, a village seven miles to the south of Killala, and employed themselves in landing their ammunition and stores. The castle gate was surmounted with a green flag inscribed, *Erin Go Bragh*, and the peasants were invited to a distribution of clothing and accoutrements. Glittering helmets and gaudy uniforms were piled in the court yard, and it is believed that more than two thousand persons partook of those bribes to rebellion. Between five and six thousand stand of arms were brought out, and were claimed with an eagerness which sufficiently spoke the insurgent spirit of the neighbouring population.

A rapid progress into the interior, which by its boldness might draw the disaffected to his stand-

ard before the concentration of the Royal troops, seemed to afford Humbert the only probable chance of maintaining himself with his feeble detachment till reinforcements could arrive. With these views he left behind him 200 men to occupy Killala, to secure his retreat if it became necessary, and to guard a large quantity of ammunition. The garrison of Ballina fled as he approached the town. He committed it to a French picket and several of his Irish recruits; and on the morning of the 26th, he pushed forward with 800 of his own men and about 1500 undisciplined peasants, determined to give battle to the British force which had assembled in front of Castlebar.

On the first intelligence of the descent of the French, Lord Cornwallis, who was well aware of the danger to which their co-operation, in however slender numbers, must expose a country in which the activity of rebellion had but recently subsided, resolved to take the field in person. In the mean time, he ordered Gen. Lake to assume the command of the army which had been assembled in Connaught. Gen. Hutchinson had already arrived at Castlebar, and had made judicious arrangements to arrest the progress of the enemy. On the night of the 26th, he was joined by General Lake, upon whom the command devolved. The united force under these officers amounted to 5000 men; but, as the numbers of the French was not accurately known, it was resolved not to attack them until the arrival of additional troops should place success beyond a doubt.

The direct road from Ballina to Castlebar runs by the village of Foxford; and on this an advanced detachment of the British army was posted. To the west, is another more circuitous route through a difficult and mountainous country. A pass, midway, called Barnageehy, may be defended by a handful of men against an army; and the extreme improbability that he should prefer this line of march, perhaps, was the very reason which induced Humbert to select it. His intelligence of the distribution of the British force appears to have been intimate and correct; and on the other hand, so little knowledge of his movements, and so little apprehension of any attack was to be found at Castlebar, that the town narrowly escaped a surprise.

By dint of the most extraordinary exertions, the French penetrated this rugged country, which of itself presented obstacles of no common nature. A few hours delay was occasioned by the necessary repairs of one of their guns which had broken down; but at seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th, they found themselves within two miles of Castlebar. The first news of their approach had not long been received; and the fact was by some pronounced incredible till a reconnoissance confirmed it. The garrison was then hastily marched to a hill at the north-west extremity of the town which had been fixed upon the day before for an alarm post. It commanded a gentle swell at the distance of about 1000 yards, over which the enemy must necessarily pass in his advance.

The Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the 6th foot, and a detachment of the Prince of Wales's fencibles formed the first line. The second consisted of the Fraser fencibles and a corps of Galway yeomen. Both these lines were irregularly posted on the summit of the heights which they were intended to defend. Four companies of the Longford militia were stationed in reserve in a valley to the left of the rear of the Kilkenny regiment. The cavalry, with the exception of a few pickets, supported the first line, and the artillery, consisting of two curriele guns and ten other pieces, was distributed in various parts of the front. The other curriele guns remained in the town.

The disproportion of numbers, the superiority on the part of the British in artillery, the freshness of their men, and the fatigue of the enemy, who, with a brief halt and scanty provision, had just performed a painful march of twenty-four hours, all seemed to promise an easy victory. As the French advanced in columns, the British artillery began to play with great effect. Several shots appeared to split the head of each column, and for a few minutes the assailants wavered. To cover them from this destructive fire, Humbert ordered his men to deploy from the centre in open files. The movement was executed in a quick and masterly style, and they rushed forward at a rapid pace as if to attack the British in flank. At this moment, treachery or cowardice spread a panic through the royal army. The few volleys which were fired were ill measured as to distance, and

consequently were ineffectual, and when the French neared the guns, which were still gallantly defended by the artillery men, the infantry broke on all sides, and fled in the uttermost confusion through the town on the road to Tuam.

So complete was the rout that the fugitives did not stop till on the evening of their defeat they had gained the last named city, a distance of thirty miles from the field of action. The whole of the artillery, fourteen guns, was abandoned; and the loss in the action and in the pursuit, was estimated at fifty-three killed, thirty-four wounded, and two hundred and seventy-nine missing. Among the prisoners were sixteen officers. The missing privates chiefly belonged to the Kilkenny and Longford militia; the greater part of whom deserted their colours on the field, joined the rebel camp at Killala, and there exchanged the British uniform for that of the French Republic. No other evidence is requisite to shew that much of the disgrace of the unfortunate action at Castlebar was attributable to treachery*. The loss of the French was believed, with much probability, from the nature of the ground, and the precision with which our artillery was served, to be greater than our own.

The success of the enemy at Castlebar was announced to the distant insurgents by bonfires on the hills; and numbers hastened from the surrounding country to enrol themselves in Humbert's

ranks. His victory, however much beyond his expectations, had in fact contributed nothing to his ultimate security. In the assistance which he had been taught to look for from the Irish he was wholly disappointed, and instead of finding the co-operation of a well organized force, headed by the gentry, and richly provided with money and stores, he felt himself rather encumbered than strengthened by the ferocious, needy, and undisciplined rabble which flocked to him for support. Of his promised reinforcements from France no tidings were received; and he discovered too late, that he had been sent not to conquer but to harass his enemies; and that his little force must be considered as a forlorn hope, abandoned to its own resources.

On the 4th of September, having previously ordered up his reserve of 200 men, whom he had left behind at Killala, he marched rapidly through Foxford, in the direction of Sligo. It is probable that his intention was to make a stand in Donegal, the county in which, but for contrary winds, his own landing was to have been effected; and in which also, if any where, he might look for additional forces from home. The troops which broke up with him amounted to above 900 men, exclusive of the rebel mob.

Lord Cornwallis had received the unexpected news of General Lake's defeat, on the morning of the 28th, while himself was on his advance to join the army. He

* Bishop Stock, in his Narrative of the Events at Killala, and Mr. Gordon, in his History of the Rebellion, both concur in stating that not one of these deserters returned home alive.

hastened onward to Athlone; and having employed the intermediate days in so adjusting the positions of the overwhelming force which he had collected, as to leave the enemy no chance of escape from the whole, and no opportunity of attacking it in detail, he fixed his head quarters at Hollymount, about 14 miles from Castlebar, meaning to attack the French on the following morning.

The decampment of the enemy produced corresponding movements in the British army. A large detachment was ordered to hang upon the rear of the French march; and was supported at various distances by other columns; while the main body of the troops, under Lord Cornwallis himself, marched in a line parallel to that which Humbert had taken.

The hope of the plunder of the town of Sligo, was perhaps one of the objects which had determined Humbert's movements. Property exceeding 200,000*l.* would have been found within its walls. The garrison received orders to evacuate the town; and its wealth would most probably have become the spoil of the invaders, but for the gallantry of Colonel Vereker. This officer, the commandant of the city of Limerick militia, interposed himself with very inferior numbers (not 300 men) before Coloony, a village five miles distant from Sligo. For nearly two hours he withstood the whole force of the French, who mistaking his detachment for the vanguard of a larger army, made no attempt at first to surround it. As they proceeded to outflank him he withdrew his men in good order; two guns were left on the

field; and with this loss, and that of six privates and one officer killed, himself, four officers, and 22 privates wounded, he effected his retreat, unpursued, upon Ballyshanna. But the time which he had thus gained was invaluable: and Humbert, anticipating more powerful resistance, relinquished his design on Sligo, and endeavoured by forced marches to gain Granard in the county of Longford, where an insurrection was now raging.

In his hasty retreat he abandoned the greater part of his artillery, but he succeeded in repulsing the skirmishers who pressed upon his rear. Passing the Shannon at Ballintra, he halted a few hours on the night of the 7th at Cloone; and on the following morning he proceeded to Balinamuck, so harassed by his pursuers that he was unable to break down the bridge of Ballintra in order to impede their advance. Lord Cornwallis, meantime, to prevent any progress into the South, had crossed the Shannon at Carrick, and had thrown himself between the interior and the line of march which the French, if they advanced at all, must necessarily adopt. In this desperate situation, surrounded by 30,000 choice troops, Humbert's only hope was to surrender with honour. His rear guard was first attacked and cut off; and, on the appearance of General Lake with the main body under his command, the French General consented to lay down his arms. The rebel auxiliaries were not included in this capitulation. No quarter was given, and they were pursued with unsparing slaughter.

The number of their killed was reported to exceed 500, about a third of the whole body. The French prisoners amounted to 748 privates, and 96 officers. So that the loss of Humbert's force since its first landing in Killala amounted to 288.

The judicious movements of Lord Cornwallis prevented a junction between the French troops and a large band of rebels, who were already in arms near Grannard. Nearly 3,000 men had attacked that town on the morning of the 5th. It was defended by 200 yeomen, who withstood attacks frequently renewed during an action of five hours continuance. Disappointed in this object, the rebels seized upon a large building in the neighbourhood, called Wilson's Hospital, erected for the maintenance of 20 aged men, and the education of 100 boys. The latter were Protestants, and it was proposed that they should be put to death in cold blood. Preparations were made also for the butchery of eight and twenty prisoners whom they had brought in with them; when the massacre was prevented by the arrival of a fresh body of king's troops, who after a short, and to them almost bloodless, resistance, dispersed the rebels before night-fall.

These events had occurred two days only before Humbert's surrender at Ballinamuck; and though the insurgents were discouraged by their losses, the presence of a French force, however small, might have revived the spirit of resistance. Before the news of Humbert's defeat had spread through the country, the

hope of support from him had indeed produced an attack upon Castlebar. The town was bravely and successfully defended; and Ballinà and Killala were now the only two places conquered by the French which remained in their possession.

These towns were garrisoned by rebels under the command of French officers. Fifteen days elapsed after the capture of Humbert's army at Ballinamuck before any attempt was made to relieve them; and during that interval, and indeed long before, the lives of the Protestant inhabitants, and of the Bishop of Killala himself, who remained a prisoner in the castle of his see, were daily exposed to the most imminent peril. More than once the firmness and honourable feeling of Charost, the chef-de-demi-brigade left in command, preserved those intrusted to his charge from massacre. Threats of firing the town and of involving the French themselves in the indiscriminate butchery which it was menaced should succeed, were frequently thrown out: and in self-defence against the expected assaults of this lawless rabble, the French officer found it necessary to intrust their prisoners with arms, to be used if occasion required.

Vague reports of the defeat at Ballinamuck increased the fury of the rebels and the fears of the inhabitants. Charost had received certain intelligence of the disaster of his countrymen, and had communicated it to the Bishop, but it was plainly the interest of both to conceal it, till relief was at hand. But concealment was not long practicable. Many who

had escaped from the action sought refuge among their comrades still in arms at Killala; and the threat of vengeance upon the Protestants within their power became hourly louder, as they were more fully convinced of the discomfiture of their hopes. The French officers, on the contrary, sought only to preserve peace around them, till they could honourably surrender themselves according to the customs of war to a regular force.

Much pains were taken by the most sanguinary and violent of the rebels to inculcate a belief that the king's troops had put all their prisoners to death; and the deduction, if they could have obtained credit, would have followed of course, that retaliation was just and necessary. The Bishop, with much sagacity, profited by the anxiety of the insurgents to ascertain the truth of this statement, and he prevailed upon them to send two messengers, one selected by them, another by himself, to the commanding officer at Castlebar, explanatory of the situation of the prisoners at Killala, and expressing a hope that nothing would be done at Castlebar to provoke reprisals. The Bishop's messenger found means at the same time to represent the hazardous state in which the loyalists were placed, and to urge the necessity of immediate succour.

On the 23d of September, a train of fire was distinguished marking the line of march of the royal troops from Sligo. The rebels called the Bishop out to witness the devastation, and an incautious

remark which he uttered nearly brought down the destruction which had so long been suspended over him. "They are but a few cabins," was his observation. "A poor man's cabin," replied one of the bystanders, "is to him as valuable as a palace." Soon after, the report of cannon and small arms in the direction of Ballinà, announced a conflict at that village, and the flash of artillery could plainly be discerned from the Steeple Hill. Groups of rebels were collected in the streets, and in the court-yard of the castle. Some proposed dispersion: others breathed nothing but obstinate defiance: and their prisoners seemed for awhile forgotten by the nearness of their own danger. Night closed in, and no farther tidings were heard of deliverance. The French officers, and the gentlemen confined in the castle, took their turns in watching: all were harassed by the fatiguing duty, but the French most so, who for several nights together had not enjoyed an hour's repose. "The family," says the narrator, who was an eye-witness of these interesting moments*, "spoke in whispers one to another, some desponding, some blaming the tardiness of government in sending us relief, some inquiring anxiously for news, and some endeavouring to steal into privacy where they might unload their hearts with freedom before the throne of mercy.

On the morrow, early, two French officers, who had escaped from Ballinà, announced its capture on the preceding afternoon.

* The Bishop of Killala himself. *Narrative*, p. 141.

It had been carried with little difficulty, but the wetness of the roads had prevented the immediate advance of the victorious troops. The royal army moved forward in two divisions, forming in the whole above 1200 men, with five pieces of cannon. One column marched directly on Killala, the other made a circuit of a league to the south, in order to intercept the rebels in case they should attempt escape. Such was the ardour of this last party to relieve their friends, that they reached the town at the same moment with their comrades who had taken the shorter route.

The rebels, scarcely exceeding 8 or 900, quitted their camp to occupy a rising ground close to the town, on the Ballinà road. They distributed themselves behind low stone walls, whence they could take deliberate aim. The French officers, though well aware that resistance was useless, and already determined upon their own personal surrender, thought it a point of honour to head the insurgents in the onset. A marshy ground interposed some obstacle to the advance of the king's troops; yet so unsteady were the volleys of the enemy, that only one man was killed, and one wounded, during an action which lasted twenty minutes. As the rebels gave way the cavalry charged into the town, to prevent the fugitives from taking shelter in the houses, which might have occasioned indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. Many were cut down in the streets: many more who escaped through the town were swept away by a cannon

which had been placed on the opposite side of the bay.

The town of Killala was thus recovered, after it had been two and thirty days in possession of the French and the rebels. The conduct of the French officers, left in command by Humbert, had been so strictly honourable, and the preservation of the town, and the safety of the Bishop and its Protestant inhabitants, was so wholly owing to their vigilance and activity, that on their surrender an order was received from Government that they should be set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. About 400 of the rebels fell in the battle. The courts martial which assembled on the day succeeding it, had 75 prisoners for trial at Killala, and 110 at Ballinà: and the law in most instances was permitted to take its course.

It is not easy to determine the extent to which the French Directory intended to afford assistance to the Irish. The force which they dispatched under Humbert was manifestly incompetent to produce more than a momentary diversion: and those who employed it must either have been deceived in the strength of the insurgents, or must have grossly underrated the power which the British Government was able to direct against them. Yet that they had serious hope of wresting Ireland from the mother country is rendered probable by the subsequent attempt with which the close of the year was marked. On the 16th of September a brig from France appeared off the North-west coast of Donegal, and land-

ed its crew on the little island of Rutland. The rebel chief, Napper Tandy, who had been by name excluded from the general amnesty, and who now held a commission in the French army, was among this body. He expressed much surprise at the fate of Humbert's expedition; and after the distribution of some inflammatory manifestoes, which failed to rouse a corresponding spirit in the peasantry, he re-embarked and abandoned the coast.

At the close of September a much larger armament than that employed to convey Humbert, issued from the harbour of Brest. It consisted of one ship of the line, the *Hoche*, of 80 guns, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, having on board troops and arms destined for the invasion of Ireland. The alarm had already been given, and the British fleets were on the alert. On the morning of the 11th of October, in bad and boisterous weather, the enemy was descried, and chased by a squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren. The chase continued during the whole of that day and the following night. On the morning of the 12th the action commenced, at twenty minutes past seven; and at eleven the *Hoche* struck her colours, after a gallant defence. The frigates perceiving the fate of their comrades crowded all sail. Three of them, after five hours chase and obstinate fighting, surrendered. They were new, and full of troops and stores. Of the remainder three others were afterwards picked up by our cruisers; but not before, in company with the two which finally escaped, they had

anchored on the 28th of October in the bay of Killala. Not less than 2000 troops were on board this flotilla, and the consternation with which their appearance was regarded by the town was proportioned to its recent sufferings. The road to Ballinà was thronged with fugitives: and a renewal of the frightful scenes from which they had but just escaped was anticipated by the wretched inhabitants. But before nightfall the approach of a British squadron alarmed the frigates, and cutting their cables they put to sea with precipitation. In their flight, three, as we have before stated, were captured. An English officer who was taken prisoner during the few hours which the French remained on the coast, was informed that it was their determination, if they had met with any opposition in landing, to lay the town in ashes; and also that they had positive orders to send the Bishop of Killala and his family, without delay, as prisoners to France. The groundless charges which they adduced against this respectable prelate were, that he had *betrayed* the town to the troops of his own sovereign, and that he had delivered up to his own Government a quantity of ammunition with which he had been *intrusted* by the French.

Among the prisoners who were captured on board the *Hoche* was Theobald Wolfe Tone; who has been already mentioned as the chief founder of the Association of United Irish. He was brought to Dublin and tried by a court martial. The clearest proofs of guilt were established; and there were few leading acts of the re-

bellion in which his participation or advice could not be detected. Far from avoiding the charges, he gloried in his treasons, and drunk with the fanaticism of his cause courted death as a triumph. The single plea which he advanced was that he was a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the Republic; and this he urged much more with the hope of obtaining a commutation of the mode of his punishment than of saving his life. He shrank from the ignominious execution of a felon, and requested to be shot as a soldier. The petition was refused; and, on his return to gaol, during the short period allowed between his sentence and its fulfilment, the miserable culprit found means to cut his throat. He lingered a few days in agony, and at length expired.

With the death of its projector the rebellion itself may be said to have terminated. The disaffected had lost their principal leaders, and were without hope of foreign succour. The agents who followed from the hope of plunder, or from the blindness of religious rage, were dispirited and scattered;

and there was no rallying point at which they could reassemble, and no chief who could lead them to the field. Government marshalled against them a force which observed the whole kingdom, and which was so disposed that it could be made to bear with rapidity upon any one particular district. The affections of numbers were reclaimed by the moderate policy of the existing administration; and the time was fast approaching when the extinction of those mighty feuds, which had agitated Ireland for two centuries, was to be attempted by the greatest political measure which had occurred during her existence. The fearful contest which accelerated the Union, had destroyed property of the loyalist inhabitants, as appeared by the claims laid before Parliament, to the amount of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds, and the loss of lives in the course of the year 1798, has been estimated at 19,700 from the royal army, exclusive of the numerous individuals massacred and assassinated, and upwards of 50,000 on the part of the rebels.

CHAPTER IX.

Opening of Parliament. Secession of the Whig Leaders. Speech from the Throne. Debates in both Houses on the Address. Earl Fitzwilliam's Amendment and Protest. Thanks to Lord Duncan.

THE meeting of Parliament, which took place on the second of November, 1797, was marked by a circumstance unprecedented in our history. In each house several of the chief leaders of Opposition were absent from their

customary posts, and they persisted in this singular desertion of the duties assigned to them by their constituents during the remainder of the session. The pretext assigned for this absence was the inutility of farther resistance

to the overwhelming majorities by which the propositions of the ministry had been carried; and the imputation of revolutionary principles which was unsparingly attached to such members as did not coincide with the policy of the existing administration. The secession may with more probability be traced to the blindness of party fanaticism, and the contemptible jealousy of disappointed ambition.

The speech from the throne regretted, that all endeavour for the restoration of peace had proved unavailing. It noticed the British declaration, published subsequent to the rupture of the negotiation at Lisle, and pointed to the papers which were ordered to be laid before Parliament, as justificatory of the British conduct. It expressed entire reliance on the vigour and wisdom of Parliament, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage of the people. After a merited eulogium on Lord Duncan, it adverted to the estimates for the ensuing year, with an expression of hope that the state of the war might admit of some diminution in the public burdens, and it concluded by earnestly recommending a perseverance in the principles and policy by which the security and happiness of England had been hitherto preserved.

In the house of lords, the earl of Glasgow moved the address; in examining his majesty's speech, and the declaration which had preceded it, he said it was most clearly apparent, that our sovereign had been actuated all along by principles of justice and moderation. Those documents

pointed out the malignant and insidious conduct of the enemy throughout the whole of the war; this conduct it was, on their part, which left it no longer in the power of his majesty to indulge his beneficent inclinations towards peace; and in pursuit of this object he had gone as far as was compatible with the safety of his people, and the dignity of his crown. Much as that event was to be desired, his lordship hoped that there was yet spirit enough in the country not to accept it at the price of the honour of the British empire. His majesty had himself proposed a treaty for peace to the enemy; and after it was abruptly terminated, he had taken the first opportunity of renewing it; and with the most earnest solicitude for that event, had directed his minister to continue at Lisle as long as possible, namely, till a positive order from the directory obliged him to return.

From this review, it was obvious, that the prolongation of the war was to be attributed solely to the ambition of France. What, in truth, was the avowed state of the negotiation so lately terminated? The enemy had required a restitution of all the conquests our valour had achieved, and this, not as the price of peace, but of negotiation? Such, with their pretended candour, were the terms they had the hardihood to propose; so that we, who had every thing to give and nothing to receive, must resign all as a preliminary to treaty! By this procedure we were called upon to surrender our national dignity: and if these were the conditions of peace, he was persuaded that the

last resources of the country would be cheerfully brought forth, rather than submit to compromise our safety, independence, and honour.

But what was the situation of the contending parties when this arrogant pretension on the part of the enemy was advanced? Was it in a moment of humiliation, defeat, and disgrace? No; it was in the full career of our conquest that they had dared to bring forward their insolent demands: their fleet was perfectly annihilated, which, his lordship said, left no doubt upon his mind, that they must see the impotence of all their schemes in any way to injure this country. The late splendid victory of lord Duncan showed what our navy could accomplish; and whilst we could command such heroic efforts of valour, we should, under divine Providence, determine to rely upon them; we had prowess, and we had resources; our commerce was extensive, our finances were unimpaired; and, generally speaking, our military operations had been successful. A nation thus circumstanced had no ground for despondency: he therefore was decidedly of opinion that the conduct of ministers was politic and proper, and such as eventually would best conduce to an honourable peace. He concluded with moving an address to be presented to his majesty, returning thanks for his most gracious speech.

Lord Gwydir said, that the powers of language had been so often employed to describe the complicated nature of this war, that words had lost their effect by repetition; but the magnitude and

importance of the object remaining the same, he thought it necessary to declare the principles which had governed his public conduct. He had supported the war from its commencement, because he had esteemed it a just and necessary war: every event, every circumstance had confirmed his opinion; and from this conviction he called upon their lordships to support the address.

Three times had his majesty's ministers gone to the utmost verge that prudence or honour would admit, in the hope of ending this unexampled contest by negotiation: the result was well known; and he was at a loss to imagine a reason for our ambassador having been received, unless it was to afford the jacobin party in France an opportunity of adding insult to injury. It had been stated from high authority, that a point of honour was almost the only rational cause of war: a dispute for trade, or territorial possession, might be easily compromised, or given up; but the honour of a country gone, its importance must fall with it, and it would soon become the derision of mankind. Had the object of the war been changed? Certainly not: the means of carrying it on had varied, but the preservation of Great Britain had from its commencement been the one grand pursuit.

The aim of France was universal dominion; and whether they pursued it by war or treaty, the object had been never varied.

With professions of justice, faith, humanity, they had thought no actions too atrocious to be committed; and indulging their

imaginations in ideal victory over this country, they already considered it as a conquered enemy, and would listen to no terms but such as they should dictate. The laws which they had made applied only to themselves; occasional possession created of itself indefeasible right; but when this doctrine came under discussion with their adversaries, it was exactly reversed as applied to them, and they instantly demanded a previous unconditional restitution of every thing that had been taken either from themselves or their pretended allies. Had these haughty terms been acceded to, our dishonour would have been sealed, but peace would have been yet more distant. No negotiator could have proposed such conditions but with a view of forcing a continuance of the war. So much for the justice of their theory and practice.

His lordship said it would be waste of time to comment on their bad faith, either in the treaties they had dictated and broken, or the alliances they had formed and abused; but it would be well if Europe would take warning, from these treaties and alliances, of what they might expect.

Far different had been the conduct of this country: the state of the funds, the pecuniary difficulties under which we had exerted and maintained our public credit, must have convinced our allies of the efforts we made to supply their wants: we had more than fulfilled every engagement, and in the negotiation we proposed, their interests had been combined with our own.

Perhaps it was wise to learn by negotiation the extent of the insolent demands of the faction in France; perhaps it was necessary to prove to this country that peace was impossible, in order to rouse that vigorous exertion which its interest and honour required. The ministers had gone to every length which prudence and dignity permitted—if not farther; and after the reception of such advances, the nation would be degraded in the eyes of the world, if it hesitated one moment in resenting the insult, and accepting the challenge.

Earl Fitzwilliam rose, and with much warmth concurred in the same opinion; but there were some words in the address, he said, to which he could not agree, because, he said, he conceived that they tended to weaken the principle upon which the house might wish to come forward with their support of his majesty. Every expression implying approbation of the steps which had been taken to restore peace should be omitted; nor would he ever lend his sanction to the carrying on a negotiation with a power so anomalous, so dangerous to the safety of Europe, as the French republic.

His lordship much lamented that his majesty had been advised to make a declaration two sessions ago, affirming that France was then in a state to maintain the relations of peace and amity; whereas between that government and ours there subsisted no common principles; and only the restoration of monarchy could render it capable of existence with safety to the other powers of Eu-

rope. He believed this declaration had contributed to the continuance of the war, had weakened energy, had engendered distrust amongst the allies, and that its consequence had been the treaty of Udina.

He wished particularly to call the attention of the house to the object of the French government: it was the lust of universal empire; it had debased their old establishment; it distinguished their new. It was unnecessary, he said, to trace its revolutionary progress in all their conquests, intrigues, and negotiations; but all were strongly and incontestibly marked with this characteristic feature. He begged their lordships to recollect the professions of liberty and equality with which the Dutch and all their dependencies had been amused and deceived; their conduct to Avignon (and Avignon had never been their enemy;) neither did Geneva stand in that situation; the neutrality of Venice, and the complaisance of Genoa towards the French government, did not protect them from the rage of jacobin proselytism. Their treatment of the Italian states also, and their conduct to America, demonstrated their aim. Friendly as well as neutral powers had been deprived of their rights by Bonaparte, on no other pretence than the convenience or advantage of the republic. Disorganisation in all its extent had uniformly succeeded every establishment they had been able to overthrow. An incompatibility of coalescing with any power whatever was their own incommunicable prerogative; it was for the privilege of regenerating the con-

stitutions of other nations, and proselyting other states, that they threw away all their old forms, burst upon every people in their vicinity, and convulsed them with their enthusiasm; and wherever they penetrated by art or arms the revolutionary mania followed them.

Never had such swarms of banditti issued as had issued from the cultivated empire of France, and overspread the surrounding kingdoms with madness and with guilt! And was this the nation with which England was ready to make engagements? The character of its rulers evinced what we might expect from their warmest professions. These were formed upon the spirit of the people, and had presented within these two months a dreadful picture of the cant of liberty, and the horror of despotism. Was not their late proscription of 65 deputies, and their disfranchisement of '33 departments, for whose representation they had arbitrarily and openly sent creatures of their own to the council of five hundred, an instance of this? In fact, the councils were not the representatives of the people, but of the directory; and this pretended representation extended even to the subordinate municipal officers. Of this primary principle in democracy how much had they boasted, and how little had they realized it!

Was the expulsion of such a number of those chosen by their constituents meant to exemplify their doctrine, or to explain it? did equality consist of such outrages on the rights and feelings of each other? and had we any

reason to expect better conduct than they adopted amongst themselves? Here, therefore, his lordship said, he was pledged to the house and to the public to make no peace where peace could neither be honourable nor lasting. It deserved consideration, whether it were not better to prosecute the war on its original ground, or, by ending the one, basely to relinquish the other? The war, it was true, had cost this country many millions; but the taxes were paid, our resources rising, our trade increased, and our commerce flourishing. What was the situation of the enemy in this respect? All the armies they had raised, all the magazines they had filled, all the treasures they had expended, all that they had done, had been effected, not by any well digested plan of equal contribution, but by making the property of individuals answerable to the exigences of the state. With our revenue it was far otherwise; more money had been offered to government than the minister had occasion for; and any sum might have been obtained to carry on a war, of which the people felt the justice and necessity. In fact, all our resources had rather improved than diminished. Where were not our manufactures exported? in what sea was not the British navy triumphant? and were all these instances of our glory to be surrendered for the amity of a government incapable of accepting, cementing, or realizing it? Could we hope for better treatment than any of their other allies? Had they indeed been true to each other, had they been animated with as much

zeal to defend, as the French to attack, this war might have been terminated happily long ago: by our own mismanagement, by mutual jealousy, we had ruined the cause we wished to have protected, and the desertion of one led to that of another; but though left in the field alone, we yet occupied such vantage ground as might enable us to hold them for a length of time in perfect defiance. Was not the emperor (the most relied on continental bulwark!) a beacon to the people of this country? He, whose duty it was to have preserved the empire, instead of proving himself the father of his people, was actually, by the ascendancy of the French, in his councils, become a *jacobin*: the king of Prussia might also turn such, and fall in with the schemes of this ambitious republic, which already called out for a Transrhene republic on the borders of Austria and Prussia!

Earl Fitzwilliam concluded with exhorting their lordships, if they venerated patriotism, liberty, or laws, to resist all terms of coalescence with this regicide government. He reminded them of his majesty's words in a former speech, "that we fought for order, morality, and religion;" nor could we consistently submit to conditions of peace, until the old monarchy was restored in France, and an hereditary sovereign seated upon the throne of his ancestors.

Lord Grenville professed himself to be entirely of opinion with his noble friend, that there was no safety for any people by being at peace with the French; and

the horrible picture which he had so eloquently drawn of the nature of their friendship was justified by the history of their conduct towards the nations whom they had ruined. The calamities they had endured were not so much occasioned by making peace, as by continuing at peace with France: they had sought safety in a temporising system; and, by ignominious compliances with bad principles, had laid themselves open to the miseries which had followed.

It was not by compromises, however humble, nor sacrifices, however extravagant, that security could be obtained against such a system; it was by a vigorous resistance of their principles, a manly disregard of their threats, and a zealous maintenance of our own constitution, that we could secure to ourselves the blessings of our established government.

But he differed from the noble earl as to the inference he had drawn, that this country never could with safety make peace with the French republic. For himself, he never once encouraged such an idea, or expressed such a sentiment; on the contrary, he believed that peace might now be both practicable and permanent, and obtained upon conditions consistent with the honour of this empire; nor had his majesty's ministers declared that no peace could or ought to be made with the republic, only, that it was more likely to be durable under a monarchy. His lordship dwelt some time upon this point, affirming that however we might have preferred to treat with one kind

of government rather than another, we had never made any government a *sine qua non* of negotiation. He objected to the amendment which would make the revival of the old monarchy in France the condition of our treaty, and he considered it as opposite to the very part in the address which the house would wish to support; viz. a declaration that they highly approved of his majesty's endeavours to negotiate with the French republic in order to restore peace; and that it now was evident, from the insolent spirit of the enemy, to whom the continuance of the war was to be attributed.

The Marquess of Lansdowne entreated their lordships to surrender their prejudices, and contemplate the danger of their situation. The declaration, he said, had made a serious impression on his mind; unaccompanied as it was with documents, he read it with a perfect confidence that the main facts stated were true; but what did they prove? That the French directory had no intention to make peace with us, but were implacably hostile to the government of this country! This was a most important matter, for then the question was, what were we to do in that predicament? The noble earl says, continue the war;—but how? Great Britain was not to be placed on a footing with the petty states which the drunkenness of the French revolution had disturbed; nor ought we to be diverted from the contemplation of our own case by such references. He left them, with all the predictions which had so fatally deluded their

lordships, of the impossibility of the French continuing their system. We were come to that point when we were to act for ourselves; and it was needless to remind the house of the principle of those who had carried on the war, which had been, that we could not make any impression on France without a continental ally. If this were true, what must we do when the French had made a *jacobin of the emperor*.

The Marquess observed, that he should not have presumed to have called his imperial majesty by this name, but he borrowed the expression from the noble earl.

Could we go on without an ally for any purpose of offence? We could not hope to recover the king of Prussia; he might become a jacobin also; he long ago had wisdom to quit the scene, and now we found that even the emperor had withdrawn. He hoped, however, that we should find him a man of honour in his engagements; and that the money advanced in this country, which our ministers had constantly declared was not a subsidy, but a solemn loan, would be paid with punctuality and honour. But the consideration which he particularly wished to impress, was, that we were called upon to persevere in the contest, without the means so frequently stated as essential to its success. Our resources were affirmed to be rising; but were they actually so? The papers which he had read respecting the trade with Portugal, and the wine trade, afforded proof of a lamentable decay; it was not merely that they were not productive,

but that they were deficient. It was not then because our sailors had conquered, because we had demonstrated to all the world the character of our natural strength, that therefore we had the means of carrying on an offensive war against France without a continental ally. Our sailors, indeed, had shown the true *vis animi* of the British marine; they had shown that the country could rise, in spite of the mismanagement of ministers, like the natural strength of youth, which in a casual sickness, resists all the blunders of physicians. But what could our naval exploits avail in such a contest? They made us masters of the sea indeed, but where should we land? If we had the seas, France had its ports; it was necessary to the circuit of commerce that the markets should be open. What then was our relative situation? We had ships that traversed and commanded the ocean; the French had armies that traversed and commanded the shores: we could ship our manufactures, but where could we expose them to sale? What sea was there between Paris and Hamburgh, or Paris and Hanover, or Paris and Lisbon? The French occupied, and they would occupy, every point of contact with the main land of Europe. We had talked of a counter-revolution; were we yet weak enough to cherish this puerile expectation? if so, he begged leave to refer their lordships to a most able pamphlet, written by a late comptroller-general of France. Mons. de Calonne asserted (and his authority was of weight,) that the assignats

and mandates had produced the contrary effect to what was expected; that it was quite ridiculous to talk about the property of a nation, where all its property was afloat. Its very paper, which we idly supposed the source of ruin, was not merely a genuine resource for the time it lasted, but, by our attacks upon it, it became the principle of salvation to France; it worked out its own cure; and that country, from having more paper than all the world put together, had now less than ours.

The Marquess declared solemnly he was himself no jacobin; he came not to the house to give his opinion in the spirit of a Frenchman—but in this dreadful crisis he knew but one means, but one chance for safety, but one powerful resource left to the nation—a *change of ministers*. He yet had confidence it would be tried; for the chief magistrate of our government it was not great talents which were required, so much as that plain integrity and humane attention to the good of the people, which rejects all personal considerations, and seeks only their happiness. In this view he did not despair of the public zeal, if his majesty would enter into a serious inquiry concerning the most likely methods to restore peace; and every honest man would tell him that a change of ministers was the most likely method. Let us suppose the manner in which the directory of France would reason on this subject; might it not be in this strain? “We have convinced the powers on the continent of Europe of the folly of the crusade

they undertook against us; we have sent armies into the field whose victories have surpassed those of ancient Rome at its pinnacle of glory; we have magnified the power of our country upon the basis which gave rise to the war; we are young in the enjoyment of our liberties, and all the means of a vigorous government are in our hands; one obstinate nation only, under hot-headed councils, persists in its attack upon us, and charging us with every species of atrocity, denounces us to all the world as the authors of the war which has so long deluged Europe with blood. We, who only wanted liberty, have conquered the powers which wanted plunder, and have aggrandised ourselves at the expense of our assailants. This power, which thus perseveres against us, is brought to embarrassments which it can neither palliate nor conceal; it stands upon a tottering base; the very shadow of a descent on Ireland convulsed its bank; and at the very moment that it threatens to pour forth vengeance upon us, it is ready to sink under the efforts it has already made. Shall we yield to this insulated foe, who has no armies with which it can wound us? Even in asking for peace they mean hostility—they seek an armistice which shall give them time to take breath, and attack us to more advantage again—they are insincere—they are our only enemy, and now is the moment to save France from their designs.”

It was possible (the Marquess said) that the directory would hold such language; which, though it could not be wholly

justified, had too much truth on its side. They had too much reason to doubt our sincerity, even in our professions of peace; for in all the instances where commissioners had been appointed to negotiate, a dark game had been played which contradicted the public professions of the British cabinet. Thus when a commissioner was sent to Switzerland, and Mr. Wickham opened a correspondence with the French, they discovered it was only for the purpose of negotiating a loan. Again, when Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris, whilst we were making professions of peace there, we were negotiating a hostile treaty with Russia, for such it was now known was the fact, and the treaty was ready for signing when the empress died. And last of all, our negotiation at Lisle was accompanied by that counter-revolutionary insurrection in the interior of France, which produced the convulsion of the 4th of September, and in which they said that they discovered the hand of the English minister. The Marquess disclaimed having any personal knowledge upon the subject; but remarked, that people must be wilfully blind—who did not perceive that the French had charged our ministry with the fact, and that our declaration was shy of disproving the charge. What then would an honest adviser of his majesty say? but that ministers who had thus conducted themselves, and thus exasperated the enemy, were less likely than other men to procure peace for the country. They would entreat his majesty, at least, to try the experiment; they

would deprive the enemy of the advantage of asserting with probability, that the war was continued only because the British cabinet was insincere. But it might be asked, upon what basis peace ought to be concluded? It was his opinion, that if it was concluded in a total abandonment of every idea of promoting internal insurrection in France, he should not be very anxious in specifying the conditions. Neither East nor West Indian colonies, no, nor Trincomalè itself, was sufficient argument for the continuance of the war. As to West India settlements, the recent events had materially changed our policy with regard to them. When we enjoyed all their consumption it was far different; but now that it was in a great measure transferred to America, which would one day take those islands to itself, and when the enlightened spirit of humanity had done so much towards the emancipation of the negroes, and the French revolution had introduced principles of insubordination, he would not contend a day about any object in the West Indies. Respecting the Cape of Good Hope, about which so many lofty expectations were formed, the whole was found to be a dream.

The whole was then reduced to Trincomalè; and though he must acknowledge that it was of enormous value to the defence of the eastern empire, and the thing for which we ought to negotiate, and to procure if possible, yet it was not worth farther slaughter: we had gained the East without it, we had taken it before now, and given it up, nor was it worth ano-

ther campaign, which would cost us 30 millions.

Let us engage the European powers (those on whom we could prevail) in a *defensive* league; in fact, our system ought to be purely defensive; nor was a defensive war a great evil to this country, compared with that which we had been doomed to suffer. Our means for such a system were large; our nautical skill, and our nautical capital would maintain to us the true sovereignty of the seas, for it would secure to us the empire of its commerce: let us regain the opinion of Europe, which we had lost by our pride and rapacity, let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations (for in the end we should be forced to do it, and with an ill grace), and by thus recognising the commercial liberty of the world, we should be the first to profit from it. His lordship then touched upon the state of Ireland; the representation of its grievances, he said, if true, demanded instant redress; and if it were delayed there remained but one alternative, a federal union, or separation. People who were to be governed by us, had a right to the security of their property and quiet; and there was no means of restoring both, but by making peace with this mighty nation, who, together with the enthusiasm of liberty, had all the resources of a great country before them. They were not exhausted as we were; they had not run through all the classes of taxation; the combat was unequal, and he dreaded the event. Peace was necessary for our deliverance; by this alone we might lessen our expenses, and pave the

way for the amelioration of our internal state; we might satisfy the people that their representation was substantial, not by holding out the nonsense of universal suffrage, but by gradual reforms growing out of the constitution itself. We had a prince of experience on the throne, who had friends able to give him sound advice: and the Marquess concluded with a wish, that by acting upon their counsels he might yet rescue his people from the fate which seemed impending, and that we might owe the national safety to his paternal care.

Lord Mulgrave admitted, that if peace could be obtained by a change of ministers, they ought to be changed immediately, whatever merits they possessed; but he did not believe this desirable consequence would follow such a change. Supposing it to take place, who was to succeed them? The noble marquess undoubtedly had abilities and experience as a statesman that well qualified him for the situation of a minister; but who would place confidence in him after his speech of that evening? In his moderate manifesto, speaking as a member of the directory, he had insinuated every thing that was degrading to the dignity of this country; in his second character of a *passionate* member of the directory, he had gone still farther, and, with the fury of a jacobin, levelled the British character to the ground, and triumphed in its degradation.

He dissented from the marquess respecting the means we yet possessed of retaining the West Indies, as well as their value, and also the Cape of Good Hope and

Trincomalè. But what had been the counsel recommended? A defensive alliance with all the powers of Europe. But against France the noble marquess had taken care not to be understood. Lord Mulgrave said, it was an axiom that defensive war led to offensive conduct, and consequently provoked all the dangers of offensive war without its advantages; and by this plan all security was to be given up before we could be certain of peace. The war ought to be carried on; and there was no utility in removing the ministers, nor could he suppose we should sink under our present difficulties, whilst the courage, energy, and resources of the nation remained as they did at present.

The Duke of Norfolk, after approving of the conduct of those lords who had absented themselves from the house, observed that parliament had of late been much neglected by his majesty's ministers; and on the present occasion still less regard than usual had been shown to what was due to their lordships. His grace then referred to that part of the declaration which had stated the exorbitant demands of France, requiring that his majesty should give up, without compensation, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguard of his empire; nor was this demand brought forward as the price of peace, but of negotiation.

He remarked, that this proved the enemy was in the wrong, but not that the minister was in the right. The declaration and the papers were said to have proved, "that every step had been taken

on his majesty's part to accelerate peace, and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation was solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct and unwarrantable pretensions of the French." His grace observed, that no such papers had appeared before their lordships. The address implied that these papers had been satisfactory, whereas they never had been seen. This was a mode of voting approbation of the conduct of ministers before they knew what it was; and therefore he moved an amendment, of which the substance was, that after thanking his Majesty, might be added, "when their lordships were satisfied with the contents of these papers, no co-operations of theirs should be wanting to carry his Majesty's intentions into effect."

Lord Grenville said the motion was most irregular; he had no objection to discuss the subject of it, but not in its present form. It was the custom of parliament to come to a vote on the speech from the throne, and to lay the documents to which it referred before the house afterwards; this would be done the next day, and he would predict that their lordships would be clearly satisfied that every thing had been done on the part of his Majesty which had been stated in the declaration.

The original question was then put and carried.

In the commons, Mr. W. Bootle moved the address; he professed to do it with more satisfaction, because whatever difference of opinion there might have been respecting the cause of the war, there could be but one,

as to the necessity of its continuance, when our enemies had left us no alternative.

The restoration of tranquillity and of uninterrupted commerce were objects of as much importance to the sovereign as to the subjects of a commercial country; and we could not doubt the pleasure with which his majesty would have come to parliament, to have informed them, that an honourable treaty of peace had been the fruits of his second negotiation; that he had met with an enemy equally disposed for conciliation, equally desirous to act up to their loud professions, and to make those mutual sacrifices and compensations which the custom of negotiation required.

Very different was the present case: his majesty indeed might tell us with truth, that, animated with the desire of conducing to the tranquillity of Europe, he had again stepped forward in a manner which would have satisfied a reasonable enemy; that he had even risked the dignity of these kingdoms by the renewal of his advances, and offered to make sacrifices which the relative situations of the powers at war did not warrant; but his offers had been treated with contempt, his terms unattended to and unanswered, and, after a long and fruitless attempt to bring the enemy to negotiation, his ambassador had been dismissed with insult.

To all this he had submitted, to prove to his subjects the sincerity of his wishes for peace.

Mr. B. said, that it did not appear to have been any question of terms, any resistance of aggran-

dizement on our part, nor a desire of it on theirs, but an inveterate resolution to preclude all negotiation whatever.

That an enemy should have demanded such sacrifices as no country had at any time yielded to another, as the price of peace, would at most periods have been a sufficient reason for a king to throw himself on the support and affections of his subjects: there might possibly be occasions which would justify the surrendering much more than the relative situation of two countries would make fair or reasonable, provided by such surrenders peace could be purchased; but that which would be most difficult for the sovereign of a free people to avow, that which would argue him insensible to the duty which he owed them, would be to acquaint them, that in yielding to every exorbitant demand, in sacrificing all that had been acquired by their valour, in giving up their commercial and political interests, he had exhausted the means of negotiation *without attaining the ends of peace*. He trusted that a British King, in applying to a British Parliament, need not apologise for having avoided unprofitable concessions and fruitless disgrace. That all concessions would have been unprofitable, and that in sacrificing the honour of the nation he would equally have failed in securing its tranquillity, no man could entertain a doubt who looked not at the King's speech, in which he had so solemnly appealed to his subjects and to the world, but who had looked at the conduct of the French government.

Since the revolution of last September, the directory had taken no pains to conceal their intention of continuing hostilities—to remove all doubt upon the subject, they took the negotiation out of the hands to which it had been entrusted, and sent creatures of their own to Lisle, with pacific professions in their mouths, but charged expressly to break it off, or at least to advance propositions which had been before rejected by us and abandoned by them, and which they knew could never be accepted. It was evident that their object was not to treat more advantageously for themselves, (this would have been excusable,) but to render all treaty impossible, to retract whatever the former situation of affairs in France had induced them to concede, and to show that it was not the mode of peace, but peace itself that they disclaimed.

Mr. Bootle declared it as his opinion, that no line of conduct on our part could bring about this desired object; at the same time he hoped that we should not show an inability, or want of inclination, to carry on the war, but willingly declare our intention of supporting his Majesty in the measures he might judge necessary towards the good of the kingdom, and the preservation of its constitution. Let us (said he) give our enemies to understand, that (whatever divisions may have existed before,) they have now united all Englishmen in one general sentiment. Let us no longer give them reason to hope that they may destroy this their Carthage, against which they have so repeatedly denounced vengeance, nor carry into execution

their iniquitous plan of revolutionising this country, and of forcing upon us the example of the defenceless states of Germany and Italy.

The choice was now before us; we might disband our armies, our victorious navies, and oppose no resistance to the invading foe; we might resign our lives and properties to the disposal of France, and rank ourselves in the number of her dependents; we might expect to see the throne, and the laws of the realm, overturned and trampled under foot, and prepare the contributions which would be levied upon us to defray the expenses of our own ruin; to all this we must submit, or resolve to continue the war!

Mr. Bootle proceeded to consider our present situation: we were, he said, engaged in no continental war; nor did we depend on the faith of other powers; we fought upon our own element, where we had long been used to conquer, and to regard ourselves with reason as sole and exclusive masters. Nor were our claims ill-founded: in the annals of all maritime wars, in which we had been engaged, we should find that a long and uniform habit of victory had inspired us with ideas of our own superiority. British sailors fight with a consciousness of this superiority, and with a spirit arising from it unknown to other nations.

The events of the last three years supplied ample materials for triumph and exultation; we had swelled the list of prizes to a degree unheard of in former wars, we had ruined the commerce, and crippled the navies of our enemies;

we had kept possession of the sea against three formidable and allied powers; blocked up their ports, whilst superior fleets lay mouldering within, inactive; and when the reproaches of their countrymen had forced them to battle, the result had invariably been what they had dreaded, and what we had expected.

Mr. Bootle then moved an address of thanks, which was as usual an echo of the speech.

Mr. Drummond seconded the motion: he said he was truly sorry that he had not now to congratulate the country on the cessation of the storm which had so long convulsed Europe: the evils of war were dreadful to humanity; but there were evils still greater, and those were in store for England if she did not call forth all her energy in resistance to a ferocious and implacable enemy, who had unequivocally professed a determination to her extinction, and spurned every proposition, however reasonable, for peace. As a proof of this, he called the attention of the house to the negotiation at Lisle; and dwelt much upon the arrogance of the enemy, which increased in proportion to our solicitude to conciliate, from the first refusal at Basle, to the late dismissal of lord Malmesbury. He pointed out the extravagance of their ambition which had subjected Flanders, organised Holland, attacked Venice, Genoa, and many states of Italy and on the Rhine, pillaged Germany, added two new principalities to their republic, and concluded with modestly desiring to destroy England!—to strip her

of her commerce, her consequence, and her honour!

“If (said he) the enemy obstinately and inveterately determine to refuse peace upon a fair footing, and to agree to mutual compensation for mutual wrongs, we are under the necessity of repelling force by force; and let us meet them with one hand and one heart, and with all the energy which the love of the country and of liberty, can inspire.”

Mr. Bryan Edwards rose, and prefaced his speech by cordially assenting to that part of the address which related to the victory obtained by our fleet under admiral Duncan; but declared it as his opinion, that notwithstanding this brilliant victory, parliament had never assembled at a more perilous period; we were (he said) engaged in a war expensive and bloody beyond example; with an enemy who seemed determined to continue the contest, more for our ruin, than their own advantage;—our people, galled under the weight of excessive burdens, divided among themselves, unanimous only in their disapprobation and distrust of parliament; our strongest support, Ireland, now in rebellion, or only kept down by military force.—With no better prospect in our view, how dreary and afflicting was the scene! how feeble the consolation which a single victory could supply! Brilliant and decisive as it was (adding one to the many distinguished proofs which this war had afforded of the superiority of our navy), it was, after all, but the triumph of an hour; a triumph which may have

disconcerted indeed a hostile expedition, but had certainly thinned the ranks of our gallant defenders. Amidst our public rejoicings, what heart could reflect without sorrow upon the havoc of that day!—could meditate upon its advantages, without feeling for the men who fell!

This war had been attended with a waste of wealth, and prodigality of blood, not to be paralleled in the history of human depravity. Two hundred millions of money had been the waste of four years; and two hundred thousand the number of lives which had been lost. He then proceeded to inquire what prospect did the king's speech hold out to us? Was it the effectual relief of our burdens? No. Was it the hope of harmony in Ireland?—No. Was it *indemnity for the past and security for the future*?—No. Was it peace?—No; but the reverse. It promised us the renewal of that devastation we lamented—or had cause to lament; it menaced us with more carnage, more tears, more sighs, and perhaps deeper, of widows, sisters, and children! But it would probably be asked, had no efforts been made to obtain peace? None, suitable to the occasion; none, founded in sincerity, and breathing the genuine spirit of sweet concord.

If we recurred to Lord Malmesbury's first mission to Paris, we might without hesitation pronounce that the minister was not sincere: the terms which the French would have granted, and he refused, were such as he would now gladly accept, and which they decline to give. The French would have granted peace, on con-

dition of holding what they then had; but the minister would be contented with nothing short of the restitution of Belgium; and the safety of England was sacrificed to the interest of the emperor.

Mr. Edwards instanced, as one of the proofs of ministerial error and diplomatic absurdity, the sending the same man (Lord Malmesbury) a second time to negotiate, who had once, (as it was asserted) been disgracefully dismissed from Paris, and thus aggravating the contumely it brought upon this country.

He would, for the sake of argument, he said, suppose, that the failure of that attempt was not owing to the unreasonable demands of our minister, but to the extravagant expectations of the French. But was it not one of many instances of bad judgment, to place his lordship again in a situation to be treated with contempt? Mr. Edwards declared, for his own part, he thought it would have been a happy circumstance if that noble lord had been empowered at the outset to make the offer of restitution desired by France: and it surely ought to weigh against the professions of the minister, who did not thus empower him.

But to examine the question another way: were the conquests we had made of sufficient value to justify the hazard and loss which we must sustain by a further prosecution of the war? No! Sir Francis Baring (continued Mr. Edwards), whose acquaintance with the British interests in the East could not be doubted, had stated in the house, that the Cape

of Good Hope, instead of being an advantage, would be a burden both grievous and unproductive. He had also stated, that Trincomalè, in Ceylon, could not be preserved, unless we were masters of the whole island: an acquisition utterly hopeless; and that the fortifying of that port would cost more than the whole would be worth;—so much for the east. Now, as to the West Indies, he would affirm, without fear of contradiction, that if it were in our power to take the whole of the French islands, so far from being advantageous, they would be untenable, or ruinous. Whoever would review the conduct of the French in that quarter, would discern that no hope could be entertained from them as good subjects. Some of the islands were ceded to us by treaty in the year 1761, and continued thirty years in our possession, and under our protection; yet at the end of that period the French inhabitants seized the first opportunity to revolt; instigated the negroes to rise and murder their masters; and urged by that monster Victor Hughes, they committed the most horrid massacres; and by them the governor was together with several planters, led out to a cruel death. In such circumstances we might possibly have a barren depopulated territory, but we could have no more: and it was a subject of serious consideration for the house, and of awful caution to ministers, to beware of lavishing human blood on such unprofitable conquests. Besides, there was another argument, which no sophistry could evade; another power, which no human means could resist:—the

hand of the Supreme Being, armed with plague and pestilence, was held out against us, to scourge our cupidity and ambition.

And could we, without guilt, persist in sending our gallant fellow-subjects to St. Domingo?—Send them, knowing it was impossible to conquer an island 400 miles in length and 165 in breadth, filled with hosts of enemies, and guarded against us by pestilence!

Mr. Edwards concluded his speech with lamenting the absence of Mr. Fox, whose talents, transcendant as they were, were the least of his merits. He expressed his fears that this distinguished patriot had retired wearied, and without hope, in silent and prophetic anguish. And when that man despaired, who had once, in spite of parliamentary majorities, saved this country from a war with Russia, what remained for others of inferior endowments but, like him, to retire from the scene, mourn over evils which they could not prevent, and expect the dissolution of an unhappy kingdom.

Mr. Wilberforce said, he was far from participating in the poignant grief-expressed for the absence of Mr. Fox; if, indeed, the presence of this gentleman, and the exertion of his acknowledged and great abilities, could extricate the country from the difficulties in which it was involved, the want of his advice might be severely felt, and should be bitterly lamented. Every body knew that the nation was in a critical situation; but was this condition to be retrieved by a dereliction of public duty? For himself, he avowed, that so far from imitating

an example so unwarrantable, the love of his country induced him to pursue a line of conduct very different; he would punctually attend to the discharge of his duty, and, however discouraging the prospect, would exert his best abilities to perform it with patience and attention, prompted by an inward sense of right, not by motives of personal ambition.

As to the proposed address, it presented such general assurances, as all descriptions of gentlemen might consent to, who were sensible of the blessings of our constitution. Ministers were sincerely solicitous for the restoration of peace; indeed the only charge against them was, that they proceeded in a posture too humiliating to accomplish their end. But this humiliation was pardonable, for it was not degrading: it did not tend to encourage the enemy to consider this submission as a symptom of weakness; but after what we had experienced of their rancorous and hostile disposition, we ought to guard against it with renewed vigilance: it had stimulated them to unremitted efforts to wrest out of our hands those possessions which were the resources of our trade; and if any of them should be surrendered as the price of peace, it should be not to Holland, not to Spain, not to France, but to our country.—Peace was the object we pursued, but not with due attention to the relative situation of the nations: without having this point in view, we might frustrate our own purposes; of this we should be well aware, whilst we professed ourselves willing either to make peace when the most brilliant suc-

cess had crowned our arms, or vigorously to prosecute the war, if the ambition and obstinacy of the enemy reduced us to it. This should be our conduct, whether we regard ourselves as Englishmen, or members of the constitution: and we should feel it our duty to stand at our post to the last; nor imitate the example of those, who, under circumstances of difficulty and danger, would pusillanimously desert it.

Sir Horace Mann coincided in all the honourable gentleman had said. He declared himself astonished to hear ministers accused of insincerity, when it so plainly appeared that it was the French who were averse to peace; they had actually banished two directors who had evinced pacific dispositions, and left us no alternative but perseverance in the contest. He thought our situation such as to arouse all the energies, and call forth the unanimity of the British heart, and therefore he supported the address.

Mr. Nichols declared, he was heartily disposed to lament the absence of Mr. Fox, however he might expose himself to censure for his regret. He much extolled the talents of this accomplished statesman, who had toiled for a number of years in opposing a majority of that house, which supported the American war; the termination of which was principally to be ascribed to his unwearied perseverance. By that war the house of Brunswick was deprived of a valuable portion of its dominions—heaven forbid (said Mr. Nichols) that it should sustain additional privation by listening to the sinister counsel by

which it has long been governed! He then expatiated on the censure and obloquy which had been the recompence of Mr. Fox's labours; and was instancing the conduct of parliament respecting the India bill brought forward in 1783, though that bill contained a true statement, and showed the company to be four millions in arrears; he was proceeding to give an history of his whole parliamentary conduct, when he was called to order by the speaker, who observed, he seemed quite to have forgotten the question under discussion.

Mr. Nichols instantly apologised; said it was his sincere wish to support royalty, nobility, and the rights of the commons, the whole of which were in extreme danger; but while he saw it necessary to wage a war, *pro aris et focis*, he could not stifle his resentment against a minister by whose rashness it was begun, and through whose incapacity its progress had been disgraced by disaster and defeat. We were now without allies, our very existence was threatened, and he could not believe the endeavours in a late negotiation had been sincere. What were the obstacles which defeated those endeavours? Our refusal to surrender the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Trincomalè. But why did we wish to retain them? Was it their value? Surely not. Neither was it a point of honour to do so; the same reason might be urged for retaining Martinique, Demerara, &c, which we should not hesitate to resign. Was it our interest to continue the war for the sake of keeping what would soon cost us more than they were worth? If such were our

intention, let us look into the state of our finances. From July 1796, to July 1797, an addition of two millions six hundred thousand pounds had appeared in the dividends, which was equal to eighty-seven millions and a half in the three per cents, and thus there would be four millions addition to them if the war continued another year. He could not pretend to say how this could be borne by the landed property, but the funds must give way, and the middling class of the people be ruined, and all these calamities were to be endured to secure the Cape of Good Hope! Whilst our ears were stunned with public rejoicings for victories which availed little, our finances required most serious attention: we owed it as a duty to recommend to his majesty a change of ministers; they had long been tried, and tried to no purpose; nor would the people join cordially in the cause, until they were convinced that every thing was done which could possibly be attempted. Ireland at least would not join; the cruel treatment which she had experienced must alienate her affections, and without peace the nation could expect no prosperity.

Mr. Nichols professed himself ready to join any description of men to promote the attainment of this object, and to support the constitution of his country in its present establishment of royalty, nobility, the commons, and episcopacy.

Sir William Young said, the leading feature in the late negotiation had been overlooked; it was, that we should surrender all our conquests, and then treat perhaps for our navy. Such were the

terms imposed on Carthage of old, and what was the consequence? *Delenda erat Carthago*. It was obtaining the sybil's leaf at a double price; but he would never consent to measure the stake of a man merely by his wealth; it consisted in his children, his relatives, his liberty, his opinions as well as his property; and he called upon liberal minds to support the statement of the stake of a man in the welfare of his country.

Mr. H. Brown made an observation upon one part of Mr. Ed-

wards's speech, that we were only unanimous in complaining of our burdens. He said, it was upon good authority he could affirm that the taxes of the country were never better or more cheerfully paid than at present. But taxes ought not to be considered abstractedly but relative to our situation, and this ought to afford us great comfort; for viewed in this point, our prosperity was a permanent cause, producing great resources.

The address was carried without a division.

CHAPTER X.

Motion by Mr. Tierney on Mr. Dundas's Appointment as third Secretary of State. Negatived. Debates in both Houses on the Address to the Crown relative to the Negotiations at Lisle.

THE ranks of opposition were so thinned by the voluntary secession of the Whigs, that in a motion which Mr. Tierney made, on the 8th of November, he found himself almost a solitary speaker from his own side of the house. The object of his motion was to disqualify Mr. Dundas from sitting in parliament, he having accepted the office of secretary of state for the war department. In commencement Mr. Tierney disclaimed all personal dislike, or private animosity; but the transaction, of which he complained was a corrupt job—a job not avowed but detected, and never would have been brought to light if it could have been kept in concealment, and which appeared at last only by the labours of the committee, to whose reports he should refer for evidence of the

facts on which he grounded the charge. In that report it was completely deciphered; and when that should be substantiated, it would become matter of deliberation and opinion, whether it was not an aggravation of the offence, that Mr. Dundas, after having been reminded of the doubts that arose, and thereby supplied with materials to judge of the law, and correct his error, had yet presumed, after such warning, and with the letter of the law before his eyes, to hold his seat in the house? Many of the gentlemen who now held their seats were members of parliament in the year 1782, when Mr. Burke made a speech deserving much applause, on bringing in a bill for introducing a system of œconomy in the public administration, and for abolishing all useless places. This

great man had a more extensive view than merely to diminish the public expenditure; namely to preserve the independence of parliament. In this speech Mr. Burke asserted, that the office of third secretary of state was an office perfectly unnecessary, and instituted for no other purpose than that of creating new patronage for the crown. Taking this as the principle upon which the abolition of that office was then grounded, nothing could be pleaded in justification of its revival but the most urgent necessity.

Mr. Tierney said, he would undertake to prove that this office had been revived; and it was incumbent on his majesty's ministers to show the house those circumstances which made it necessary. He reverted to Mr. Burke's statement, that lord Suffolk and lord Weymouth, being the two principal secretaries, and the former being "though not dead to nature, dead to the public," the whole business devolved upon the latter, and for more than a year after no new secretary was appointed; from whence it was argued, that if lord Weymouth was able to do the business of himself and of lord Suffolk, two secretaries could do the business of three. In the year 1783, the object of Mr. Burke was effected. Mr. Tierney then called the attention of the house to the present moment. A third secretary of state had been appointed since that time with a new establishment of 13,000*l.* a year. When in the year 1768, the office abolished by Mr. Burke's bill was established, the pretext was, the increase of business on the continent of Ame-

rica; at that time, however, three secretaries were at least sufficient; but having contrived to lose the American colonies which furnished the pretext, ministers could not very well insist on the continuance of the office, nor deny that there was no occasion for more than two, who went under the name of secretaries for the northern and southern departments. In the year 1786, a committee was appointed to report on the nature of the offices of government, and the amount of their salaries; in that report the two secretaries were stated at salaries of 6000*l.* each: now if the labour became so extremely arduous to ministers, as to justify an additional office, would they not have called for more, rather than less, than the stated salary? But so far was this from being the case, the honourable gentleman did not feel that he had any such claim; but he himself diminished the allowance of the report of 1786; fixing his salary at 4500*l.* a year, instead of 6000*l.* and instead of sinking under the business, he was able to carry a little more, taking upon himself the office of president of the board of controul, without fee or reward additional; nor was any complaint heard of these offices being too laborious.

By the war in 1793 the business was considerably increased; but Mr. Dundas never looked for a third secretary, but conducted the whole with much credit to himself for a year and a half, and in bringing in his India bill took 6000*l.* a year as president of the board of controul, assuming the whole weight of that arduous employment; but this was not all;

with the home department he took that of the war, so far was he from considering a third secretary needful. Under these circumstances then, what was it which created the necessity? It could not be that which was made the pretext for it in 1768, for the colonies were lost: neither could it be inability, because it appeared that the business had been accomplished, with dispatch, by two.

Mr. Tierney professed himself at a loss to imagine, why in 1794 there should be a new division of the business; and instead of the old establishment of the two secretaries and offices, at an expense of 29,000*l.* there should be three, at an expense of 40,000*l.* He knew that the accumulation of the affairs of war with those of the other departments of state rendered an enlargement necessary, and pointed out the expediency of a separate establishment for war. The first clerk of that office was the only person examined touching that point before the committee; but instead of saying any thing to justify that conclusion, what he said tended to prove, that with the help of four additional clerks they might go on as well as ever. But this mode would not answer the purpose of ministers: no; an increase of the patronage of the crown was their object, and a new establishment, with enormous additional salaries, must effect their purposes. When the discovery was made of the necessity of a new establishment, many difficulties occurred respecting the arrangement. Mr. Pitt, who is so fond of "mutual compensation" in all negotiations, probably in-

terfered, and made it the basis of treaty; and hence might have arisen "reciprocal facilities." It was only saying, I am secretary at war, and you are war secretary, and the difficulty was at an end; and on that day started out an arrangement, giving to Mr. Dundas the office of secretary of the war department, with an enormous establishment. Mr. Tierney professed himself at an utter loss to comprehend how such a palpable job could be defended, or in what manner ministers could justify the creation of such an office. The present commander in chief was allowed to be most accurate, active, and industrious; nor did he mean disrespect to Lord Amherst, when he attributed wholly to age his insufficiency. Lord Cornwallis had made great improvements in the ordnance department; and yet, with these advantages, the office of secretary of the war department was thought necessary for the right honourable gentleman!

It was not so much as stated that the duke of Portland could not do the duty of both; and his grace's department, instead of being reduced, had four clerks added to it. One, a precis, that is to say, an abridger; another, a law clerk, which had been abolished in 1774, and now revived; a third, a clerk for felons and convicts; and the fourth, a gentleman who left his profession (Mr. Baldwin), and was so good as to give his opinion when a case is sent with the usual compliment (the fee) marked on the back of it. Besides which, there was an active magistrate employed, who transacted the office business with

the various magistrates, and took the whole weight of that trouble off his grace's shoulders.

But to come to the other point, the illegality of the office; Mr. Burke's bill had provided that the office of the "*third secretary of state, or secretary for the colonies* (as it was then called) *should be abolished, and that two only should remain, those for the northern and southern departments; and that if any office of the same name, nature, or description, should thereafter be established, the same should be taken as a new office.*" Could any terms, (he said) be found to comprehend a more large, distinct, and plain explanation of the intent of that provision?

Lord George Germaine, who held the office of third secretary, was more cautious than the honourable gentleman, for he never gave any specific name to the office he held, but held it generally by the title of "one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state." And Mr. Burke was driven thereby to state it so specially as he had done, that was to say, there should be only two, and if a third were made of the same nature with that abolished, the person should be incapable of sitting in the house of commons. He would undertake to prove, that the office held by Mr. Dundas was of the same description, and though not of the same name, for the same purposes. Let the report be examined, and the three distinct officers would be distinctly recognised by the authenticated signatures of the respective secretaries. In appendix B. 1. they will meet the signature Portland as principal secretary; in

B. 2. lord Grenville, principal secretary; and then they will come to Henry Dundas, principal war secretary! Mr. Tierney affirmed, he had made out satisfactorily that no necessity for creating this office had been proved; and that if it had been proved, still under the law it was impossible the honourable gentleman could retain his seat. He was not actuated (he solemnly declared) by any desire to throw difficulties in the way of public proceedings, but by an anxious wish to vindicate the honour of the house, and to prevail on them to shew their resolution to preserve inviolate the law; particularly as the king's speech recommended them so strongly to enforce obedience to the laws. He requested that the act to which he alluded should be read, and, after it had been read, he moved the following resolution:

"That it was the opinion of that house, that the office of secretary of state for the war department was in addition to the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs and for the home department; and that the honourable Henry Dundas, having accepted of the office of secretary for the war department, was disqualified from sitting in parliament, &c."

Mr. Secretary Dundas said, that Mr. Tierney had so particularly alluded to him in the manner in which he had introduced the present motion, that he could not better refute the objections which had been stated, or demonstrate the impropriety of the measure proposed, than by giving an accurate statement of the circumstances to which he had directed

the attention of the house. In the year 1791 his majesty called upon him to undertake the office for the war department: at that period, the duty attached to the situation comprehended the internal correspondence with the different parts of the country, with Ireland, with the colonies, and in general every thing relative to the executive administration. When the war broke out, the military correspondence was likewise conducted by him. He said he should not enter into the consideration whether the place of third secretary of state was rightly abolished, or rightly restored? but he could not avoid embracing this opportunity of stating distinctly the business of the office which was now under discussion, and submitting it to any reasonable man's opinion, whether it was not more than would be proper to commit to any individual, whatever might be his talents or his assiduity? The increase of employment arising out of the war, the new and strange scenes which had been acted in various parts of the country, the frantic and dangerous designs which had been prosecuted with such perseverance, to disturb the public tranquillity, and overthrow our happy constitution, had required an additional portion of vigilance, and additional means of carrying on the affairs of state with undivided attention.

The only question, however, for the deliberation of the house was, whether he was a third secretary of state in the terms of the act? and in answer to Mr. Tierney's arguments, he should boldly state the fact.

In the year 1791, Mr. Dundas said, he received the seals of the home department from his majesty, and at the same time was custodier of those which had belonged to lord George Germaine. A new arrangement having taken place, he carried the seals of which he had been the custodier to his majesty, who delivered them to the duke of Portland. He was then ordered by his majesty to continue the *military correspondence*, and to conduct the business of secretary of state so far as related to that object. How, then, could he be considered as third secretary of state? If two known and established secretaries existed, and another was *added*, in what manner could it be proved that the person who discharged one of these original offices was either a new or a third secretary, when none of the business which belonged to that office abolished by Mr. Burke's bill was attached to the office which he held?—it was an employment quite distinct from that which the bill deemed unnecessary, and was posterior to it. The military branch, and the matters connected with it, were carried on in his department; but this did not serve as a proof that he, who performed that duty before, must be the new secretary now, or that he came under the incapacities which the bill enacted. He received no new patent from his majesty, no increased salary: the emoluments were neither augmented nor diminished, they remained precisely as they did before the new arrangement took place. He was then, and continued still, one of the principal secretaries of state, whilst there were three to whom

this character belonged, without its being at all specified with what particular department they were entrusted.

But the spirit and object of the bill ought also to be considered. It was intended to guard against the increase of public offices in so far as those who occupied them were, or were not, to be members of the house; but, because it suited the state of the civil list at the period when it was passed, did it follow that it must be applicable to the present times? It did not enact that a third secretary should not be appointed; but that he should not be a member of the house. Before any change took place he had sat in it, and now claimed the right both on his own account and from a regard for the privileges of his constituents, to exercise his legislative capacity. There had been no change in his situation since 1791; but the duty which he had performed was now executed by the duke of Portland. Upon what ground, then, had he forfeited his seat? No incapacity arose from the circumstances to which the attention of the house was called. The question had been agitated before by an honourable friend of his, with equal capacity, and with no less skill than Mr. Tierney possessed, and the opinion of the house had been pronounced upon it. He would, therefore, add no more than his negative upon the motion.

Mr. Martin said, that whether the present office violated the letter of Mr. Burke's bill, or not, the spirit of it had been disregarded; its object was to guard against the influence of the crown, and to se-

cure the independence of parliament, which, by the proceeding in question, would be defeated.

Mr. Tierney again rose, and lamented that a subject on which he might have expected that the crown lawyers would have favoured the house with their lights; and that a question, which turned upon the interpretation of an act of parliament, and required legal knowledge, should devolve wholly upon himself. Even the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), he said, who was not backward to speak, seemed to decline. He too was implicated in one of the most wanton, unnecessary, insulting jobs, by which the country had ever been disgraced. Mr. Dundas had affirmed, that he was not third secretary of state, because he was secretary of state before! If it were true that he had only a part of the duty, he was, in fact, no more than an officer of the duke of Portland, and disqualified equally to sit in parliament, as coming under the exceptions of the 15th of Geo. II. By that act, one under secretary in each department, and no more, was allowed to sit in parliament. Mr. Dundas did not act in that character for the home department. What, difference, then, existed between him and any other person out of the duke's office? But the subject, it was said, had been formerly discussed: now, however, circumstances were altered, and the question came forward in a different point of view. Here the job, which before was imperfectly known, is *detected*: it was not then known that Mr. Dundas held the office which was now distinguished by the title of the war depart-

ment, hitherto uncreated. As to the charge of holding the third office, an old jest was again repeated; and we were asked, whether those who were in, or he who joined, was to be deemed *new* secretary? Doubtless his majesty might divide his office into as many parts as he pleased, if he did not call upon the house for the payment of those who were employed. He could make placements, but not members of parliament; nor by extending the number of principal secretaries increase that of under secretaries, qualified to sit in the house of commons. By the new arrangement, two members were made. It was affirmed, indeed, that he took no salary; but others in his situation in future might differ from him. The statute of queen Anne, and the bill of Mr. Burke, created an incapacity; no matter by what motive he may be actuated, the incapacity is legally declared. It was against the admission of the principle (Mr. Tierney said) that he contended: it was to prove what was meant by the constitution; to enforce *obedience* to the laws, that he urged the question. Would the people be satisfied, when the debate went abroad, with the juggle with which his serious charge had been answered? When it had been proved by the evidence of a select committee, and demonstrated by an act of parliament, that a gentleman sat in that house who was disqualified by law? Would it content them to say, it was not proved whether he was first, second, or third secretary? Would it convince the public, that the office had not been created to

extend the influence of the crown, and to corrupt the independence of parliament? At a moment so perilous as the present, it ought to be their business not to outrage, but conciliate the opinion of the people; nor, by a quibble, to evade the execution of the law. As to himself, he was not inclined to despond; he believed that the energy of the country was great, and its resources extensive: but they were not the resources of abundance: they could only be called forth by a house of commons possessing the confidence of the nation. If that house evinced by their conduct that they were more disposed to curry favour with the king, to employ a *vigour beyond the law against the people, and less than the law in the vindication of their rights*, they might, indeed, vote grants, but they would be barren; impose taxes, but they would be unproductive. It was only by enforcing the laws equally against high and low, rich and poor, that we should find in the people energies inexhaustible, and resources without end.

The honourable gentleman, however, had said, "prove me to be third secretary of state; I went with the seals, and delivered them to the duke of Portland." Thus he endeavoured to escape by a juggle, and showed himself and his grace so close together, that it was impossible to discover which had the trust. The facts, however, were founded on no quibble. The two departments for home and foreign affairs were known. Since 1794, there had been a secretary for the war department; and the whole matter

was; whether Mr. Dundas, or the Duke of Portland was the new secretary? and because the duke came last into office, it was to be inferred, forsooth, that it was his grace.

But the law does not ask, who is the officer? it looks at the office: and if the new officer be found in the old department, and the former secretary in an office unknown, it cannot be difficult to decide which of them was to be held as the new secretary.

Mr. Pitt said, that the office of secretary of state, in the legal sense, depended upon the grant and delivering of the seals; there was no limitation of their numbers; they had varied in different periods of history, and each became a legal organ to counter-sign any act of state, and was placed afterwards in that department of business which his Majesty, in his wisdom, thought fit to allot him.

The language of the report, and that of the clerks, who gave their evidence before the committee, had no reference whatever to the real and legal definition of the office. Mr. Dundas had no new grant since the year 1791. He had now the old seals and the old grant. According, then, to the spirit of the act of the 6th of Queen Anne, he had not forfeited his right to sit in the house; nor would it be easy to persuade them, that the possession of the old grant and the old seal constitutes a new secretary, merely because he happened to have less duty now in the office than in the year 1791: and after this he left the question to be decided on which side the quibble lay. But after all, what

was the spirit of Mr. Burke's bill? It was not a bill to restrain the creation of offices generally; not to prevent his Majesty even from having a third secretary of state by name; but it stated, that if a third secretary be added, he should not sit in the House of Commons. Now who was the person, who was the third secretary? A member of the House of Lords! Gentlemen might say, that the act of parliament to which he alluded was passed to prevent his Majesty's influence being extended in the council of the nation; and that the third secretary of state ought to have no seat in the House of Lords, any more than of Commons: to which he replied, that we must observe the law as it was, not as some people thought it ought to be.

Mr. Tierney still asserted he was justified in the statement he had made; and if his language had appeared harsh, it arose out of the subject. He had called it a job, and he thought it so still. The office of secretary of the war department existed since the 11th of July, 1794, and the disclosure was made by the committee to which he referred.

Mr. Burdon rose, he said, to justify the proceedings of the committee of finance, of which he was a member, and upon which Mr. Tierney had built the principal arguments of his speech. The appointments under discussion were viewed by that committee only in the general light of state offices, nor was there any thing hinted respecting a legal view of the situations in which the secretaries were placed. Nothing could, therefore, be deduced from

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their reports to disentangle the litigated point, or prove that Mr. Dundas held a new or a third secretaryship. He gave his vote against the present motion on the same principle which directed his conduct in the committee of finance.

Sir William Geary gave it as his opinion, that it was evident, from the report of the secret committee, that there existed three appointments to the offices of secretary of state; and that these appointments were acknowledged under the absolute signature of the persons who held them. At the head of the war department appeared Mr. Dundas; and if he appeared in this new department he must naturally be regarded as the new secretary: now he did preside in this new office, and, consequently, in point of fact and common sense, he must be considered as the new secretary of state. As to the transaction being denominated a job, it was not the question before the house, though he would not hesitate to style it such if the place was proved to be unnecessary. In this light he viewed the matter, and his conscience directed him to vote against the motion.

Sir William Young said, that a parallel case to this under discussion had taken place with regard to a noble friend of his, who had passed from the home to the foreign department. When that noble lord had been removed from one office of secretary of state to another, there certainly was no idea that this change should be regarded as a creation of a new office. In like manner Mr. Dundas had been removed, but this was not to be considered

as such. He, therefore, should oppose the motion.

The house divided—Ayes 8, noes 139.

On the 8th of November, the order of the day for taking into consideration the papers relative to the negotiation at Lisle, being read in the House of Lords, Lord Grenville said, there could be no difference of opinion upon the subject; every one must feel that the honour and safety of the country admitted but of one line of conduct. The house was not now called upon to bear testimony to any merits however high, or to bestow respect and attention where they were most due; but to discharge a duty of a more extensive kind, and of more general importance. They were called upon to perform a most solemn act of deliberation, and to follow it up with a pledge of most sacred obligation; it included a promise of support to our common sovereign, whose throne, whose sacred life, the honour and independence of the country (involving at the same time the cause of civil society) the welfare of Great Britain, and of Europe, were at stake.

The impression which the perusal of those papers had made upon his mind was indelibly fixed in every heart, and if there were any lords who had absented themselves on this occasion, it was because they were unwilling to confess what they had no longer the confidence to deny.

His lordship contended that the steps taken by this country during the negotiation were open, fair, and manly, and such as would best conduce to an honora-

ble peace. The papers will best substantiate this assertion. Let the reciprocal conduct of the two governments on this occasion be compared, and it would instantly be seen to which party the failure of the negotiation was to be ascribed: let the publications of the enemy respecting that event be considered, contrasted with the mode taken by the government of Britain to promulgate the circumstances belonging to it; these papers exhibited a full, explicit, and detailed account of the whole transaction, and evinced that the principle of compensation was understood at first to be the basis of negotiation, and that the French took an early opportunity of receding from it, while the publications of the enemy on the other hand appeared like the lying romance of an extravagant novel.

The preliminaries of peace (continued lord Grenville) had been solemnly agreed upon between them and the emperor; both parties obliged themselves to invite their respective allies to meet in a general congress to settle it: this agreement was openly violated. Even *in limine* it was obvious that they accepted the proffer of negotiation, merely because they knew that such was the general temper of the people of France that they could not venture to refuse it. However, they would only consent to enter into it for a definitive peace with this country, and in the first instance desired it might be a separate peace; but *that*, his Majesty immediately rejected, being determined to guard the interests of his ally the Queen of Portugal, and to put the re-

public on an equal footing, intimated that he would allow them to treat for Spain and Holland their allies. This point adjusted, another difference arose, contrary to the established usage of all negotiation—they objected to the taking into consideration the treaties existing with other nations, though France was a guarantee to them. Anxious to restore peace, his Majesty overlooked these difficulties, new and unprecedented as they were.

The directory, defeated in their first objects, were obliged to proceed in the negotiation. In the passport sent over for the person whom his Majesty should appoint to treat, the form was a direct and intentional departure from positive agreement and established custom; it expressly guarded against a preliminary, and limited the object to a definitive peace, though the moment the negotiation was opened they departed from their own stipulation, and commenced with the proposal and discussion of those very preliminary points: to prove the kind of temper which the enemy brought to the negotiation, they flung out base and unworthy insinuations against the person appointed to conduct it; this indeed only deserved contempt, but it showed a spirit eager to bring forward new causes of animosity, and to multiply obstacles. His lordship then adverted to the negotiation itself: his Majesty had (he said) with an unexampled liberality, directed, almost in the first interview between the plenipotentiaries, a full and detailed account to be given in of the terms upon which he would con-

clude peace. The paper was on the table, and every one might read and determine for himself on its nature and character; every one might judge whether it was a full and fair statement of honourable treaty, or a *project in blank*: lord Grenville particularly wished it might be compared with the representation given of it by the enemy in a paper of high authority, and published officially. This project however being delivered, the French government found itself embarrassed; no answer was returned, because this would have disappointed the schemes of the directory. Had they been serious in their wishes for peace, would they have brought forward the topics which they did bring forward? would they have stated the points of his Majesty's title as King of France? the restoration of the ships taken at Toulon, or a renunciation of the mortgages of this country upon the Netherlands? But the point on which the failure of the negotiation turned was the renewal of a proposal which had been declared inadmissible; the complete renunciation of every thing which had been taken during the war, not only from them but their allies: they demanded, as a preliminary, that we should renounce all that we had to ask, and declare all that we would concede. It would not have been merely folly, it would have been treason in any minister to have complied with a demand so derogatory to the honour, and so fatal to the interests, of his country.

It would easily be recollected in what circumstances, amidst what violence the French consti-

tution of 1795, overthrown by the revolution of the 4th of September, was established; it would be recollected under what military violence the first elections were conducted: in no sense was any freedom permitted; nor was it possible to collect the voice and sentiments of the people of France, till the month of April last, when a considerable change in the temper of the councils, as well as in the people at large, was observed: a majority in the legislative bodies seemed disposed to put an end to the miseries of the country, to remove the evils of which some of them had been the authors, to atone for the crimes of which many of them had been guilty, and to restore some degree of order and tranquillity to the unhappy people of France.

They wished also to oppose that revolutionary principle which the directory endeavoured to spread with too much success over Europe. These views, however, ill accorded with the schemes of the latter. But had they broken off the negociation upon the terms we offered immediately, had they thrown off the mask, and revealed their determination of prolonging the miseries of their own country on jacobin principles, and by jacobin means, they would have put the councils on their guard, they would have made all France and Europe the judges of their conduct, and they would have anticipated the event which they were preparing. Again, had they brought forward another project of their own, they must have disappointed the object which they had in view, that of breaking off the negociation without specifying

any terms, and throwing the whole odium of the failure upon us. At the moment they were practising every evasion, creating every delay, refusing to deliver in a counter project, they held a language directly opposite in their messages to the council. In these, they threw the charge of procrastination upon us, wishing to gain time till their plot was ready to be executed; and whilst their plenipotentiaries were daily apologising to us, for the extraordinary delays which took place, they unhappily succeeded in their designs, and the frail fabric of the constitution of 1795 was overturned. It was clear to every one who had watched the progress of events, that it was at Paris, not at Lisle, that the result of the conferences would be determined; it depended on the disputes which agitated the councils and the government; and if the directory succeeded, the event might easily be foreseen.

This formed the only excuse for our ministers having submitted so long to the evasions of the enemy; and their hopes of attaining peace at last favoured the deception which the directory wished to pass upon the people of France, by so long keeping up the appearance of negotiation, and cherishing the expectations of success.

When the revolution of September arrived, and they had accomplished their project at Paris, they immediately changed their system; and avowed their object. Every thing which had been done was retracted; their views were evidently not confined to their own country, or to the rupture of the negotiation; they went farther,

they declared it was our constitution, our laws, our religion, and our liberties, with which they were at war; it was our public glory and our private happiness which they laboured to subvert, and to establish in their stead French liberty, French principles, and French anarchy, with all its train of horrors! With such avowals, his lordship said, he was at a loss to conceive what palliations could possibly be offered for the conduct of the enemy: he well knew and lamented that every measure of the French government, in its relation to this country, found more able and ingenious apologists here than in France; and even what seemed too flagrant for defence was justified by more plausible arguments, and placed in more favourable lights, than the talents of the friends of the directory on the other side the water could produce.

This was no moment for humiliation; it was not the period when the dignity and honour of the nation ought to be sacrificed; nor was it the season to despair: the resources of the country were great and powerful; public and private happiness were at stake; every man in that assembly in particular must know that his property and his existence depended on the issue of the contest which we had to maintain: but with the interest of the first class of men in the state, the happiness of the lowest was consulted; the sufferings, the persecutions, the horrors to which the first orders in France were doomed, though they began with the noblesse, were spread over all, and were felt even by the

humblest peasantry of the kingdom; nay, they had been the source of more calamity to them, than to the unhappy nobility whom we every day saw groaning under their distresses: and this was the sentiment with which the people of this country at large were inspired; they were convinced that a vigorous effort was essential to secure an honourable peace, that there was no safety without resistance, no hope but in courage and magnanimity. His lordship concluded his speech, by strenuously recommending perseverance in the conduct we had hitherto pursued, and entreating the house to carry the declaration of these resolutions to the foot of the throne, with solemn pledges to defend, at every hazard, his Majesty's person and government, with the liberties and happiness of England.

The Earl of Darnley said, he approved of the moderation, as well as dignity, with which the late negotiation on our part had been carried on, and censured the conduct of the French on account of its duplicity; there was nothing in the relative situation of the countries at present to justify our despondency. He could not see how it was possible for the enemy to prosecute hostilities offensively, when he considered the deplorable state of their navy, and the triumphant condition of ours: the resources of our country were adequate to the contest, and he expected the most perfect unanimity amongst their lordships.

The address was carried *nem. diss.*

On the 10th of November, the same subject was taken into consideration by the House of Commons.

Sir John Sinclair, though he professed entire acquiescence as to its general tenor, moved an amendment to the address of thanks, because certain phrases appeared to him exceptionable, indicating an intention that there should be no end to the war. He expressed astonishment at the mean manner in which the negotiation had been conducted. When it was first proposed, he intended to have moved the house that no negotiation should have been set on foot till the French minister had given a *contre projet*. He now regretted not having done so, but he was deterred by the fear that it might have occasioned an impediment. Ministers by neglecting this in the onset, had brought much disgrace upon the country. He appealed to the papers whether the charge was unfounded, for by them it would appear that the most unwarrantable insinuations and foul calumnies upon our Executive government had been patiently borne by our ministers. He was sorry to see the country so lowered. Whilst he lamented our management, he was obliged, he said, to censure no less the language of the declaration and address, as being at once full of rashness, and ineffectual to any good purpose; they not only professed to keep up perpetual hostilities, but made charges which were not justified by the papers.

The House was told that the preliminaries proposed by the French government were frivolous

and offensive; and that on looking into them, they would find that the first of these was, the abandonment by our King of the title of King of France: the second, the restitution of the ships taken at Toulon; and the third, the relinquishment of our mortgage on the Low Countries: but for his part he could not see any thing in the papers that showed an express demand of these points on the part of France. The declaration stated, that it was not their wish to make peace; whereas it appeared on the face of the papers that the French plenipotentiaries took much pains to prove the reverse, and this the House would find acknowledged by Lord Malmesbury in his first and second letters. Another charge was, that it was their intention to overthrow the government of England: Sir John declared, that if he believed this to be the disposition of France, he would vote for the address as it stood; but it was his opinion that such an intention might be transiently expressed, only under the irritation of supposed wrong. France might probably be inveterate against us, believing that we were inveterate against her; the directory might profess a design to overturn our government, because we had endeavoured to overturn theirs, but at the same time, they showed that they had no objection to peace, if we would leave them alone. To prevent the perpetuation of these sentiments between the two nations, he moved an amendment, expressing the resolution of the house to support his Majesty in the war, to expunge the words denoting an in-

veterate animosity, and to declare, that whenever France was disposed to treat on reasonable terms, we would not refuse to negotiate.

Lord Temple sincerely lamented that the negotiation had ever been attempted, and as sincerely rejoiced when it had been broken off; for he saw infinitely more danger (he said) in the conclusion of a peace with the present rulers of France, than in the continuation of war: indeed the disposition of those men was so manifested in all their conduct for the last four years, that any one might have foreseen the event of the overture. It was a matter of utter indifference to England what form of government might take place on the other side of the water, provided it was such as promised permanency. His only wish was that peace should be lasting, and for this reason he entertained hopes of pacification when the moderate party was gaining ground; but the moment this gave way, an end was put to all accommodation. The same animosity which actuated the French in the beginning of the contest was visible at Lisle, and had been avowed by the directory since the negotiation had been broken off; they had declared that *delenda est Carthago* must be the determination of the contest. Of the extent and inveteracy of their designs, there could be no stronger proof than their decreeing an army to march to the coast opposite to our shores, and dignifying it with the name of the army of England; not to mention their scoffing at the rights of nations, and disclaiming all tie upon them by the most solemn

treaties. What confidence could be placed in men who had broken them so often? who had transferred nations which relied upon them to the dominion of other powers; who had offered assistance to the rebellious of every country; who had deceived their own people with the name of liberty; who had sent off the legal constitutional representatives of the nation into banishment without proof of their guilt or even trial, and who had imprisoned a printer for invectives against their war minister?

The Chancellor of the exchequer rose: he expressed disappointment that the concurrence of the house upon such a subject as was now submitted to their consideration, should not be unanimous, and much surprize at the proposed amendment of the honourable baronet. The continuance of the war was to be ascribed alone to the implacable animosity, to the insatiable ambition, to the unwarrantable pretensions of the present frantic government of France. Was it the business of a British parliament to content itself with mere lamentation of the miseries of war, forgetting that it was the duty of the representatives of a great nation to state the source of those miseries? Our calamities proceeded from the rancorous spirit of the enemy; and to them, not to us, the guilt and responsibility of future extremities were to be imputed. Ministers had exerted every endeavour to procure peace; and from the commencement of the negociation to its final rupture, the whole of the intermediate delay was owing to the evasive conduct of France. Mr. Pitt

reprobated with much sarcasm, what he called the tenderness of the honourable baronet, who chose rather to disguise the truth, than to risk the tremendous evil of offending such an enemy, by using language which might displease them; thus compromising the character of the country, leaving it doubtful to Europe to whom the rupture of the negociation was to be ascribed, and fearing to pursue that manly conduct which truth and dignity required, lest we should cherish a spirit of endless animosity.

So far from this being the proper inference, the very reverse was the case: he who scrupled to declare that the government of France had acted in direct contempt of every principle of justice; he who blinked the discussion of this important point, deprived us of the most consolatory reflection which we could enjoy amidst inevitable calamity and necessary war. It was from the consideration that it was the government, not the people of France, who were to blame, that we now might indulge hopes of a more favourable change of circumstances. Was there a word in the address which breathed the spirit of endless animosity? Surely not! on the contrary, his Majesty assured the people of this country, he declared to France and to Europe, that he did not forego the hope of pacification, and that he was prepared to renew his endeavours to effect it whenever the enemy should discover a temper more corresponding to his own. Nay more, whilst the declaration disclaimed all enmity against the French nation,

it professed to have no objection to treat even with those who exercised at present the functions of government. Even after the distinguished successes which had crowned his Majesty's arms, he was willing to conclude a peace with that very government, upon those moderate terms which he proposed in the moment of our greatest difficulty. Mr. Pitt then went over all the grounds of the negotiation, which, as they have been detailed in another place, it would be tedious and unnecessary to relate: he avowed in very strenuous terms the sincerity of ministers, fully proved (he said) by the concessions which they had made, merely to obtain peace. We had offered to France all that we had conquered in the West Indies, the strong island of Martinique, St. Lucia, Tobago, that part of St. Domingo occupied by our troops; in the East Indies, Pondicherry and Chandernagore, with all their settlements and factories. And in return for what were all these sacrifices offered? for peace alone! to an enemy too, whose forces separately never met the military strength of this country without adding to our national glory and renown—an enemy whose fleets had never encountered ours, but to increase the list of their defeats—an enemy whose commerce was extinguished, whose navy was annihilated, whose financial distress, however palliated by their partisans here, was loudly proved by the groans of the people, by the contentions of the councils, and by the acts of violence of the Executive government. Of the allies, Spain had felt the war into

which she had been compelled to enter, only in the triumphs she had added to this country, and in her own disgrace. One island had been taken from her by us, for which, in the circumstances she stood, she could have no claim for compensation: but the island of Trinidad was claimed on another ground, as a guarantee for the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, which, by solemn treaties, could not be given up without the consent of the country. To Holland we offered to restore all the sources of her commerce, every thing valuable to her prosperity; and we only required in return that which would have enabled France to subjugate the other possessions of Holland, and to harass our own establishments in the East. All that we demanded was, to secure that which we already possessed, that which was essential to our ancient establishment and naval power. On reviewing the state of the two countries, let the world judge the value of the concession on one part, and the force of the claim upon the other: let it compare the mutual means of offence and resistance, the power of the French to take from us, and the ability of this country to retain; and upon that comparison let it decide whether the *projet* of his Majesty did not manifest proofs of sincerity and moderation?

The Chancellor of the exchequer proceeded here to make a statement of the arrogance and the duplicity of the French. Endless delays ensued he said, to cheat the nation into a belief that the Directory was attentive to its wishes for peace: time was consumed in sending for

instructions to Madrid, and to the Hague; and the consideration of the different points was studiously protracted: after the negotiation had assumed this shape, what was done, what progress was made, when every pretence for delay was removed? They then required that we, whom they had summoned to complete a definitive treaty, should stop and discuss preliminary points, which though discussed and settled, we did not know but the next moment might be wholly laid aside. They led the conferences to vague and secondary points; insisted that his Majesty should resign the title of King of France—a harmless feather at least, which his ancestors had so long worn on their crowns; they demanded restitution of the ships taken at Toulon, or a compensation; and a renunciation of any mortgage which this country might possess for the loan to the emperor. The French plenipotentiaries were immediately informed that this country had no such mortgage; that there could be no concession where there was no claim; and that the point was not worth talking about.

We next were called upon to subscribe as a preliminary, that we were prepared to give up every thing we had acquired during the war. Such a preliminary could not be admitted by any man who was not disposed to adore the idol of the French power in prostrate baseness. His Majesty did not hesitate in refusing to comply with such insolent demands.

The directory, however, for a time pretended not to press these

extravagant demands; a long delay to amuse their people took place: they pleaded it as a proof of the sincerity of their pacific intentions, and pretended that they were under the necessity of sending to their allies an account of what passed, that they were endeavouring to prevail upon them to put an end to the calamities of a war into which they had brought those allies, and who have ever since been in a state of abject subjection to them, whatever importance they affected to give them in this negotiation. They then directed their plenipotentiaries to inform Lord Malmesbury that they had obtained an answer, but that it was not satisfactory; and that they were obliged to send another messenger.

It was thus they concealed their insincerity till the dreadful catastrophe of the 4th of September; and even some days after that violence broke out in Paris, they promised to produce their *projet*; still pacific in their professions, and inimical in their designs. The step which they took after this last assurance was, to renew, in a more offensive form, the demand which had been rejected by Lord Malmesbury two months before; in which rejection they had acquiesced, and we in the interval had been waiting for the proposals which were to come from them. This demand was, that Lord Malmesbury should show to them his powers, his instructions, and the use he was to make of them. As an inducement to comply with this modest requisition, they assured him, that though this demand was made, it would never be urged so as to be carried into effect. Mr. Pitt said, there appeared lit-

the reason for censuring ministers for not trusting such assurances from such an enemy. He would leave others to imagine what was likely to have been the end of a negotiation in which it was a preliminary to resign every thing—in which it was demanded to reveal every thing required; that our ambassador should make known, not only his powers but his instructions, before they had explained even a word of theirs; and whilst they informed us, that we were not to expect to hear what their powers were until we professed ourselves ready to accede to any thing which the directory might please to dictate. Lord Malmesbury returned for answer, that his powers were ample: they then went no further than to say, if he could not show his instructions, he should send to England for the power; to which he replied, that he should not have it, if he sent. In this they seemingly acquiesced, and amused us for two months; at the end of which time the plenipotentiaries say, not what they said before—send to England for powers to accede to proposals which you have already rejected, but go to England yourself for powers to obtain peace. Such was the manner in which the prospect of peace was to be opened and broken off; for the gross attempt to deceive all Europe by the affectation of moderation, in ordering the French ministers to remain at Lisle for ten days, was unworthy a comment; they said they expected our ambassador to return; they knew it was impossible he should return after their stating as a *sine qua non* that we should throw ourselves at their

feet for mercy before we knew what terms they should be in the humour to dictate to us. But it is essential that we should know (continued Mr. Pitt) the real aim of the enemy; it is not our commerce, it is not our wealth, it is not our colonies in the west, nor our territories in the east, nor is it our maritime greatness, nor the extent of our empire: No! the object is *our liberty!* the basis of our independence, the citadel of our happiness—*our constitution!* They themselves have declared it—openly avowed that our government and theirs cannot subsist together, and their endeavour is to destroy it. Should they come amongst us, they would bring with their invading army the great pestilence to man, the genius of French liberty, which contains in it every curse to society. In the place of our glorious principles and equal laws will be a hideous monster whom nothing can content but the annihilation of the British empire. And are we under such circumstances to be afraid or ashamed to declare in a firm and manly tone, that we will defend ourselves? are we to shun the truth, and forget the energy which belongs to Englishmen? If, therefore, we value property, liberty, law; if we value national power or domestic happiness, we shall resist these demands with indignation. There was not a man (he said), let his enjoyments be ever so considerable, who ought not to sacrifice any portion of them to oppose the violence of the enemy; nor one whose stock was so small that he should not be ready to surrender his life in the same cause. We owed it in gratitude

to Providence, whose goodness had placed us so high in the scale of nations, and caused us to be the admiration of Europe, with most of the governments of which ours was a happy contrast. The means of our safety were still in our hands; our blessings were many; and the preservation of them was our highest duty. He trusted that we never should abandon it, to whatever extremity we might be driven; but cheerfully enter into a pledge for the sincere performance of it, declaring our determination to stand or fall by the laws, liberties, and religion of our country.

Mr. Pollen, after complimenting the minister on his eloquent and able speech, professed his belief in the sincerity on our part during the late negotiation; he imputed its failure solely to the French government, whose power the sudden return of peace must inevitably have overthrown. Of many of the past measures of the ministry he had disapproved, but he now felt the necessity of throwing a veil over the past: for when we looked forward, the prospect was too serious to permit us to waste time in vain regrets: and we now were called to a situation which required all our intrepidity and all our firmness. There was no longer a question whether we should consume our strength in an unavailing struggle to maintain the balance of power and the former system of European politics. A more urgent care pressed home on our feelings, and ought to engage our whole attention. The danger was imminent, and every thing valuable was to be defended—our laws, our liberties, and our constitution, which it was the fixed

object of the enemy to overturn; and above all, we had to deprecate and prevent what would cover us with inextinguishable shame—the permitting the French to invade our kingdom, violate our females, and enslave our children. The address had his most cordial support.

Mr. Martin much applauded the speech of Mr. Pitt; it was more convincing, he said, than any he had heard upon the subject: indeed, if the French would have acceded to any reasonable terms, it was his opinion that they should not be rejected; but when he saw they were determined to dictate the conditions, we ought not to permit ourselves to be trampled on, but evince the spirit which became a great nation. He thought the present amendment unnecessary, and that the original address was more consonant to the nature of our present circumstances.

Mr. N. Edwards rose to say, that in his county, Rutlandshire, the best possible disposition prevailed amongst the inhabitants, and that the lord-lieutenant of it was distinguished for the institution of the yeomanry corps. In many of the villages he knew, from personal observation, and from repeated assurance, that the people were ready to make every sacrifice for the defence of the country. There were a body of villagers, to the number of more than a thousand, prepared to come forward whenever danger threatened, and to defend our frontiers: this, perhaps, might be deemed a piece of information of too private a nature to be mentioned in the house; but he

brought it as a symptom of the zeal and alacrity which animated that part of England.

Mr. Lloyd rose to express, he said, his detestation of the perfidious conduct of the directory: and although the county of Flint, as a mineral county, suffered in a particular manner from the continuance of the war (it having almost entirely put an end to the lead trade), yet there would not be found in the kingdom a set of men more ready to oppose the tyrannic rulers of France, or more willing to repel their attacks, than those men whom he had the honour to represent.

Lord Carysfort cordially concurred in the sentiments of the address: the French system was set up for the annoyance of Europe, and Europe could bear witness to the moderation and justice of our cause. Our resistance was pointed against the exorbitant pretensions of the enemy; and it was in unison with the principles upon which we had acted from the beginning, as we had uniformly declared, that whatever form their government might assume we would not decline entering into any negotiation consistent with the honour and security of this kingdom. To this pledge we had strictly adhered; and the system of moderation upon which we had proceeded ought to unite all men of every description in a cordial and vigorous defence of our laws, rights, and constitution. Such an unanimous co-operation would have the double good effect of silencing the calumnies which were circulated abroad by the enemy, and of reviving our spirits at home, if indeed they

were permitted to droop. There was nothing in our situation to excite despair; and whence could it arise? from the empty threats held out against us by the French? We had tried their strength in many conflicts, and the trials were crowned with complete success. France had aspired to universal dominion, but their attempts had always been repressed by the valour of this country. One circumstance, it was true, seemed to justify our alarms for the continuance of the war—it was an unproductive contest: we had much to lose, and nothing to gain; nor could we expect to make any successful impression on the enemy's territories; but we had already conquered all their foreign possessions, though any attempt on France herself was not likely to succeed: and any on their part respecting an invasion of England would prove equally impotent and ineffectual. He was sorry to see that Ireland was in a different situation; but notwithstanding its present disturbances, and the attacks of the French, he was satisfied they would meet with the same reception as on a former occasion, if they endeavoured to land there. He expressed his wishes that the house would carry to the throne full and forcible assurances of their united determination to exert the vigour, and call forth the resources of a country, not to be equalled by any other nation in Europe.

Dr. Lawrence, in a long and elaborate speech, blamed the minister for having offered so much to the French as the price of peace. If the directory had ac-

cepted the terms which were offered, in what a situation (he said) should we now have been! Had our project of a definitive treaty been then signed, how should we now have stood? Did they not still profess the same principles which we so often pronounced fatal to all regular establishments? did they not uniformly act upon them? were they not as ready as ever to pour forth their hordes, to propagate them with the bayonet through every other nation? Had the negotiation succeeded should we not now have been left upon the good faith of a power which never had regarded any compact, any obligation, any public law of Europe?

No peace with men of such opinions could be secure till they knew that we had the ability to resist and avenge every infringement of it; nor was that ability to be displayed by a passive system of defence, but by pursuing the war with spirit and resolution.

It had been said, that we had better give up for ever the right of searching neutral vessels, and make that concession the ground of a new defensive league, than wait to have it extracted from us. But the day in which any such treaty should be signed would be fatal to England. It was to our naval power that we owed the rank which we held as a nation—our maritime superiority which had hitherto enabled us to maintain the balance of European power, not to alarm and subjugate other kingdoms, but for the preservation and general benefit of all. If once we gave up the clear undoubted right, which even America, in her present dispute with

France, had recognised, of stopping and searching the vessels of countries in peace with us, our naval force would have little against which it could operate in any future war. An enemy unable to meet us in arms on the ocean, by surrendering his navigation, might secure his whole commerce in neutral ships from our victorious force; and it was chiefly by distressing his commerce that a naval power could so act as to compel a peace. It was thus by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, Louis the XVth was contented to restore all his conquests that he might be released from the pressure of our maritime power on the trade of his kingdom. Dr. Lawrence said, he thought it his duty to call the attention of the house and the nation to the danger which lurked under the specious language of “the freedom of the seas,” which we have been recommended to acknowledge, as if the right which we had invariably exercised was an act of usurpation and injustice. There was one point more which he thought it proper to notice; the chancellor of the exchequer had called his Majesty’s title of King of France a harmless feather. In his own opinion, no ancient dignity, which for so many centuries had shed lustre on the English crown, ought to be considered as a mere light unsubstantial ornament. If we suffered that feather to be plucked, he feared that three other feathers, which were nearly connected with the crown, would soon follow. A great nation could never safely submit to be disgraced. He wished the house to recollect the time when

that title was first used; in the reign of Edward III. then it was that we had the first full regular record of the proceedings in parliament. Whether it was from the peculiar favour of Providence that we might have always before us an example to fix our wavering courage in moments of terror; but so the fact was, that the first conferences of the two houses, which appear upon the rolls, are of that epoch, and exhibit a situation of the country far less favourable than the present in every thing but the spirit of Englishmen. Allowing for the relative value of money, much larger sums had then been spent in gaining the princes and states of the Netherlands to our side than in the present war; yet no reliance could be placed on the allies whom we had so gained. No effectual aid was derived from their co-operation, and, in fact, they soon after deserted us. Commerce we had none: our revenue was not to be mentioned; then, as now, we were obliged to resort to an issue of foreign coin, to supply our circulation. We had scarcely any specie of our own. We had acquired nothing from the enemy; we had lost our natural dominion of the sea, our coasts were insulted and plundered. Harwich had been set on fire, the Isle of Thanet, Folkstone, and Dover, had suffered more lightly, Hastings more severely. Southampton had been burnt to the ground: a great part of Plymouth, with all the ships in that harbour, shared the same fate; and the isle of Jersey had been conquered (as the records of the house confessed) to the great slander of the land.

Within our own island, the Scots, not as now united to us, but the fast allies of our enemies, were threatening our borders, whilst in many of our counties and cities existed a desperate knot of conspirators, bound together by oath, upon the first intelligence of those disasters which they wished to their country, to rise in a general insurrection to rob and massacre their peaceable neighbours. What then was the conduct of parliament? The commons resolved that the government had sufficient power to protect the internal peace of the land; they proposed methods of external defence; they agreed in the necessity of a large supply, and they declared their own good-will to grant what the exigencies of the state demanded. But to give greater effect to the measure, they advised that another parliament should be summoned, and promised on their loyalty to retire each into his own county, and there use all their influence to bring up the public mind to the exigencies of the present situation. And what was the result? What was the conclusion of a war of twenty years? A peace dictated by Edward as he was marching back from the siege of Paris. Upon that glorious example Englishmen should fix their eyes, and should gaze, till they kindled into the zeal and intrepidity which glowed in the hearts, and distinguished the conduct, of our ancestors. What would be the event of our present contest was only known to that Being who sees every thing in their first causes and ultimate consequences. It was our part to discharge our duty with fortitude in obedience

to his moral law ; and what that duty was no man could hesitate to pronounce—danger with glory, or ruin with disgrace. He concluded by pointing out to the honourable baronet, who moved the amendment, his total want of support, and joined in the requests which had already been made to him to withdraw the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that he coincided in regretting that an amendment had been proposed, and wished that nothing had been said expressive of a want of unanimity. It appeared, however, that with this exception all assented to the address, though with different views. For himself, he must say, that he could not lament that the negotiation had been commenced, nor rejoice that it was broken off; on the contrary, he sincerely regretted with the King's minister, and the people at large, that it had such an unprosperous issue. So far from rejoicing at the obstinate temper of the enemy, he thought it matter of serious concern; and he looked out with anxiety to the time, when, under the influence of returning reason, the French nation would negotiate with an earnest desire of that peace which was still more necessary to them than to ourselves. In the mean time he would tell the people, that they must content themselves to bear considerable burdens, because all they

possessed, and all that was valuable to them in life, was at stake; that as the conduct of the enemy proclaimed that the failure of the negotiation proceeded not from the King's ministers, but from their own ambition, Englishmen should feel the necessity of coming forward to preserve their constitution; should reflect on what their happiness depended; and to secure those objects, should join hand and heart together, proclaiming to the world, that however divided before, they would now unite for general safety. Of this universal harmony of sentiment he thought the unanimity of that night a happy omen, and he hoped the honourable baronet would withdraw his amendment, in order to give that beginning its full force.

Sir John Sinclair said, that he had not proposed it without due consideration, but he candidly confessed he was not insensible to the weight of the arguments he had just heard. He sincerely wished for unanimity, and assured the house that he was willing to sacrifice not only his opinion, but any thing else which he possessed, to the welfare of the country; and would therefore cheerfully withdraw his motion.

The amendment was then withdrawn, and the address passed *nem. con.*

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the Restriction on Cash Payments by the Bank of England. Mr. Tierney's Opposition to the Measure. Committee of Supply. Army Estimates. The Budget. Triple Assessment. Debates in the Committee. Speeches of Messrs. Fox and Sheridan on the second Reading. The Bill passes the Commons. Debate on the second Reading in the Lords. It is passed. Amusing Mistake of Mr. Nicholls on his Motion for the Reduction of Salaries.

BEFORE the production of the budget, Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to inquire whether it was expedient to continue the restriction on cash payments by the Bank of England. On the 22d of November, when a bill to this effect was debated in the committee, Mr. Hobhouse opposed it on the same principles which he had stated on the introduction of the first bill. Mr. Pitt contended that the ultimate responsibility of the Bank rested on the firmest possible basis; and that the proposed measure was suggested only by the want of a due proportion between the cash in hand, and the outstanding demands. The deficiency was in cash, not in general funds; for it appeared by the report, that the Bank, at the present moment, possessed five times more bullion than it did last year. The Bank was in a state, which, in ordinary times, would enable it to resume cash payments on the accustomed scale. The avowal of the enemy that he intended to attack us through our finances, occasioned the necessity of the restriction for an additional term: and it was clear, that hitherto no injury nor even inconvenience had resulted from its adoption.

Mr. Tierney opposed the measure. He could see no reason why a different code of morality was to be framed for the Bank of England and for individuals; why that which would be considered fraudulent in the one, was to be counted honest in the other. In a private trade the stoppage of payment would be considered at least discreditable, and so he must pronounce it to be in the Bank. The causes at first assigned for the adoption of the measure had now ceased. The exchange with Hamburgh, which had been then unfavourable, was now highly favourable to the country. The Bank then found it necessary to reduce its discounts, now it was extremely liberal in this species of accommodation. No foreign powers were now to be supplied; no continental troops to be paid. So that at the moment at which ministers sought to renew the measure, every operative cause which originally led to it had vanished. The Bank Directors themselves were the most forward in urging the proposition, and, strange to say, they most unusually and wantonly took upon themselves to suggest to government a question of political expediency. If the argu-

ment upon which ministers supported the proposition was admitted, the language which the Bank was made to hold to the public was no other than this: "We owe you money, and here we have money in abundance, but we will not pay it you."

Was there no *inconvenience*, Mr. Tierney inquired, in a breach of faith pledged solemnly, under the hand of the Bank? was it no *inconvenience* to write "payable on demand" on their notes, and then to refuse their payment? They might not have clamorous duns at their doors, nor bailiffs to arrest them in the streets: but they must have lost the spirit which rendered their forefathers, though traders, not less illustrious than the first statesmen, they must have lost that manly integrity which raised the character of British merchants high enough to cope with the greatest men in the world, if they did not find a very heavy *inconvenience* in the goading reflection that, under the eye of all Europe, they were praying Parliament to continue them in a state of bankruptcy, which themselves acknowledged to be unnecessary. But it was said that the restriction was necessary as the enemy warred upon our finances. How whimsical was the expedient with which we opposed him! In order to leave the enemy no credit to attack, we ourselves destroy our own credit. Robespierre, that monster, whose mind however diabolical, was always sufficiently fertile, was the author of this precious plan. While it was unconnected with ministers, the Bank of England was above all

Banks in the world. Hereafter men in estimating the Bank must look to the Court, and measure the security of the former by the stability of the latter.

Mr. Tierney did not see how even in case of invasion, withholding cash, and consequently diminishing the credit of the Bank, could possibly serve it. Unless the chancellor of the exchequer adopted the vigour of Robespierre, together with his policy, the Bank was at an end. He must proceed to make Bank-notes a legal tender.

The bill was passed without farther discussion.

On the 20th of November, the house having formed itself into a committee of supply, the secretary at war moved the usual resolutions on the army estimates. A charge, he said, had taken place this year, upon several articles which was not proportional to the articles themselves. This circumstance originated in the increase of pay voted to the officers and soldiers in the preceding year, which had created an obvious increase of expense. Notwithstanding this increase on the face of the estimate, he was happy to state to the house, that, compared with the estimate of last year, there was in the sum total a saving of about 652,000*l*. But to ascertain the real difference of the expense of last year and of the present, it was necessary to take out of the estimate that sum which was classed last year among the army extraordinaries: this sum was 300,000*l*. so that the difference of the estimate amounted to 952,000*l*. This was not all; another change had taken

place, arising out of the increase of pay last year. Troops on foreign stations were furnished by government with provisions, and on this account *2d.* per day for each man was stopped, in consequence of the new regulation of pay. This sum might be supposed to be 100,000*l.*; making in all, with the former two articles of 652,000*l.* and 300,000*l.* a saving of above one million.

The whole of the regular force, he said, would amount to 78,627 men. These consisted of guards and garrisons, that is, the regular forces in Great Britain, and the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, which amounted to 48,609 men, and of the troops in the plantations, including all other regular force, except that in Ireland and the East Indies, amounting to 30,018 men. The militia and fencibles had been a little reduced, and amounted to about 55,291 men. The fencible cavalry would bear some reduction, as several of them had been sent to Ireland; these, however, amounted to about 6911 men, making in all, of regular and irregular force, 140,829 men.

In consequence of the suggestion of the committee of finance, it was proposed to change the fees which had been hitherto received into fixed salaries. For his own part, however, he doubted whether this would be a real advantage to the public. It had been falsely represented, that the fees at present amounted to a permanent and regular sum. Nothing could be more erroneous. They depended upon peace or war, and varied even during the

years of war. The secretary concluded with moving the first resolution, relative to the amount of the troops under the denomination of guards and garrisons.

Upon this question, Gen. Fitzpatrick arose and suggested a material alteration in the mode of recruiting the army. It had often been observed, he said, that in this country, where we boasted of so high a degree of liberty, the condition of the soldier was worse than in any other place in Europe. Here the soldier was bound to serve for life. In other parts of Europe the service was limited. He urged several reasons why the period of service should be fixed, the principal of which was humanity, as it was well known that men were too frequently entrapped into the service. This idea was not new; he had voted for such a measure twenty years ago, when brought forward by Colonel Barré, and then the period of service was fixed at six years: if that bill had then passed, the nation would now have felt an additional security in knowing that there were spread over the country a large body of men accustomed to the use of arms.

The secretary at war objected strongly to the measure thus proposed by the honourable general; and the several resolutions of supply were then moved and carried.

The house again formed itself into a committee of supply on the 22d of November, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved the following resolutions for the ensuing year, viz. That there be voted—

	£.
For the civil establishment of Canada	7,150
For Nova Scotia	5,915
For New Brunswick	4,550
For the Island of St. John	1,900
For Cape Breton	1,840
For Newfoundland	1,232
For Bermudas	580
For the Bahama Islands	4,100
For Dominica	600
For New South Wales	6,157
For the suffering clergy and laity of France	168,000
For pensions and allowances to the American royalists	44,000
For secret service abroad	150,000
For bills that are or may become due for the settlement of } New South Wales }	36,000
For maintaining convicts at home	33,325
For bills on Douglas harbour	2,500

On the 24th of November, Mr. Pitt introduced the budget. He stated to the committee the general outline of the measures which he proposed as the foundation for raising the supplies, and for meeting the exigencies of the ensuing year. As the principle of that part of the intended plan to which he was most desirous to direct the attention of the committee was new in the financial operations of this country, at least for more than a century, he did not then call for a decision upon the business, but he would go, he said, fully into an explanation of it. The question was, by what means the house was to provide for the annual expenses in such a manner as to enable the country successfully to resist the avowed intentions of an arrogant foe to destroy its liberties and constitution, to cut off the sources of its wealth, its independence, and glory? The house, in pledging itself to support the honour and interest of the country at every hazard, had

acted from the dictates of sober reflection, and spoken the language of indignant feeling. He then stated, under the usual heads, the amount of the supplies which would be required. He began with the sums which would be necessary for the service of the navy. There had already been voted for this branch the sum of 12,539,000*l.*; and the estimates for the present year had been made out in a new form, intended, with more correctness than formerly, to present a full view of the expense that would be necessary. Instead of the former allowance of 4*l.* per month, which was found to be inadequate, the full expense had been taken into view. But even in their present shape the estimates were not to be considered as so accurate as to exclude the possibility of any excess. Besides the above-mentioned sum, there was a navy debt, owing to the excess of the preceding year above the estimate, amounting to three mil-

lions. This, however, formed no part of the expense for which it was then necessary to make a cash provision. It would only be requisite to provide a sum equal to the interest; and in the then state of the funds, that provision could not be calculated at less than 250,000*l.* By a regulation adopted the year before, to prevent the depreciation of navy and exchequer bills, by providing that the period of payment should never be very distant from their date, there would be on their monthly issue of 500,000*l.* a floating debt of 1,500,000*l.* to be funded, arising out of the excess of the estimates for the year 1787. There would likewise be a similar sum of 1,500,000*l.* falling due in the year 1799; but for these no cash provision was necessary, nor were they included in the supplies to be raised. The sum of 12,539,000*l.* was all that entered into the account of the supplies under this branch for the ensuing year.

The expense for the army, excepting only barracks and extraordinaries, had likewise been voted. This article he took at four millions, besides the vote of credit, making an excess of about 1,300,000*l.* at the end of the year. The account of the extraordinaries was taken at 2,500,000*l.* The charge under the head of barracks was estimated at 400,000*l.* The expense of guards and garrisons, and the general articles included under this head, had already been voted, amounting to 10,112,000*l.* The ordnance, he said, might be taken at 1,300,000*l.* and the various articles of miscellaneous service at 673,000*l.* There remained

only two articles to be noticed, the sum of 200,000*l.* appropriated for the reduction of the national debt, and about 680,000*l.* arising from deficiencies of grants. From the whole then, it appeared, that the sum now to be provided for was about *twenty-five millions and a half*. Supposing the statements of the expense of the army and navy to be correct, there would be a reduction on these branches to the extent of two millions and a half; and including the reduction on the head of extraordinaries, the savings upon the whole amounted to the sum of 6,700,000*l.* But notwithstanding this diminution there still remained the above-mentioned sum of 25,500,000*l.* to be provided for, as the *supplies* of the ensuing year. He then proceeded to state the usual articles which composed part of the annual *ways and means*. These were the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and the land and malt. The former he took, together with the lottery, at so very small a sum as 700,000*l.*; making, with the land and malt, the sum of three millions and a half. There then remained the sum of twenty-two millions to be supplied by some other means. After considering the burdens which had already been imposed upon the people, and the sums which had been added to the national debt, it would be found to be no light matter to raise such a sum. In the first place, however, the bank would agree to advance on exchequer bills, to be repaid at short periods, the sum of three millions. According to the received system of our finances, the ordinary mode of providing for

the remaining 19 millions of the supplies would be by a loan. But in lieu of this he should propose a new mode; namely, that of raising, by a general tax, seven millions of this sum within the year. The other twelve millions, he said, he should propose to raise by the usual way of loan.

It had been understood for a considerable time that a great increase of the assessed taxes was in agitation. He then went into a long detail of his intended plan. Those who contributed to the assessed taxes composed a number of about 7 or 800,000 house-keepers and masters of families, including a population of nearly four millions; on whom the proposed sum would be raised. The number of those who were not included at all, on account of their poverty, he estimated at 500,000 house-keepers and masters of families, covering a population of between two and three millions.

The assessed taxes, as far as could be ascertained, amounted to about 2,700,000*l*. Therefore the proposed additional assessment would amount, on the whole sum of the assessed taxes, to something less than a treble contribution. If he had not been deceived in the inquiries he had made, the greatest contribution would not exceed a tenth of the income of the highest class of those by whom it was to be paid; and no man would think such a sacrifice too great for such a cause. To prevent evasion, he proposed, that not future but past assessments should be made the basis of the new contribution: because, *prima facie*, the most impartial evidence that can be obtained, of the abi-

lity of each individual to contribute to the exigencies of the state, was the amount of his expenditure of income before he had any temptation to lower it, in order to elude taxation. After having given the outlines of his plan for the treble assessment, he adverted to the remaining sum of twelve millions, to be raised by loan. Four millions, he said, might be borrowed without making any additional debt, for the sinking fund would pay that sum.

For the other eight millions he proposed a different provision; namely, that the increased assessed taxes be continued till the principal and interest be completely discharged; so that after seven millions should be raised for the ensuing year, the same taxes in one year more, with the additional aid of the sinking fund, would pay off all that principal and intermediate interest. His propositions, therefore, if carried into effect, would not only furnish a current supply, but quicken the redemption of the national debt. This (he said) would speak a language to the enemy that, by cooling the ardour of their expectations, and showing them the absurdity of their designs, would afford the best chance of shortening the duration of the war, and of lessening the duration and weight of our taxes. He acquiesced in what had so often been said, that it would have been *fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced*; and, that it was not terminated, was much to be lamented; but if the nation was arrived at a moment which required a change of system, it was some encouragement for the people to

look forward to benefits, which on all former occasions had been unknown, because the means of obtaining them had been neglected. He concluded with moving, "That it was the opinion of the committee, that there should be paid a duty, not exceeding treble the

amount of the duties imposed by several acts of Parliament now in force, on houses, and windows, &c. &c."

For the sake of perspicuity, the following recapitulation is given of Mr. Pitt's calculations.

SUPPLIES.

	£.
Navy	12,539,000
Army	10,112,000
Ordnance	1,291,000
Miscellaneous services	674,000
Reduction of debt	200,000
Deficiency of grants	680,000
Total	25,496,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
Growing produce of the consolidated fund	750,000
Land and malt	2,750,000
Exchequer bills	3,000,000
New loan	12,000,000
Increase on assessed taxes	7,000,000
Total	25,500,000

Mr. Tierney rose, and declared, that after having heard the speech just made by the chancellor of the exchequer, he could never again face his constituents with confidence, if, by remaining silent, he gave it any sort of countenance. He trusted that the minister was now become sensible of his former inaccuracies. He had stated in the preceding session, that the new sources of supply he then proposed would not only make up for former deficiencies, but would amply meet the expenses of the current year;

and yet the issuing of navy bills, one part of his plan, had increased the calculation one million and a half: he had proposed five millions for the extraordinaries of the navy; and yet with this sum voted, which he considered as a most ample supply, it now appeared that he had formed erroneous calculations, to the amount of three millions; for the expenses of the navy had exceeded the estimate to the extent of that sum. He opposed the minister's proposal of the Bank's advancing three millions, in the same man-

ner as he had opposed the measure lately adopted by the house, for continuing the bankruptcy of the Bank. He wished to be satisfied upon what grounds the Bank refused the people payment in specie, whilst at the same time it increased its advances to government. The present measure would occasion an emission of paper to a considerable increased extent; and he was afraid it would have this tendency, that it would be expected of the Bank to advance still more and more, whenever future demands were made upon it.

With regard to the measure of raising seven millions towards the supply, by additional taxes within the year, he contended that it would have an effect upon the enemy, very different from what the chancellor of the exchequer had supposed in his statement to the house; for it would serve to show that our funding system was, in the opinion even of the minister, approaching its end. They would see the same man, who had brought his country to the extremity of ruin, now virtually confessing his inability to pursue former methods of raising the supplies, and crouching, as it were, to the Bank to help him out of his difficulties. He asked, what was to be done in the next year of the war? For with the present administration, he held it impossible the country could have peace; the right honorable gentleman wanted the requisites to bring about a peace; he wanted the confidence and respect not only of France, but of Europe. It was impossible that France could have any confidence in the pacific disposition of the present cabinet,

composed as it was of men avowedly united by no other bond of union than that of hatred to the French republic. In what congress could an English ambassador sit, deputed by the present administration, which must not present to him the plenipotentiaries of courts which had either insulted, deceived, or deserted his employers.

Every succeeding year, continued Mr. Tierney, larger sums will be required; for the present measure is not resorted to in order to close the contest but to continue it. So that we are idly invited to a trial of strength precisely at the moment at which all our engines are become languid and decayed. Mr. Tierney concluded a speech of strong invective by a parallel between the financial system, which occasioned the ruin of the government in France, and that now adopted by the English ministry.

Mr. Pitt denied the correctness of this parallel. The Bank advanced to government certain sums specified in the outset, to be punctually repaid in a stated time. The French on the contrary, took millions by requisition, without any security for repayment. He protested against the desertion of England by her allies, as a proof that they had no confidence in her, and he showed that it might be advanced directly as an opposite argument, namely that we ought to have no confidence in them. He maintained that government clearly possessed the confidence of the monied interest, and that there never at any period of our history, had been more wealth in the country.

Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Curwen opposed the plan of the minister.

The former observed, that it had been stated by the right hon. gentleman, that in consequence of his measures, the number of stockholders had been increased all over the country. He allowed the truth of that statement; but considered it as one of the calamities of the present war, and the funding system by which it had been carried on, that their number was increased. Hence no money could be raised by the tradesman for the purposes of his business; for while the money borrowed by government was enormous in amount, and borrowed at enormous interest, the trade of the country must be extremely prejudiced. In fact, there was now instituted a monopoly more severe, more oppressive than any monopoly that had ever prevailed; it was the monopoly of borrowing, entirely vested in the hands of government. He took this opportunity of giving notice to the house, that if the chancellor of the exchequer should persevere in his present plan, he would hereafter make a motion, for compelling *placemen* and *pensioners* to bear a very large part of the burdens to be imposed by it. Those gentlemen might recollect a resolution adopted in the reign of Queen Anne, that no placemen or pensioner should receive more than five hundred pounds a year during the war. He concluded by observing, that if the minister's plan was adopted, and seven millions were raised within the year, and seven millions more within a year and a quarter, he was convinced the consequences would be, that the middle classes

of house-keepers would be completely crushed.

Mr. Curwen contended that the war was no longer a war of necessity; and it became gentlemen to consider, whether as a war of indemnity, that indemnity was worth the price at which it was to be bought. Peace without indemnity, he believed, might have been obtained long before. It was not a war in which Great Britain was compelled to enter for any injury sustained by herself; it was merely on account of her allies, the Dutch, and to procure indemnity for them, that we entered into the war.

The former of these gentlemen was severely answered in a few words by Mr. Pitt, who took occasion to direct some bitter sarcasms against the seceding members.

Mr. Dundas and Mr. Vansittart offered several arguments to prove that the French had been called upon to state their terms; but had absolutely refused any answer to our *projet*; that it was not any difference about terms that broke off the negotiations for peace, but the implacable hatred of the enemy against this government;—that they demanded indeed that we should begin by giving up every thing that we had taken in the course of the war, and then they would condescend to tell us what more they had to ask.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the 4th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer stated the particulars of his plan for increasing the assessed taxes, of which before he had only given the outline. He began with reminding the

committee that he had stated the product of the assessed taxes at présent to be 2,700,000*l.* Some had not been collected hitherto; but he believed that they would not fall short of their estimate, which was taken at 600,000*l.* These were the additional assessments of the preceding session, of which the actual returns had not then been made. He apprised the committee, that the assessed taxes consisted of two descriptions, which deserved a separate consideration. The first comprehended the tax on houses, windows, the commutation tax, and the two additional 10 per cent. duties upon the amount of these; making in all the sum of 150,020*l.* This was but a small proportion of the whole sum collected by the assessed taxes; and it showed that care had been taken to avoid too hard a pressure upon those whose circumstances could not bear it. The other description contained all the same charges upon houses, windows, the commutation act, and the 20 per cent. additional duties; while 1,300,000*l.* was raised upon male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches. It was his intention, therefore, as these were chiefly articles of luxury, to triple the duties upon the latter, while he took care to have the propor-

tions of the former modified. He next stated to the committee the different proportions of contribution which he proposed to affix to the different classes of those house-keepers, who came under his first description, of subscribing only to the house, window, and commutation taxes; he afterwards stated the different proportions of additional assessment, which those were to pay who came under his second description, of contributing not only to the house, window, and commutation taxes, but also to the taxes raised upon male servants, horses, carriages, dogs, and watches.

The following were the outlines of the bill when it was passed into a law. They were all founded upon Mr. Pitt's first propositions to the committee.

Persons paying assessed taxes were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of those persons paying for male servants, carriages, and horses on or before the 6th of April 1798, who were to pay in the following proportions;

Where the old duties were under 25*l.* per annum, an additional duty equal to *three times* the present amount; that is to say, the additional sum of *seventy-five pounds*.

£. £.

From 25 to 30 per an.	3½ times the amount.
From 30 to 40 per an.	4 ditto.
From 40 to 50 per an.	4½ ditto.
From 50 and upwards	5 ditto.

The second class consisted of persons paying duties on houses, windows, dogs, clocks, and watches.

Where these taxes did not amount to one pound, the persons were exempt from the additional duty.

Persons paying under 2*l.* were to pay an additional duty equal to *one fourth* of the present amount.

Persons paying 2*l.* and under 3*l.* *one half* the present amount.

Ditto 3*l.* and under 5*l.* *three fourths* ditto.

Ditto 5*l.* and under 7*l.* 10*s.* *equal to* ditto.

Ditto 7*l.* 10*s.* and under 10*l.* *one and a half* ditto.

Ditto 10*l.* and under 12*l.* 10*s.* *twice* ditto.

Ditto 12*l.* 10*s.* and under 15*l.* *twice and a half* ditto.

Ditto 15*l.* and under 20*l.* *three times* ditto.

Ditto 20*l.* and under 30*l.* *three times and a half* ditto.

Ditto 30*l.* and under 40*l.* *four times* ditto.

Ditto 40*l.* to 50*l.* *four times and a half* ditto.

Ditto 50*l.* and upwards, *five times* ditto.

The third class consisted of persons keeping boarding schools (not less than ten boarders), ready furnished or lodging houses, shops, and licensed victuallers. amount of whose last assessment for duties on houses, windows, dogs, clocks and watches, did not amount to three pounds, were exempt from the additional duty.

Those persons of this class, the

Where the amount of such taxes was three pounds, and under five pounds, an addition *equal to one tenth* of the amount.

£	s.	£	s.	
5	0	and under	7 10	an addition of <i>one fifth</i> .
7	10	and under	10 0	ditto of <i>one fourth</i> .
10	0	and under	12 10	ditto of <i>one half</i> .
12	10	and under	15 0	ditto of <i>three fourths</i> .
15	0	and under	20 0	ditto equal to the <i>amount thereof</i> .
20	0	and under	25 0	ditto equal to <i>one and a quarter thereof</i> .
25	0	and under	30 0	ditto equal to <i>one and a half thereof</i> .
30	0	and upwards,		an additional duty equal to <i>twice</i> the present amount

To this bill there was added also a scale of reduction of duties on account of income.

Persons whose annual income was less than 60*l.* upon proof thereof were to be exempt from all additional duties.

Persons whose income amounted to 60*l.* and under 65*l.* were to pay an additional duty of only 120th part of such income. Those

whose income was 100*l.* and under 105*l.* to pay an additional duty of one fortieth part, and so on, in an increasing ratio, to incomes of 200*l.* per annum and upwards, which were to pay an additional equal to the tenth part of such income. No abatement of the treble duty was to be allowed to persons with an income above 200*l.* per annum, unless they made a de-

claration upon oath, purporting that the charge exceeded one tenth of the party's income; because the chancellor of the exchequer, in his opening of the business, had declared that he did not intend to burden an income of 200*l.* and upwards with more than an additional duty of one tenth part of such income.

Mr. Pitt estimated the amount of this additional assessment at seven millions: and contended that there could not be a plan which embraced more necessary abatements, allowed more just and necessary exemptions, or which regulated the proportions of wealth, circumstance, and situation, with more fair and equal justice. The question was, ought we, or ought we not, to encounter great and extraordinary difficulties for the defence of our country, the preservation of our property, the safety of our families, the security of our freedom, and the innumerable other privileges which we enjoy? We ought to make any voluntary sacrifice, rather than submit to the insolent dominion of an enemy who would exult in our destruction; we ought rather to consent to the deprivation of our present ease, and the loss of a part of our property, however large, to enjoy repose in future with the remains, the whole of which would be otherwise completely swallowed up.

Sir W. Pulteney thought the plan of raising the supplies of the year within the year was very proper, and therefore declared himself ready to support the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer, as far as it went. But he was afraid that, notwithstand-

ing every modification that could be suggested, there would still be a considerable inequality in the operation of the tax. There was no doubt but some men of large property spent less than men of inferior fortunes, and consequently would pay less to this tax.

He was inclined to carry this principle of providing the whole supply farther than the right honourable gentleman had done; and he was sure that the burden would be less felt by the community at large, if the plan had been formed upon a larger scale. In the first place, if the whole sum of twenty-one millions had been raised within the year, government would not have had occasion to borrow any money; and by that means individuals would have had it more in their power to have raised money upon their property than they had then, when the high interest given by government precluded them from borrowing at 5*l.* per cent. the legal interest of the country. It was well known that the consequence of monied men obtaining such large interest in the public funds was, that the country was in a manner drained of money. If the plan was adopted to the extent he proposed, this inconvenience would be avoided, and a great saving would be made; for government now paid 8 per cent. for money, and that expense of course fell upon the country at large. But it might, he confessed, with great propriety be asked, what security the public had, that, after advancing so large a sum of money, it would be better disposed of than that which they had already given? The chan-

tellor of the *exchequer* had stated, on a former night, that great reductions had been made in the expenditure of the country without diminishing its force. He had estimated this saving at six millions. Would not the people naturally ask why these six millions had not been saved before? It followed from hence that the public gave their money too readily and too liberally.

He then adverted to the war; and allowed that the enemy had spoken in a tone sufficiently high to rouse the spirit of every Englishman; but he did not approve of the idea of a defensive war, because he did not think it could be carried on longer with advantage to this country. What was the reason, he asked, that, at such a crisis as the present, we had not been able to preserve one ally? He disapproved of the lofty and imperious tone assumed by people in office to foreign powers, and was not surprised at those powers being offended at it. Why did we not endeavour at this time to stir up the powers of the continent, to support a cause in which they were much more interested than we were? He concluded with observing, that upon the grounds which he had stated, he should support this measure; though he should have done it with greater pleasure, if it had been carried to a greater extent.

Mr. Nicholls objected to the measure, as it did not appear to him either just or necessary. If it was considered as a tax upon luxury, it was not just, because it was not optional; the tax was unjust because it was retrospective. If it were considered as a tax upon expenditure, it was also

unjust, because expenditure was not proportional to property. The chancellor of the *exchequer* had calculated, that a man who should pay thirty pounds, was a man of one thousand a year; the largest sum proposed to be paid was four hundred, and of this there were only two instances: according to this rule, then, there would be only two persons who spent thirteen thousand a year; and surely it would not be contended that there were not any more in this country of much more considerable fortune; but the right honourable gentleman had said, that it would be expedient to lighten our unfunded debt, and to raise the supplies within the year. This declaration came with a bad grace from a gentleman who had, during his administration, increased our national debt one half, by an addition of 185 millions. The tax, he said, would crush the middle orders of the people. He instanced the case of coach-makers, who would lose a considerable part of their employment by the adoption of the bill; they would be in the same situation as the watchmakers now were. He boldly asserted (notwithstanding a laugh against him) that this tax was not necessary, because the war was not necessary. Mr. Nicholls then alluded to the insincerity of ministers in their professing a desire for peace. Until they disavowed the opinions they expressed at the beginning of the war, he never would believe them sincere in their endeavours for its discontinuance. His reason was this, some of them coincided in opinion with the late Mr. Burke; and his opinion was, that the representa-

tive government of France ought to be annihilated: for if not, French principles might be propagated here, and the commons might assume a power they did not possess before. To prove how far the opinion of Mr. Burke went, he read an extract from the 71st page of that gentleman's charges against Mr. Fox, and concluded with reprobating the unjust interference of peers in elections.

Mr. Hobhouse contended, that judging from past events, he could not think that the estimates of the chancellor of the exchequer were to be relied on. The excess of the preceding year, he said, in the single article of the navy, amounted to 3,000,000*l.* For this sum no provision was now made in the supplies, so that, independent of any other loan which might be necessary during the year, 28,500,000*l.* was to be raised. As to the ways and means, he observed that 2,750,000*l.* were to be raised in the usual manner, upon the land and malt tax. The growing surplus of the consolidated fund and the lottery were taken together at 750,000*l.* But instead of boasting of the surplus of the consolidated fund, it would be more the language of truth to speak of its growing deficiency. By the papers on the table, it appeared that, in 1796 and 1797, there was a deficiency of more than 250,000*l.* Therefore some provision ought to be made for the amount of the deficit. He expressed his dislike of the close connexion between the bank of England and the government of the country, and thought it extremely curious that the bank directors, after having

invariably attributed all their former difficulties to the large supplies which they had been obliged to make to government, and after having shown such strong tokens of distrust of the chancellor of the exchequer, should give such renewed proofs of their confidence as to agree to the farther advance of three millions towards the supplies of the current year. If they relied on the promise of the minister for speedy payment, it appeared from their own correspondence that they had been often disappointed. He then alluded to the seven millions to be raised by an assessment upon the assessed taxes. His principal objection to the plan proposed was, that it would fall unequally. Large capitalists who lived upon little, and continued from year to year to place the remainder out at interest, would pay but little, while the generous man who lived in a style equal to his rank in life, and by his expenditure promoted the subsistence and happiness of the tradesman, would be obliged to pay a large quota. The inequality of this tax was also discernible in its operation upon different classes. Those in the middling walks of life would pay a full tenth of their income, while those in the highest would not pay a fifteenth or twentieth. The largest sum at that time paid by any individual for assessed taxes was 400*l.* and upwards. This appeared by a paper which had been laid before the house a few days before. This measure would also fall unequally upon different trades; for many persons carried on trades in large buildings with less profits than

those who carried them on in small counting houses; although the former must contribute a larger proportion than the latter.

Mr. Hobhouse next spoke to the chancellor of the exchequer's plan of raising twelve millions by loan. It had been said that the sinking fund would in the course of the year 1798 be productive of a saving of four millions, which sum would cancel as much of the funded debt as the four millions, part of the twelve millions, would have created. The remaining eight millions he proposed to extinguish, by continuing the forced assessment fifteen months beyond the year 1798. This was surely a melancholy prospect for the country; if another supply should be wanting during the year 1798, or if the war should be prolonged beyond that year, the public would be paying the present assessment in discharge of a past debt, and have to provide millions upon millions besides; the triple would be tripled, and the quadruple be quadrupled. He concluded a long speech, by asserting that he would give a hearty negative to the proposed resolutions.

Mr. Tierney contended that the challenge thrown out to the opposition, to accede to the present plan or to produce a better themselves, was eminently unjust. The duty of Ministers was to produce a good plan, the duty of their opponents to frustrate a bad one. He commented strongly upon that part of the system which excluded the Royal family and their households from the operation of the assessment; and maintained that however paltry might be the

sum which those individuals would otherwise contribute to the exigencies of the country; nevertheless that the principle of their exemption was particularly odious. He stigmatized the retrospective effect of the tax as unjust, for that, with a spirit of plunder, every man was called upon to pay in the ensuing year for luxuries which he had enjoyed during the last, although prudence might have induced him to abandon them. Mr. Tierney then objected to the tax as not falling in equal proportions upon different classes. He asserted that many articles of expenditure had been overlooked in the opening statement, and that full 1,300,000*l.* was still to be provided by taxes. The bad effects which must result to a commercial country from the disclosures which the bill called for, formed the closing topics of this speech. Mr. Tierney assimilated them to the domiciliary visits of the French; he saw no end to the inroad upon private property, and even if he did see any end, he must protest against the principle which exposed it in any way to invasion. If money must be had as the Chancellor of the Exchequer says it must, let it come from all classes of the community into the common stock; for in order to induce the middling class to surrender much of their domestic comforts with cheerfulness, the example must be set in the highest quarter, even by Royalty itself.

The bill was read a first time on the 7th of December. The farther discussion of the bill took place on the 14th, when Mr. Pitt

moved its second reading. Upon which Mr. Wigley said, he would not suffer the bill to proceed farther, without such opposition as he was able to give it. The house would remember, that, at the opening of the session, the speech from the throne (which he considered as the speech of the minister) stated that the resources of the country were ample, yet the present measure went to say, in contradiction to that speech, that the funding resource was exhausted; and that to avoid laying a greater weight upon it than it would bear, the public must submit to a novel, unprecedented, vexatious, and, to some classes, oppressive mode of taxation. As the voice of the country was then very loud against it, he had entertained some hopes that the minister would have abandoned it, and thought of some means of a better kind; but was sorry to find that it was his intention obstinately to persist in a measure so impolitic and unjust, which bore so heavily upon the middle ranks of the people, inasmuch as the lower and the higher were entirely exempt from it.

Mr. Henry Thornton said, that he had received the particular and unanimous instructions of his constituents to oppose the bill. At a meeting which had been held for that purpose, not only the particular provisions and modifications, but the principle of the bill, was also unanimously condemned. For his part, were he merely to speak his own sentiments, he would wish the bill to go into a committee, in order to see how far it might be new modelled, and

rendered more palatable to all classes of people.

Mr. Yorke supported the measure, and reprobated as unconstitutional the doctrine of members of parliament being guided by the instructions of their constituents. Lord Hawkesbury also defended the bill, and contended, that whether the war was just and necessary was not then the subject of inquiry; that question had been frequently discussed, and the house had in that session come to an unanimous decision upon the late negotiation to which some gentlemen had alluded.

The two great opponents of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, came forward, at the desire of their constituents, on this day, and displayed their usual abilities against this bill.

Mr. Sheridan rose first, and after making some remarks upon the absence of himself and his right honourable friend from the house, he entered into a long discussion of the question, whether the war was just and necessary, or unjust and unnecessary. Respecting the bill, he observed, that the people were now called upon to submit to great burdens; but when they are called upon to raise large sums, they should, in his opinion, have great examples to encourage them. They were told that their private interest was nothing; the public interest ought to be their only consideration. But with what propriety and consistency could this language be held by some members of administration, when it had been publicly stated, that in one office, that

of the secretary of war, the clerks had fees and perquisites from the amount of 5,000*l.* to 18,000*l.* per annum. Some gentlemen might treat such perquisites as mere "parings of cheese and ends of candles" (alluding to a former speech of the right honourable secretary,) but the public must wonder at the immense size of this consecrated cheese, and be dazzled with the light of those flaming tapers, that thus blaze on the altar of corruption. To show the impracticability of the plan of taxation then before the house, he alluded to certain resolutions which had been voted that day by the city of London, which proved that it was impossible for a very numerous class of householders ever to pay the tax, should the proposed mode of raising it be unfortunately passed into a law. Another objection to the plan was, that it meant to impose a tax on the expenditure, and not upon the property.

If the system was enforced, he contended that it would go to erect in every parish a fiscal inquisition to pry into the property of individuals, to ascertain their gains or their profits, and thus to lay open and expose the improvement or decay of their circumstances. By the bill it appeared, that persons overrated might appeal; but to whom? To their own neighbours and fellow-parishioners, if any description of men should be found base enough to undertake so degrading an office. If the spies of government should doubt the word of those who appeared, they might then be examined upon oath, and evidence upon oath

might also be brought to contradict their declaration. They would then be reduced to this dreadful situation, either they must incur the suspicion of being perjured men, so strong were the temptations held out to them; or, if they made a fair avowal of their circumstances, and said that their income amounted to 200*l.* without taking into account the accidental circumstances which might impair it, should it be impaired, and the next year amount but to 150*l.* either such persons must appeal, and divulge the decay of their circumstances, or they must hold up a false front to those with whom they dealt; and, should they fail, they would be accused of having held out false pretences, for the purpose of supporting their credit by fraud.

When Mr. Fox rose, he avowed that his attendance that night was in consequence of what was, to him at least, an important feeling; the propriety of yielding to the request of his constituents. They had desired him to attend this bill, and he held himself bound to state their case to the house. They thought and so did he, that by the adoption of this measure, all the principles of our ancestors were abandoned. In the course of his speech, Mr. Fox went over a large field of argument against the bill, and fairly deduced a train of strong objections. For the purpose of pointing out its partiality, he put a very plain but forcible case. He supposed two gentlemen of equal fortune to set out in life, the one of them with ten thousand pounds, laying it out upon mortgage, and living upon the interest of his money

which would be 500*l.* per annum. According to the principle of the bill, he would be taxed for that income, and no more: suppose the second applied his ten thousand pounds in commerce, and it produced to him 1000*l.* per annum, he would be taxed at the rate of a thousand a year. "What was the reason," he asked, "of this difference?" They were both equal in point of real property. But as the minister, by this plan, made income the basis of taxation, a double weight was imposed upon diligence, activity, and industry; while those who chose to repose in indolence and supineness upon the produce of capital paid but half. With respect to that part of the bill, which put it out of the power of persons to retrench their expences, by giving up the use of some articles of luxury, such as coaches, horses, &c. but compelled them, even in that case, to pay the same taxes as they did in the preceding year; this principle of injustice, he said, reminded him of the illustration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the ancient government of France. When at Lyons, Yorick resolved to change his mode of travelling, and sail down the Rhone, instead of going post. The post-master, however, applied to him for six livres, six sous, as the price of the next post. "But I do not intend to travel post," said York, "I mean to go by water." "That's no matter," said the post-master, "you must pay for the next post whether you have changed your mind or not." And here said Mr. Fox, the word *spirit* or *principle* was used, as they are al-

ways used to sanctify injustice; for says the post-master, "the spirit of the impost is, that the *grand monarque* shall not suffer by your *fickleness*."

He remarked also, that to rouse the energy of the people, it was necessary to hear of the sacrifices of the crown. It was from the highest place that the example ought to be given. It would animate and cheer the heart of the kingdom.

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse laborum."

He concluded a speech of great eloquence, by declaring that he never would have a seat high or low in any administration, until public opinion shall have decided for a thorough and perfect reform of all our abuses, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

Mr. Pitt rose to answer the arguments of his opponents. He began by acknowledging that in the present shape of the bill, and without any modification whatever, it was liable to great and important objections. Very large and industrious classes of the people might be affected by it, and consequently it would admit of amendments. But the principle of the bill stood unshaken, and the objections might be easily obviated in a committee. He trusted that by the conduct the house would adopt upon this occasion, they would show that they were the real representatives of the people, and that they consulted their true interests. His opponents had declared, that no possible modification could make the bill unobjectionable, and had expressed themselves hostile

to the whole principle of it; but he had no doubt but the result would prove them to be in error. Mr. Sheridan, he observed, had begun and ended his speech, by saying directly, that he would not vote for granting any supplies towards the farther prosecution of the present war, and that he would not consent to grant the money while his Majesty's present ministers continued in power. In pursuing this argument, both Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox had branched their speeches into a variety of topics, which at first view did not appear to have any great connection with the subject then before the house. They had asserted that there was an impossibility of the present administration making peace; but they had neglected to state the means by which other ministers would be enabled to effect the object which every man wished for, viz. the restoration of peace, upon secure and honourable terms. Here Mr. Pitt contended, that if, when the subject of a change in administration of this country was formally discussed, these gentlemen had failed, after a full exertion of all their abilities, to convince a majority of the justice of their arguments; if they had not then clearly proved what they had asserted, that his Majesty could not find any nine men, in his journey from Windsor to London, less capable than the present ministers of administering the public affairs, they had not much strengthened their arguments by any thing which had fallen from them that night, or by any event which had occurred from the time they had quitted their duty in parliament to the

present hour. With respect to the radical change which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had so strenuously insisted upon, he, Mr. Pitt, urged that it was not easy to conjecture what it was, for that part of his speech was couched in terms which appeared to be studiously obscure. One thing, however, might easily be collected from what he had said, that a parliamentary reform was only a part of that general change which he was so anxious to obtain; a change from which it appeared no part of the present existing government was exempted. It appeared, however, a little singular, that the right honourable gentleman should consider an unlimited change as the best means of preserving every thing as it stood at present. With respect to a fact, advanced by the right honourable gentleman, that ministers had declared that they would not make peace with a republic in France, he could only say, that no such declaration was ever made by any of his Majesty's ministers. Here Mr. Pitt entered at considerable length into the defence of ministers in their conduct relating to the negotiations for peace, which naturally led to the old question, of the justice or injustice of the war. He contended, that though the war had not been entered into for the purpose of destroying any set of principles in France, yet it did not follow, that having been forced into the war by the unjust aggression of France, we were not to oppose those principles which were so dangerous to every civilized government, and particularly as they had led to that unprovoked aggression against us. The prin-

ciples of those who were so forward in calling for peace with France had been gradually increasing from the commencement of the war to the present time; they now had reached the point of saying, that the war was perfectly just on the part of France. These gentlemen had now pretty clearly discovered their opinions; they said the ordinary mode for raising the supplies was gone, but they had not stated what was the mode they themselves would suggest. They went, however, to the length of saying, that all extraordinary means of raising them were bad. So that, upon the whole, the mode these gentlemen would recommend, as the best and safest to obtain peace, would be to tell the enemy, "you may ask what terms you please, because we are the aggressors; besides our finances are so exhausted, that we have not the means of resisting any terms you may think proper to impose upon us." He concluded, with hoping the house would read the bill a second time, and let it go into a committee.

Mr. Alderman Combe, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Mainwaring, announced that they had all received instructions from their respective constituents to oppose the bill. The words used in the resolutions entered into by the constituents of Mr. Mainwaring were so strong, that, he said, he was sorry to be obliged to repeat them to the house. The people declared, "that if the measure was enforced, they would either resist or sink under it."

The house divided—for the second reading 175, against it 50.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the 18th of December, Mr. Pitt rose and stated the modifications he meant to propose in this bill. But as an outline of it, as it was finally passed, has already been given, it would be superfluous to detail in this place the debates upon these modifications.

The third reading was proposed on the 3d of January, 1798, upon which a long debate took place between the ministerial and opposition sides of the house. Mr. Nicholls said, that he had not as yet heard an answer to any of the objections which had been made to this tax when first proposed, and in the succeeding stages. The first objection made to it was, that it was unequal, and therefore unjust. If a tax was to be imposed on income, it ought to be on the idea, that income was the evidence of property. Let two men draw each 100*l.* a year, one from the long annuities, the other from the short annuities, their income would be the same; and they would therefore pay the same tax, viz. 10*l.* yet they had manifestly different portions of property; the annuity of one being worth twelve years purchase, while the annuity of the other was only worth six years purchase. But equal burdens on unequal portions of property were unjust. The next objection which had been taken was, that by compelling the higher orders of the middle class to economise, it would destroy the employment of the artisan, and diminish the revenue, by rendering the taxes on consumption less productive. To this some answer had been attempted; the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he had relieved

the lower orders by diminishing the tax on their income. As far as the relief granted to the lower orders would occasion less money to be raised, he acknowledged the modification to be beneficial; it was *pro tanto* an abandonment of the bill. But as far as an additional burden was laid upon the higher orders of the middle class, he thought the modification was not beneficial. For the mischief was, that the direct pressure on the higher orders of the middle class would occasion an indirect pressure on the lower orders, for it would destroy their employment. He denied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer spared the lower orders. He destroyed the life of the poor man, if he took away the employment by which he lived. He regarded Mr. Pitt as being more famous for his talents as a debater in that house, for the purpose of amusing the members, than for his talents as a statesman; this reminded him of an expression of Themistocles the Athenian, who said, "he could not play upon the fiddle, but he could make a little city a great state." The Chancellor was the reverse of this, he could play on his fiddle and amuse that house, but he had reduced a great empire to a little state. Even his friends acknowledged that he was no great war-minister; facts had compelled them to make this acknowledgement. Beginning the war with all the powers of Europe on his side, he had so conducted it, that every ally had either abandoned him, or had been subdued, while France had been exalted to a power almost beyond the dreams of ambition.

Sir Francis Burdett stated in strong terms many objections to the bill. He accused the minister of having passed decrees that would not have disgraced the most tyrannical code, and which were destructive of that freedom of opinion, once the pride and security of Britons; and he asserted that those laws so highly prized by our ancestors, for the protection of general freedom, had been suspended or repealed by the principles upon which Mr. Pitt acted. He had placed, said Sir Francis, error on the throne of reason; and under pretence of maintaining the constitution, he had squandered the wealth, shed the blood, and annihilated the liberties of the people of England. These were the achievements of the right honourable gentleman, and this was the minister and the system the house was then called upon to drain the blood of the country in order to support. In conclusion he exhorted those country gentlemen who might have been frightened into a support of the present system, to stand forward at length in support of their country.

Mr. Jekyll also opposed the bill; and on the next day the debate was resumed and carried to a great extent. The principal speakers were Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, on the opposition side of the house, and Mr. Secretary Dundas, Mr. Pitt, and Dr. Lawrence, on the ministerial side. The arguments made use of upon this occasion related principally to the old question of the justice or injustice of the war, and to an elaborate defence of the conduct of

administration on one side, and an ardent and open reprobation of their measures on the other. Mr. Secretary Dundas, in the course of his speech, in vindication of the bill and the measures of administration, alluded to an interesting letter which had recently appeared in the public prints, from the Earl of Moira to Colonel M'Mahon, respecting a plan for forming a new administration. The right honourable secretary said on this occasion, that at the very moment when the adherents of Mr. Fox held him out as the only person capable of retrieving the affairs of the nation, the great body of members alluded to, who had attempted to effect a change of ministry, had actually excluded him from any share in it.

At the close of the debate, the question was put, on a motion of Mr. Sheridan's, for postponing the bill,

Ayes	75
Noes	202

Majority . . . 127

On the question that the bill be now read a third time, there appeared,

Ayes	196
Noes	71

Majority . . . 125

Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, on the 9th of January, moved the order of the day for the second reading of the assessed tax bill, and for summoning the house thereon; which being read, he rose and stated, "that by the address of their Lordships to his Majesty on the 15th of November, they had signified their determination to defend with their

lives and properties the government and constitution of the country, and the honour and independence of the British empire, and that they were prepared to make the great exertions necessary for that purpose." After this address had been read to the house, Lord Carrington declared that the situation of the country required great sacrifices to be made for its salvation; but contended, that if instead of raising the money in this indirect manner, every individual had been called upon to contribute, in direct proportion to his income, but the higher classes in a larger proportion than the lower, it would have been attended with fewer inconveniences than the present plan. He conceived that one twentieth of real income would produce a larger contribution than one-tenth in the manner proposed by the bill.

Lord Holland rose and made his first speech upon this occasion; he said, the address of both houses of parliament, cited by the noble secretary of state, as having been voted unanimously, appeared to him to be a mere statement of the exigencies of the times, under the circumstances of the country, but did not warrant any such measure as that which was now before them.

He contended, that under the present administration, for the last five years, the condition of this country had grown worse and worse; that when parliament was called upon to vote for a measure which had for its object the raising so large a sum of money as was then proposed, it became necessary to inquire, whether those men to whom millions upon mil-

lions of the money of the people had been entrusted, and who had in return for it, heaped upon them distress upon distress, were about to change their system; since the old one had produced such disastrous consequences? When therefore we heard of our present situation being such as required the greatest exertions, he wished the argument to have a retrospective effect, that the causes of our present calamity might be seen; otherwise we should have no chance of avoiding future ruin. But how could it be expected, he asked, that the people would approve of the measure then before their lordships, when it was known that in no one instance had that ministry answered the expectation of the public? He thought that this country ought not to grant any more money without a pledge, not only that ministers should be changed, but that measures should also be changed. He concluded with pointing out several objections to the bill, most of which had been noticed in the debates of the commons upon the same subject.

The Duke of Bedford also opposed the bill: he said, there was a great variation in the description of the measure then before their lordships; one noble lord had said it was a tax upon expenditure; another said it was a contribution on property. The first question which occurred to him was, whether it was expedient to raise a part of the supplies within the year? At the commencement of the war, this mode might have been expedient, because it would have inclined the people to reflect whether the objects for which they

embarked in the war were worthy of such exertions and expenses. But it was not expedient at a time when the public funds were so reduced, when by the laws which prohibited individuals to lend to individuals beyond a certain rate of interest, government had a monopoly of money, and others had no means of procuring it. His grace contended that the measure would occasion a great reduction of expenditure, and consequently a great defalcation of the public revenue. Suppose a person at this time contributed to the assessed taxes a sixteenth part of his income, the quintuple assessment would become a tenth part of the whole. It was not only milliners and coach-makers, but, perhaps, one hundred thousand persons in the metropolis supported by manufactories that would suffer. The old taxes were about seventeen millions: if then a tenth part of the income of the country was required by this bill, the reduction of a tenth part of this income would, on those seventeen millions, create a defalcation of 1,740,000*l*.

The bill was defended by the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Auckland, upon the same ground of argument as it had been in the Commons.

The house divided—Contents 50, Proxies 23, Total 73—Non-contents 6.

On the 11th it was read a third time and passed.

The six dissentient lords were—The Duke of Bedford, Earl of Peterborough, Earl of Oxford, Lord Holland, Lord King, and Lord Ponsonby.

Mr. Nicholls, in pursuance of notice he had given, moved in the

House of Commons, on the 8th of December, a resolution for applying certain parts of the emoluments of certain offices to the public service, during the war. This was a measure that was adopted in the reign of William and Mary. He pointed out two kinds of places; one which was dependent on the pleasure of the crown, and the other which was independent of it. As to offices which were dependent on the crown, they might be said to be fairly enjoyed, because they were supposed to be dependent on the talents of the persons who enjoyed them; but in time of public emergency, he contended, they might be diminished with as much justice as the income of any other person was diminished by taxes. As to the offices in which the grantee had a freehold interest, it was observable, that in the time of William and Mary, there was no difference between them and those that were held at the pleasure of the crown; but he thought there ought to be a distinction: and in the resolution, which he should submit to the committee, that distinction would be regarded, for it would only refer to those offices which were held at the pleasure of the crown. Another difference which he intended to make was in the sum to which the resolution should attach: instead of 500*l.* he should propose 2000*l.* With these variations, his proposed resolution would be the same, in every other respect, as that which passed the House of Commons in the time of William and Mary, *nemine contradicente*; and the reason which was then given for it was, that owing to the great ex-

penses of the war, it was necessary to the public service. If he succeeded in this step he should proceed to other regulations respecting pensions and the civil list. He concluded with a motion to the following purport: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the salaries and fees of all offices under the crown shall be applied to the use of the war, except such as amount to less than 2000*l.* per annum, which sum is to be allowed to all officers whose salaries and fees at present exceed 2,000*l.* per annum; and also except that of the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the judges, foreign ministers, and commissioned officers of the fleets and armies, or any persons who have a freehold interest in their respective offices."

Upon the resolution of the third of William and Mary being read, the Chancellor of the Exchequer contended that a more extraordinary misapplication of a precedent never occurred. He shewed that the resolution as adopted by Mr. Nicholls, did not at all mean what the hon. member intended: for in fact it imported that all salaries from 2000*l.* upwards, are to be reduced to 2000*l.* and all below 2000*l.* were to be entirely taken away. This mistake of Mr. Nicholls produced great amusement to the House. If such a resolution had actually been agreed to, and ratified by the House in the time of King William, Mr. Pitt continued, that to agree to one on that day so directly opposite to it as that proposed would indeed be a very extraordinary way of showing respect for, and

adherence to, precedents. Besides, though the resolution was agreed to, it so happened that what was so hastily admitted without a dissentient voice, when it came to be deliberately investigated, on the bringing up a clause of a bill to carry it into effect, was rejected without a division, as impolitic and absurd. He therefore hoped that the House, out of excessive fondness for precedent, would not adopt a measure which was never adopted before.

With respect to the resolutions not extending to salaries under 2000*l.* a year, he asked, whether it could be said that there were no qualifying circumstances which kept pace with the various gradations of salary, and rendered the higher proportionate to those below? Was there no difference in the importance of trust, in the labour, in the talents, in the qualifications, in the responsibility, and in the class of life in which they stood? Would the hon. gentleman say, in the fulness of his equitable œconomy, that the same gradations ought not to be observed in taxing office as in taxing property? The hon. gentleman had inveighed, in an elevated tone, against the disproportion of the assessed taxes to the property of the classes taxed, and yet he held out a plan of indiscriminate taxation, sweeping down all to a level—exactng from an office of 2500*l.* a year, one fifth; from an office

of four thousand, one half; and from one of six thousand, two thirds.

Mr. Secretary at War observed, that though the extravagance and absurdity of the motion had been successfully exposed by Mr. Pitt, he thought it necessary to remark, that as the honourable mover had declared that he looked not to revenue, but to other purposes, those purposes must be to subject ministers to a fine while the war continued! This he thought a whimsical idea, especially when it was considered that the sentiments of the House and of the country had already been expressed upon the subject; and when it was manifest that peace at present could not be obtained.

Mr. Tierney reprobated the invectives which had been thrown out by the ministerial side of the House against his hon. friend the proposer of the resolution. He contended that the resolution which, with a mere error of transcription, formed the model of the present motion, had been passed in times fully as good as the present, and by a parliament fully as much enlightened: he could not see, therefore, what reason there was for the sneer which the right hon. gentleman had indulged. After some explanation from Mr. Chancellor Pitt, and an explanation from Mr. Nicholls, the latter withdrew his motion.

CHAPTER XII.

Redemption of the Land Tax. Mr. Pitt's Fifteen Resolutions. Debate upon their Second Reading. Bill founded upon them. Mr. Jolliffe's Amendment. The Bill passes the Commons. Debate upon it in

the Lords. It is passed. Second Budget. Repeal of the Tax upon Clocks and Watches. Consolidation of the Duties on Houses and Windows. New Duties on Exports and Imports.

ON the 2d of April Mr. Pitt rose to explain a plan which he had projected for the redemption of the land-tax. His object, he said, was to absorb a large quantity of stock, and in the process to transfer a portion of the national debt into a landed security: the quantity of stock thus to be transferred was to equal, at least, in its amount, the quantity of land tax which should by these means be extinguished, and should be applicable to the public service. He pointed out to the committee, that this operation would produce a much larger sum than that which was at present produced by the land tax; and that considerable gain, in a pecuniary point of view, would necessarily result to the public. But this was only a collateral advantage attending the measure, and one upon which he laid the smallest stress. The great and important benefit which he expected to arise to the public, from the adoption of this plan, would be the diminution of the stock, which at that moment pressed so hard upon the public credit. He said that the amount of the land tax was about two millions a year, which had for near a century been annually granted, and according to the same rate for different counties. He proposed by this measure, to reduce so much of the public debt as should leave an income of two millions four hundred thousand pounds applicable to the public service.

The pecuniary advantages arising

from this measure were obvious from this statement, because the public would dispose of a revenue of 2,000,000*l.* for which they would clear of public debt to such an amount, that the interest would produce a sum of 2,400,000*l.* leaving a clear gain of 400,000*l.* Under these circumstances, the situation of the person who purchased the land tax would be that of having a landed security for his property, and that security at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object; the public would be a considerable gainer, and eighty millions of capital would be taken out of the market. He should not only propose to place a sum of 2,000,000*l.* under the annual controul of parliament; but he should propose, that the sum of 2,400,000*l.* should be placed in that situation; so that in fact, instead of losing any of the constitutional checks which parliament possessed before, it would have a greater check over the public revenue than it had at this moment. It had been objected to this plan, he said, that the land tax, which it was the object of this measure to perpetuate, was in many instances so unequal as to amount absolutely to an abuse; and to perpetuate an abuse was certainly a great evil. Many gentlemen had stated to him, that if the land tax was at present equal in its operation, they would consent to this measure; but they could not give their consent to make abuses more permanent than they were. To

these objections he answered, that if gentlemen had seen the tax voted from year to year, for near a century, without any attempt being made to correct this inequality, he thought it was not unfair to conclude, that as long as the land tax continued, it was as likely to continue under its present arrangement by annual votes as it would be if rendered perpetual. This observation he wished to put strongly to the good sense of the House. As estates had descended from hand to hand for near a century, with the inequalities originally instituted in the land tax, it would be exceedingly difficult to impose new valuations upon property. It had been said, that this regulation would lead to a new land tax. Suppose a new land tax should be imposed; it was clear that it could not be imposed upon any estate which had been discharged of the old, in any other proportion than it would be upon any other estate upon which the old land tax still remained, except that the amount of the land tax, at the time it was redeemed, should be deducted from the estate; otherwise the operation of it would be unfair. He contended, that by this plan, all persons who redeemed their land tax would be fully as safe from any additional burden as those who had not redeemed it. With respect to the operation which this measure would have upon landed gentlemen, supposing that other persons purchased the land tax which attached upon their estates, he remarked, that this objection was founded upon an idea, that every gentlemen possessing a landed estate might not be able

to purchase his land tax. In the plan which he had to propose, every advantage would be given to the owner of the estate, not only to induce him to purchase the land tax, but to facilitate his effecting that object. But if within a certain time (which the committee would hereafter limit) the owner of the land should not be able to purchase, provision would be made, that even in that case, their situation, or that of their heirs, should not be left entirely hopeless; but that a farther period should be allowed them, to take advantage of the purchase. With respect to the terms of the purchase, it was proposed, that the payment should be regulated by the price of stock; and that the payment should never be made in money, but always in a transfer of stock. This was unquestionably as good a mode of payment as if it was paid in money, and would have the effect of saving the interest, and would accommodate itself to every fluctuation of the stocks. Suppose the stocks were taken at 50, which was about the price at which they now were, the interest which a person might make of money in the funds was 6 per cent.; and consequently the number of years purchase was between sixteen and seventeen years. He meant that the land tax should be taken at twenty years purchase. From this statement it would appear, that there would be a transfer of forty pounds of stock for every one pound of land tax redeemed. Upon this principle, if the stocks were at 75, then it would be at thirty years purchase, and so on, always making a difference of

one year's purchase for every two and a half per cent. variation in the stocks; and the result of the whole of this measure would be that the public would gain one fifth, or 400,000*l*. As for landed gentlemen, supposing them capable of purchasing their tax, he thought that giving them an opportunity of doing it at twenty years purchase was a sufficient temptation to induce them to make the purchase; and, on the other hand, it was a considerable advantage to the public to sell the land tax at twenty years purchase, while others were redeeming the stock at the rate of between sixteen and seventeen years purchase. He admitted, that there was a difference between funded and landed security, in point of value; landed property was hardly ever sold for less than from twenty-eight to thirty years purchase; whereas funded property was at about sixteen or seventeen years. It was therefore obvious that great advantages were given to the purchaser when he was given that which was equivalent to landed property at twenty years purchase; the share, therefore, asked for the public, was little, while the advantage it afforded to the individual was great, if it was to be called landed security; but he did not mean to say it was in every respect the same, because it was an unimproveable estate. It was his intention to give every possible advantage to the holders of land, and of course to exclude strangers from purchasing the tax. For this purpose it was proposed to give a power to every man who had even a temporary right to the estate, to secure on the estate the

money which he might borrow for that purpose, thus to put the tenant in tail and the tenant for life in the same situation with the tenant in fee; and it was also proposed to give a power of selling part of a settled estate to free the rest from the burden of the tax. If the owner was not able to redeem the tax, then it was proposed that he should not be permitted to redeem it till that period when the monied men would have the least objection to return to the possession of stock: the period he would fix would be, when the old sinking fund should be at what was called the maximum, that is, when the interest was no longer to go on in a compound ratio; this would be when the old sinking fund would amount to 4,200,000*l*. annually. If then the country should be able to get through the difficulties of the present moment, they had a right to look forward with confidence; they would soon arrive at a period at which they would have a sinking fund of between seven and eight millions, applicable annually to the reduction of the national debt. When that happened there must be an end of all difficulties respecting the public credit; there would then be an end of all difference between landed and funded property. He next spoke to the fluctuation to which the land tax on particular estates was liable. By the mode of division pointed out in the land tax act, the charge on particular districts continued unaltered; but this was not the case within the districts; there alterations would be found to take place. He believed, however, that in most part of the

kingdom the operation of the re-partition of the charge on individual estates was very little. The places most liable to variation were towns, and parts where new buildings were establishing. In the metropolis it was very considerable. In Mary-le-bone the tax was every day lighter. Where a change was likely to take place, it was thought most advisable to suffer the proprietor to redeem it at its present rate, and he might then wave the advantage in the event of an increase in the tax, and submit to the loss which he would sustain by an abatement; or he might, if the commissioners thought proper, go on receiving the difference between the present and future rates of the receiver-general, in case of an increase, and settling with the parish in the other alternative. It might happen that a purchaser might contract not only for the land tax of individual estates, but also for that of a district, in which case no fluctuation would arise.

Mr. Pitt concluded with proposing the fifteen following resolutions.

I. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the several and respective sums of money charged by virtue of an act of the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land tax, for the service of the year 1798," on the respective counties and places in Great Britain, in respect of the premises in the said act mentioned, lying within the same counties and places respectively, to be raised, levied, and paid unto his Majesty, within the space of one year, from the 25th day of March,

1798, shall, from and after the expiration of the said term, continue, and be raised, levied, and paid yearly, to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from and after the 25th day of March, in every year, for ever; subject, nevertheless, to the rules, regulations, restrictions, and conditions of redemption, to be prescribed.

II. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it shall be lawful for commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, to contract and agree with all and every person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, having or holding any manors, messuages, or tenements, for the redemption of the land tax charged upon their respective manors, messuages, or tenements, according to the assessment and pound rate to be made in pursuance of the said act; and that the consideration to be given for such redemption shall be so much capital stock of public annuities, transferable at the Bank of England, bearing an interest after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, commonly called the three pounds per centum consolidated annuities, and the three pounds per centum reduced annuities, as will yield an annuity or dividend, exceeding the amount of the land tax so to be redeemed by one-fifth part thereof; such capital stock to be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt within the period of five years, from the day of

by four instalments in every year; videlicet, on the first day of May, the first day of August, the first day of November, and the first day of February, in

each year : the first instalment to be made on such of the said days as shall next ensue after the entering into such contract ; but with liberty to any person to stipulate with the said commissioners for the transfer of the whole of the said capital stock at one time, or within a less period than five years, so that the same be made by even instalments, at equal intervals within the period agreed upon, and by not less than four instalments in each year of the said period.

III. That it is the opinion of this committee, that all bodies politic, corporate, or collegiate, corporations aggregate or sole, and all guilds, mysteries, fraternities, or brotherhoods, and all trustees or feoffees in trust for charities or other public purposes, having any estate or interest in any such manors, messuages, or tenements, whatever may be their estate or interest therein, other than tenants at rack rent, and all committees of lunatics or idiots, and guardians of infants, and all executors and administrators, and all other trustees whatsoever, may contract with the said commissioners to be appointed for the said purposes ; and that persons in the actual possession, or beneficially entitled to the rents and profits of any manors, messuages, or tenements (other than tenants at rack rent), shall be preferred in the purchase of such land tax to persons in remainder, reversion, or expectancy, provided they offer to contract for the redemption of such land tax on or before a day to be specified ; but that the persons in remainder, reversion, or expectancy, shall be entitled to redeem such land tax

in preference to any other persons having no estate or interest therein, according to the priority of such their respective estates or interests, and in the order in which they will be respectively entitled to succeed to the said manors, messuages, or tenements ; and that in case of demise at rack rent, the persons beneficially entitled to the rent reserved shall (notwithstanding any covenant) be considered as being in the actual possession of such manors, messuages, or tenements, for the purpose of claiming such benefit of preference, with power to add the amount of the land tax so purchased to the rent reserved, and to use the same powers for the recovery thereof as for the recovery of rent in arrear ; and that on the completion of any contract for the redemption of the land tax, by the person having such title to preference, or by any other on his behalf, and payment of the first instalment thereof, the manors, messuages, or tenements, comprised in such contract, shall thenceforth be wholly freed and exonerated from the land tax charged thereon, and from all farther assessments thereof, unless the person contracting for such land tax shall, at the time of entering into the contract for the same, declare his option to be considered as on the same footing with a third person purchasing the land tax ; and that upon every contract to be entered into as aforesaid, upon which the transfer of stock shall be made by instalments, there shall be paid at the time of making the second instalment upon such contract, and so of every subsequent instalment

upon such contract, into the hands of the cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England (whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge) to the use of his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, a sum of money, by way of interest, to be computed from the period of the first instalment, equal to four-fifth parts of the amount of what would have been the produce up to the time of making such payment of the whole of the stock to be transferred upon such contract, after deducting therefrom the amount of the produce of such part of the stock as shall then have been transferred; and in every such case the persons beneficially entitled to any estate in remainder, reversion, or expectancy, in the manors, messuages, or tenements, whereof such land tax shall have been so contracted for, shall, at any time or times after such estate shall vest in possession, by reason of the determination of the next preceding estate or interest, be entitled, upon an assignment of such contract, upon transferring to such original contractors the like amount of the three per centum bank annuities as was transferred by such original contractors as the consideration for the redemption of the land tax, or upon paying to such original contractors (at their option) such a sum as shall be of equal value therewith at the time of such conveyance, and in the same option to be considered on the footing of a third person, with respect to such land tax as the person or persons first redeeming the same might have.

IV. That it is the opinion of

this committee, that all bodies politic or corporate, and other persons being in the actual possession, or entitled beneficially to the rents and profits of any manors, messuages, or tenements, may sell any part or parts thereof, for the purpose of redeeming or purchasing such land tax, or charge the said manors, messuages, or tenements, with such sum or sums of money as shall be sufficient to redeem or purchase the land tax charged thereon; and for securing the repayment of such sum or sums of money, with interest, may convey, surrender, or demise the same by way of mortgage; or may grant, limit, or appoint, any yearly sum or sums of money, by way of a perpetual rent charge, not exceeding the amount of the land tax charged upon the said manors, messuages, or tenements, to be issuing out of and charged upon such manors, messuages, or tenements: and every such sale, conveyance, mortgage, or grant of any rent charge, shall, after the same shall be duly enrolled, be good, valid, and effectual in the law, to all intents, notwithstanding any defect of title in any of the parties thereto; and the respective persons to whom any such sale or mortgage shall be made, or any such rent charge shall be granted, shall respectively hold the manors, messuages, or tenements, or the said rent charges, freed and absolutely discharged from all former titles, charges, and incumbrances whatsoever; and that wherever there shall be any surplus, after paying so much as shall be sufficient for the purchase of three per centum annuities, to be transferred as the con-

sideration for such land tax, the said surplus shall be paid into or placed in the Bank of England, in the name and with the privity of the accountant-general of the court of chancery, to the intent that such surplus money may be invested, as soon as conveniently may be, under the direction, and with the approbation of the said court, in the purchase of other estates to be conveyed to the like uses, and in the same manner as the same stood settled; and in the mean time such surplus to be invested in government or other public securities, in the name of the said accountant-general; and the dividends and annual produce thereof shall, from time to time, belong to the person who would, for the time being, have been entitled to the rents and profits of the manors, messuages, or tenements purchased.

V. That it is the opinion of this committee, that if, within a time to be named, no contract shall be entered into with the commissioners to be appointed for the redemption or purchase of the land tax, or any part or parcel thereof, charged in any parish or place by any person entitled to the benefit of preference, or by any person substituted in that behalf, the said commissioners may then put up to sale, either by public auction or otherwise, as the commissioners for the treasury for the time being shall direct, the whole or any part or parcel of the said land tax charged in any county, or division of any county, or in any parish or place, or any specific share or shares thereof, or any land tax charged on any particular estate or estates,

or any part or parcel thereof, which shall not be redeemed or purchased within the said period, and to contract and agree with any persons for the sale of the same, subject to a proviso for the redemption of such land tax, at the time and in the manner to be provided; and the manors, messuages, or tenements whereon the land tax purchased is charged shall be subject to a new assessment from year to year by an equal pound rate, according to the value thereof, in common with all other estates in the same parish which shall remain chargeable to the land tax; and the consideration shall be the transfer of stock in the three per cent. annuities, transferable at the Bank of England as aforesaid, of the like amount as is hereinbefore directed, unto the commissioners appointed for the reduction of the national debt, to be made within the period of one year from the time of entering into such contract, by four instalments of not less than one-fourth part of the whole amount of the stock to be so transferred as aforesaid, at intervals of three months from each other; the transfer of such stock for the first instalment to be made at the end of three months from the time of entering into such contract, but with liberty to contract and agree with the said commissioners to be appointed; to transfer the whole of the stock agreed to be transferred as the consideration for such redemption or purchase at the time prescribed for the transfer of the first instalment thereof, or to transfer such stock in any greater proportions, and in any less number of instal-

ments than are before prescribed, so as that such instalments shall not be made at a greater interval than three months from each other; and that such rate of interest shall be payable as in the case of land tax redeemed by persons having a title to preference, and such persons shall be entitled to demand and receive, for their own use, the full amount of the land tax purchased by them, free of all charges and deductions whatever, at the respective times, and in the respective proportions at which the same shall be payable, but which shall be redeemable by the person or persons respectively entitled to the benefit of preference in respect to their tenure in the said manors, messuages, or tenements, at the period to be limited for the redemption of the same.

VI. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the receiver-general of each county, riding, or place, where any such land tax shall remain chargeable as aforesaid, after the same shall have been purchased, not as a specific charge on any manors, messuages, or tenements, in such parish or place, or his deputy or deputies, shall, before such land tax shall have become due and payable, on the twentieth day of September, for the half year ending the twenty-ninth day of September, and on the sixteenth day of March for the half year ending on the twenty-fifth day of March in every year, upon demand, pay, or cause to be paid, to the purchaser or purchasers thereof, or the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, of such purchaser or purchasers respectively, the full

amount of the land tax so purchased, free of all charges and deductions whatever, without fee or reward, out of any public monies in his hands, in the manner to be provided; and that where any purchase shall be made of any land tax as a specific charge on any manors, messuages, or tenements, or where any person, &c. entitled to preference shall have made his option, to be considered on the footing of a third person purchasing the land tax, and any abatement shall afterwards take place in the sum so charged, the receiver-general shall, upon the production of the certificate of such abatement, pay the full amount thereof, free of all charges and deductions whatever, and without fee or reward, to such person or persons as aforesaid, in like manner, and out of such monies, and at such times of payment, as is directed, for the payment of the whole of the land tax purchased: and that in default of such payment by the receiver-general or his deputy, the purchaser, or the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of such purchaser, may cause notice of such default to be given to the occupier of the manors, messuages, or tenements on which the land tax so purchased shall be charged; and such occupier shall be obliged to pay the same upon demand, unless he shall have previously paid the same for want of such notice to the collector of the parish; or unless the yearly value of the estate, whereon such land tax shall have been charged (estimating such value by the rack rents and the highest improvements made thereof) shall be re-

duced so that the estates shall be charged with a higher rate than four shillings in the pound on such value; in which case the occupier shall not be liable to the payment of any greater sum than after the rate of four shillings in the pound on such value; or unless the land tax shall, by any abatement thereof, be reduced to a sum less than the sum charged on the same manors, messuages, or tenements, at the time of the purchase; in which case, such occupier shall not be liable to the payment of any greater sum than the sum actually charged on such manors, messuages, or tenements, at the time of the demand, with the like remedies for the recovery as landlords may by law have for the recovery of rent in arrear: and that in case of any diminution of the sum to be paid to the purchaser of any land tax, by reason of any reduction in the value of the estate charged therewith, the purchaser shall have the option of continuing to receive a sum necessary to complete, in each year, the whole annual amount of the sum originally purchased by him, or to demand of and from the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt a transfer of so much capital stock in the three per centum Bank annuities as shall yield an interest exceeding the amount of such abatement by one-fifth part thereof.

VII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that if the receiver-general of any county where any land tax shall be purchased, not as a specific charge upon any particular manors, messuages, or tenements, in any parish or place, but a charge upon such parish or

place at large, or upon such part thereof as shall continue chargeable, shall neglect to pay to the purchaser of any land tax the full amount of the land tax so purchased, the purchaser may cause notice of such default to be given to the collector of the said land tax, and of his intention to receive the land tax in future from such collector; and on such notice, every such purchaser shall be entitled to receive the amount of such land tax from such collector accordingly: or if such receiver-general where any land tax shall be purchased as a specific charge on any particular estate or estates, or where any land tax shall be redeemed by the person entitled to preference, who shall have made his option to be considered on the footing of a third person purchasing the land tax, and any abatement shall afterwards take place in the sum so charged, shall neglect to pay to the persons entitled to such land tax the full amount of such abatement, such purchaser may cause the like notice to be given to the collector to entitle such purchaser to the land tax so purchased from such collector in the manner before directed; and that every such collector, on the production of the contract of purchase, shall, from time to time, pay, or cause to be paid, to such purchaser, the full amount of the land tax purchased, free of all charges and deductions whatever, and without fee or reward, out of any monies in the hands of such collector arising from the produce of the land tax in such parish or place, unless such collector shall, for want of such notice as aforesaid, have paid

the whole of the land tax charged in such parish or place to the receiver-general of the county.

VIII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the land tax purchased shall not be subject to redemption until the period when the dividends arising from the purchases of stock made by the commissioners for the reduction of such part of the national debt which existed previous to the commencement of the present war, shall, according to the true intent and meaning of the acts now in force, cease to accumulate, and be considered as redeemed, and in the disposition of parliament; and that after that period, and at any time during three years then next ensuing, every person being in the possession of or beneficially entitled to any manors, messuages, or tenements, charged with any land tax which shall have been purchased, shall, in the order in which they respectively shall be entitled to the benefit of redeeming their land tax, according to the rate of preference for such redemption, be entitled to treat with the commissioners to be appointed for the redemption of such land tax, or any part or parcel thereof, in such and the like manner in all respects as he might have done within the period to be first limited; provided that notice in writing be given to the receiver-general, specifying the amount of the land tax so redeemed, who shall cause notice thereof to be given to the original purchaser, his executors, administrators, or assigns; and all payments to such original purchaser on account of such land tax shall cease and determine from

the end of the quarter of the year next ensuing such purchase; and that the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, on application made to them by the original purchaser, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, and on production to the said commissioners of the original contract or purchase, and of the notice given to such purchaser, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, by the receiver-general, of the redemption of such land tax, shall either transfer to him so much capital stock in the three per cent. annuities as shall have been transferred by such original purchaser, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, as the consideration for the purchase of such land tax, or at his option so much money as the capital stock so transferred was worth at the time of the first purchase, and such contract shall thereupon be determined, and of no effect; and that whenever any land tax purchased shall be afterwards redeemed, the manors, messuages, or tenements, comprised in such contract shall be wholly freed and exonerated from the land tax charged thereon, and from all farther assessments thereof.

IX. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the non-performance of any contract shall subject the party contracting to a pecuniary penalty, not exceeding part of the purchase money. And that the court of exchequer, on the application of the person who shall have incurred such penalty, or any other person who may be prejudiced thereby, by petition, to be pre-

ferred in a summary way, may enlarge the time for the making good any subsequent instalment or instalments, and grant such relief to the party or parties as to the said court shall seem meet.

X. That it is the opinion of this committee, that if any assessment of land tax which shall continue to be charged shall at any time be found to exceed the rate of four shillings in the pound on the annual value of the manors, messuages, or tenements, the same shall be subject to an abatement in the manner in such cases directed by the act of the present session of parliament.

XI. That it is the opinion of this committee, that where any manors, messuages, or tenements, which now are rated together, and chargeable with the payment of one gross sum by way of land tax, shall be separated or divided, and come into the possession of different persons prior to the time when such manors, messuages, or tenements, shall be exonerated therefrom; then the commissioners of land tax acting in or for the division wherein such land tax shall be charged, shall cause such land tax to be apportioned as between such persons respectively, according to the value of their respective estates, and to assess and charge the proportions in which their respective estates shall bear and sustain the same; and in case any one of such persons shall, after such appointment, be compelled to pay the whole of the said land tax, or more than his due proportion thereof, such person shall be reimbursed by the person who under such assessment ought to have paid the same,

such sum or sums of money as he or she shall have been compelled to pay over and above his due proportion of such land tax, with the like remedy for the recovery thereof as landlords have for the recovery of rent in arrear.

XII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever in any parish or place the whole of the land tax charged upon the manors, messuages, or tenements, in such parish or place shall have been redeemed, and all the manors, messuages, or tenements, in such parish or place shall be exonerated from the payment of any sum or sums of money as land tax, all assessments in such parish or place shall cease and determine.

XIII. That it is the opinion of this committee, that when any capital stock of the three pound per centum Bank annuities shall be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, the interest or dividend which would have been payable on such stock, shall, from thenceforth, cease to be issued from the receipt of the exchequer, or to be charged on the consolidated fund; and the money which would have been applicable to the payment thereof shall remain and be a part of the growing produce of the consolidated fund to be applied in such manner as parliament shall, from time to time, direct.

XIV. That it is the opinion of this committee, that in all cases where the land tax on any manors, messuages, or tenements, shall have been redeemed by persons entitled to preference, such manors, messuages, or tenements,

shall from thenceforth for ever be free and discharged from any tax, other than such as shall be imposed thereon, in proportion to the annual value of the same, in common with all other property of the same description: provided always, that in estimating the value of such property the annual amount of the land tax so redeemed shall be deducted therefrom, and that in all other respects the value of such property shall be estimated in like manner, and according to the same regulations as shall be applied to property of a like description, the land tax on which shall not have been so redeemed.

XV. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the several duties imposed on malt, 27 Geo. III. and on sugar by the acts of 27th, 34th, and 37th Geo. III. and on tobacco and snuff, 29th Geo. III. shall continue in force till the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and no longer, but shall from thenceforth cease and determine, except as to arrears due, or to grow due, unless the same shall be specially continued by parliament.

The report of these resolutions was brought up on the 16th of April, upon which Mr. Harrison observed, that wrong and exceptionable as he conceived the measure to be in principle, he would have given it his support, were there any hopes of its tending to relieve the nation in its present situation. If the measure were intended to relieve the country, its operation ought to be quick and extensive; but the resolutions just read tended obviously to nar-

row and retard any benefit that might possibly arise from this crude and inconsistent scheme. If the plan were successful it would only produce a saving of 400,000*l.* per annum, and this not till a period of at least five years. The minister might soon realize a much larger sum by setting his mind at work to reduce the public expenditure, by lopping off every unnecessary extravagance and pernicious waste; but what was the situation in which the landholder must be placed by this plan? He was to be called upon in twelve months to say, whether he would or would not purchase his land tax? This scheme appeared so unlikely to answer the end which the author of it held out to the House, that he could not help thinking there was some secret purpose in view; it seemed to him, that it was intended to give a new kind of landed security to certain funds. If 80,000,000*l.* of three per cents. were taken out of the market and invested upon land, the measure might be followed up still farther, until all that description of stock should obtain this new security, and be thereby rendered more valuable; but no act had been passed to implicate land as collateral security for the funds, and he was therefore very unwilling that such a new measure should at once be extended to no less a sum than fourscore millions of stock. For these reasons he would oppose the motion for the second reading.

Mr. Pitt contended, that part of the plan was a pecuniary gain to the public, and that to a considerable amount; but that was an object of a secondary nature; it

would have an influence to raise the price of the funds, which would tend to raise the credit of the country, and by so doing increase its resources. His motive in this measure was not to raise the three per cents. by taking away the value of land, but it was to raise the value of stock in the funds; which, by the way, was a mortgage upon all the land, and upon all the commerce of this country; and by raising that value, to raise the value of every other species of property in the kingdom, by increasing our resources. Land was not to be made collateral security to the funds; but the proposed plan was intended as a security to the public, in lieu of a duty upon land. The particulars of the measure would come forward on the detail of the bill; and he could not regularly allude to them in the course of a debate on the resolutions.

Mr. Hobhouse observed, that there was one objection which attached to the very principle of the plan; namely, that according to the resolutions, the land-tax now granted annually was to be converted into a perpetuity; this tax from its first introduction in its present shape, more than a century past, had been sometimes at 2*s.* sometimes at 3*s.* but never more than at 4*s.* in the pound. When it was raised by Lord North, in 1775, from 3*s.* to 4*s.* it received the consent of the country gentlemen expressly upon the ground, that other taxes were scarcely ever lessened, but that the land tax had frequently been reduced. But it was now proposed to make a tax perpetual, which was only assent-

ed to at a period of national exigency, in the hope of one day seeing it remitted. He then reverted to the probability there was of a fresh land tax being imposed. The minister himself had not denied that probability; and one of the resolutions provided, "That all lands, &c. which shall have been redeemed, shall for ever be free and discharged from any tax, other than such as shall be imposed thereon in proportion to the annual value of the same in common with all other property of the same description; and that in estimating the value of such property, the annual amount of the land tax so redeemed shall be deducted." He contended, that it might be inferred from this resolution, that the sale of the present land tax might lead to the imposition of another, according to the present value of the landed property of the kingdom. Sixpence in the pound upon the improved rents, would probably subject every landholder to the payment of as large a sum as the present. When the measure was viewed in this light, it could only be regarded as an invasion of the sacred right of private property, and deserved to be reprobated no less than the contribution act; by which a man's fortune was inferred from the quantum of his payment to the assessed taxes, and a portion of it seized for the use of the state. He concluded with hoping, that the house would not allow the resolutions to be read a second time.

The Honourable D. Ryder and Lord Hawkesbury entered into a vindication of the chancellor of the exchequer. The resolutions

were then read a second time, and bills ordered to be brought in pursuant to the same.

When the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 23d of April, moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill, Mr. Jolliffe wished the second reading to be delayed, and moved an amendment to that effect. Mr. Pitt was against the delay, and entered into an argument in support of the measure. It was unnecessary to detain the house, by going over all the various topics which had been urged before; but he begged leave to bring to their recollection, that the principal point at issue between him and those who opposed the bill was this: supposing he did succeed in transferring such a quantity of stock into another description of property, whether it would have a tendency to invigorate public credit, by raising the price of the funds, and reducing the national debt? They would also recollect, that when he first proposed the measure, he stated, that its not being successful in the first instance was no proof against its ultimate advantage; though it was then rather uncandidly urged by his opponents, that it was not likely to prove of any benefit to the public, since the bare mention of the proposition on that day had not raised the price of the funds. He was happy, however, to have it in his power to assure the house, that a considerable advantage to the public had already resulted from the agitation of this measure. It had happened, that, notwithstanding a loan was contemplated and even in actual ne-

gotiation, the funds were that day higher than they had been on any day since he first proposed the subject to the house; but upon this circumstance he set the less value, as it was not the ground upon which he originally recommended the measure to the house. That recommendation was founded entirely upon a distant benefit—not upon an immediate one. He had that day been treating for a loan, and he had the satisfaction of assuring the house, that the monied-men entertained the highest opinion of the advantages likely to result from the sale of the land tax. In consequence of the present situation of the country, he had made a bargain (which would be known to the house in a few days) more advantageous to the public than any he had made in times of the greatest tranquillity.

The Hon. Mr. Pierrepont seconded the amendment proposed by Mr. Jolliffe, and gave it as his opinion, that the measure would not be of advantage to the country.

Lord Sheffield, who had before objected to the principle of the bill, said, that after a more mature consideration, he found it so unjust, so partial, and in every respect so bad, that no mode of carrying it into execution, or even any advantage that might possibly be obtained, could reconcile him to it, because he was convinced that the mode proposed could not attain the object which he understood was to raise the value of certain funds; or, in other words, to ease that property which was not taxed at all, at the

expense of another kind of property, viz. land and houses, which were at present overwhelmed with taxes. He should never cease to remonstrate against such conduct towards the landed interest. His lordship said, that an honourable baronet, (Sir William Pulteney) had very ably stated the fallacious expectation that was held out by the bill now before the house.

Mr. secretary Dundas supported the bill, and expressed some surprise that gentlemen should be calling for the delay of a bill, the essence of which had been printed, and in their hands above a fortnight ago, for the essence of it was to be found in the printed resolutions. He thought it strange also that they who could argue coolly and deliberately enough upon most topics which came before them, should mix in the discussion of this matter a degree of heat which certainly did not belong to it, for this measure certainly required a temperate discussion. He approved of the bill on account of its utility, as well as its fairness and equity. The landlord was under no obligation to redeem his land tax, and he had therefore no ground for complaint. He supported the second reading of the bill without delay.

Mr. Hobhouse contended that some allowance ought to be made to country gentlemen if they did use warmth upon the discussion of this bill, when it was considered how great an injury they would suffer by the adoption of the measure. He agreed in the observations made upon the bill by Lord Sheffield. If it were proper that an additional pound-

age should be laid upon the land (which he did not admit) it ought to be imposed without interfering with the present tax. Suppose the landholders, by a rigid economy, were to effect the redemption of the existing tax, the old account would soon be forgotten, the new one only would be remembered. The language of the minister would then be. "You gentlemen of landed property pay at present but a very trifle; you certainly can afford to contribute a little more in support of the exigencies of the state."

After Mr. Bastard and Mr. Tierney had opposed the bill, the house divided,

For Mr. Jolliffe's amendment 38
Against it 153

Majority 115

A debate took place on the third reading of this bill, on the 30th of May, in which very few additional arguments were urged either for or against it. The discussion principally consisted in a recapitulation of the advantages and disadvantages which had been urged in the former stages of the bill. Lord Sheffield persisted in wishing the entire rejection of the measure. He repeated, that the house did not know the bill; and that those who brought it in did not understand their own plan; this was clear, he said, from the strange botchwork which they had made of it, adding every day many new clauses, and altering others, so that it was by no means the same as was first brought in, and consequently was unknown to the country: that the chancellor of the exchequer had proved in a very extraordinary manner that

he was unacquainted with the bill, by saying that the clause relative to the future land tax of Scotland had been inserted without his knowledge.

Sir Richard Carr Glynn strongly supported the measure, and expressed his astonishment that gentlemen of high respectability, and known attachment to their country, should so decidedly and warmly oppose it. He contended, that the country had already received much advantage from the bill. Previous to the rumour of this measure, the 3 per cent. annuities were at 47 per cent., and many gentlemen conversant in the operation of the funds had given it as their opinion, that if some measure similar to this in effect had not been brought forward, the 3 per cent. annuities must have been sold to the loan-contractor at 45 per cent. The house would recollect, that since the bringing forward this bill, the minister had bargained with the loan-contractors for the same stock, at upwards of 48 per cent. Here was a gain to the public of 3 per cent. on every 100*l.* stock, making on the whole loan a gain of upwards of one million of stock.

After Mr. Sheridan had spoken in opposition to the bill, and Lord Hawkesbury in its favour, the house divided upon the motion of Lord Sheffield, namely, "That instead of the word 'now,' the words 'this day three months,' might be inserted."

Ayes 33

Noes 135

The bill was then read a third time.

This being a money-bill was

not discussed at great length in the House of Lords; but it was opposed by several of their lordships upon nearly the same grounds as it had been in the Commons. Upon Lord Grenville's motion for the second reading on the 8th of June, the bill was strongly contested by Lords Caernarvon, Suffolk, Thurlow, and Holland. The arguments urged by Lord Thurlow were—that the bill was partial; its provisions were more favourably framed for the Scots landholder than for the English; the latter could not apply to the court of chancery for redress with the same facility that the former could appeal to the court of session. He urged, that a measure which entitled every man to buy, and obliged so many to sell, was no other in effect than a requisition for the disposal of an aliquot part of every man's estate. He considered it equally necessary to tax the personal as well as the landed property of every individual. His lordship repeated a simile, which he had read in a work respecting the administration of Sir Robert Walpole; where the country gentlemen were compared to sheep, who quietly suffered themselves to be shorn and re-shorn; and the monied men were compared to hogs, who always made a noise and bustle whenever they were attempted to be touched. For this reason, he supposed, in the present instance, the latter description of persons were left untouched; but if the landholders or country gentlemen were satisfied with this measure, they would deserve every evil that could befall them. After Lord Auckland

and Lord Grenville had spoken in support of the bill, their lordships divided upon the second reading—

Contents (including proxies) 27

Non-contents 7

The bill was read a third time on the 12th of June, when a protest against it was signed by the Dukes of Leeds and Leinster, and Lords Caernarvon, Suffolk, and Berkshire.

But the great financial business which occurred in the Parliamentary proceedings in 1798 was the second budget, introduced into the House of Commons in a committee of ways and means, on the 25th of April, by the chancellor of the exchequer. He began by reminding the committee, that when he furnished an estimate of the total expenditure in the preceding November, for the ensuing year, he then stated it at nearly twenty-five millions and a half, to be provided for the exigencies of the public service. It was a great satisfaction to him, and he trusted it would be equally so to the committee, that what he had now to lay before them differed but little from the estimate which he had given in before; and that difference arose from such obvious circumstances as to make it unnecessary for him to take up much of their time in explanation. The total amount of his second estimate was 28,490,000*l.* differing by the sum of three millions of excess from his first. This excess had unavoidably arisen from the unforeseen and additional preparations on the part of this country, occasioned by the threats, and produced by the formidable ex-

ertions of the enemy against us.

He then proceeded to state the expenditure under each distinct head. The first was the navy, which he had estimated in November at the sum of 12,538,000*l.* to which the committee had since added the sum of 910,000*l.* making a total of 13,448,000*l.* The next article of supply was the army, which the committee would recollect had been estimated at 10,112,000*l.* To this sum there had been since added the charge of 1,315,000*l.* for defraying the expense incurred by the supplementary militia; and 130,000*l.* for the provisional cavalry. There was also a sum of 350,000*l.* for the volunteer corps of infantry, which, he had the happiness to remark, amounted to no less than 40,000 men. The next article related to the foreign corps, and made an expenditure of 226,000*l.* He formerly stated that the extraordinaries incurred in 1797 were likely to amount to about 1,300,000*l.*; and they had only exceeded that sum by 61,000*l.* The original estimate of the charge for barracks was 400,000*l.* to which he now added the further increase of 120,000*l.* These were the whole of the articles which respected the army, with the exception of 700,000*l.* for future extraordinaries. The extraordinaries he had formerly calculated at 2,500,000*l.* but he now took them at 3,500,000*l.* These items, taken together, gave the total sum of 12,857,000*l.* for the army estimate. There had been very few additions to the charge for miscellaneous articles, and the total

of the sums appropriated to this branch he stated at 682,000*l*. Upon the whole there appeared an excess of 3,674,000*l*. in this second estimate above that made in November. The Bank had been paid the sum of 500,000*l*. by the early product of the land tax, which otherwise would

have gone to the consolidated fund.

Besides, in the distribution paper, it appeared that of the whole sum of money granted to the island of Grenada, 150,000*l*. had not been sent, and therefore the gross sum of 2,994,000*l*. was left as an excess.

Recapitulation of the Supplies according to the two Budgets.

Navy	.	.	.	13,448,888
Stated in November	.	.	12,538,888	
Added in April	.	.	910,000	
Army	.	.	.	12,857,315
Stated in November	.	.	10,112,950	
Added in April	.	.	2,744,365	
Ordnance	.	.	.	1,303,580
Stated in November	.	.	1,291,038	
Added in April	.	.	12,541	
Miscellaneous	.	.	.	680,608
Stated in November	.	.	673,000	
Added in April	.	.	7,608	
For discharge of the national debt	.	.	.	200,000
Total of the supplies				<u>£. 28,490,391</u>

The principal variation which appeared in the two budgets, in the statement of the ways and means for the year 1798, was in the article of the assessed taxes, which the minister had estimated in November at seven millions; but from the various modifications which had been made in what was called the Treble Assessment Bill, he stated them in April at the sum of four millions and a half.

Mr. Pitt alluded to a tax, which though he did not mean to propose it on that day, yet he thought it likely to receive the sanction of

the house; it had occupied a considerable share of the attention of the mercantile world, and had already been much discussed by the public. Without entering into a detail of the particulars, he remarked, that it referred to a state of war only—he meant such a tax upon exports and imports as might not tend in the least to the diminution of trade. As a remuneration to merchants for the payment of this tax, the government were to appoint strong convoys, so as to lessen the expense on insurance.

Summary of the Ways and Means for 1798.

Annual produce of the land and malt	2,750,000
Voluntary contribution	1,500,000
The assessed taxes	4,500,000
A duty upon imports and exports, which Mr. Pitt supposed would be saved to the merchant by the diminution of the insurance which would take place in consequence of regulations which were to be made respecting the sailing of convoys	1,500,000
Bank advance on exchequer bills	3,000,000
The loan, exclusive of two millions for Ireland	15,000,000
Lottery	200,000
Total	£. 28,450,000

The next object to which he called the attention of the committee was the loan, and the advantageous terms upon which he had agreed for it. Messrs. Boyd and Co. being the lowest bidders on the annuity, were the purchasers of the loan on the following terms: viz.

For every 100 <i>l.</i> subscribed, the subscribers had 150 <i>l.</i> of consols at $48\frac{3}{8}$, when the bargain was made, valued at	72	11	3
Also each subscriber of 100 <i>l.</i> had 50 of reduced at $47\frac{5}{8}$, valued at	22	16	3
And 4 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> of long annuities at $13\frac{1}{8}$ years, valued at	4	4	$6\frac{1}{4}$
	99	12	$0\frac{1}{4}$
The discount for prompt payment was taken at	3	0	0
	£. 102	12	$0\frac{1}{4}$

This bargain, he said, was concluded at eight shillings interest less than the bargain of the preceding year. As eight millions of the loan were mortgaged on the general produce of the increased assessed taxes, the permanent addition to the national debt was only seven millions. He had therefore seven millions to find taxes for; and adding to this 200,000*l.* to be applied to the sinking fund, and taking the interest of the whole sum of 7,200,000*l.*

at 8*l.* 5*s.* per cent. he had 577,000*l.* to provide for annually. He had thought of funding two or three millions of the navy debt, but had since concluded that it would be better to leave it in its actual situation until peace. In the year 1792 it amounted to 2,745,000*l.*; but at the present time it exceeded 6,000,000*l.*; for that the interest to be provided for would be 186,000*l.* which added to the above-mentioned sum of 577,000*l.* amounted to 763,000*l.* for the

interest of all the charges of the present year which was to be provided for by new taxes. The first tax for this purpose which he proposed was an additional duty of five shillings per bushel upon salt, the produce of which he estimated at 502,000*l.* annually. He supposed that the salt consumed upon an average annually in every family composed of the labouring class of people amounted to no more than half a bushel. He proposed therefore, to lay only 2*s.* 6*d.* on each family of this description. He then proposed a duty of five pounds per cent. upon tea which sold for more than half-a-crown per lb.; which tax, he said, would not touch that species of tea in general use among the poorer classes of the people. This tax be estimated to produce the sum of 111,500*l.*; for it was undeniable that the tea valued at above 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. had considerably increased in the quantity of its consumption. The next subject to which he alluded as proper for taxation did not affect the necessaries of life, and the persons paying would have a choice either to make use of the article or not, which was a principle he wished to encourage. He wished to impose a duty on every person using armorial bearings.

He observed that it might be said, that he was a convert to the system of levelling, but he certainly proceeded upon very opposite grounds, and was convinced that the country, instead of entertaining such sentiments, would be found ready to set a value upon that which was one of the most important links in society. Fashion and reason would therefore concur in giving effect to this measure. He therefore proposed that a tax of two guineas be imposed upon all persons using carriages decorated with armorial bearings; one guinea on those who were housekeepers and made use of plate decorated in the same manner; and 10*s.* 6*d.* on all other persons who were not housekeepers using their armorial bearings in other ways. The data upon which he proceeded to make an estimate of the produce of this tax were founded upon the inspection made by the heralds between 1615 and 1670, when it appeared that the number of the heads of families, by the last return given in the year 1670, amounted to 8405.—But allowing for many who had assumed armorial bearings since, he took the whole number at 9453, and the whole tax he estimated at 150,000*l.*

RECAPITULATION.

New duty on salt	502,000
On tea	111,500
Armoial bearings	150,000
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Total amount	£. 763,500
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The interest for which these new taxes were to provide was the interest on 15,000,000*l.* at 8*l.* 5*s.*

On 3,713,000 navy debts, at 5 per cent. . . . £. 763,150

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving resolutions pursuant to the statements in his speech.

Sir Matthew White Ridley, and Sir William Pulteney, contended, that the proposed duty upon salt would bear harder upon the lower orders of the people than the chancellor of the exchequer had stated; and that by the adoption of that tax, several manufacturers would be obliged to enlarge their capital, in order to carry on their business. Mr. Samuel Thornton thought that the pressure of the new duties upon imports and exports would be much too severe upon the East India Company.

Mr. Tierney made several observations upon the subjects of this second budget of the minister. He said, that if this loan was a proof of the high and flourishing situation of this country, and of the confidence of monied men in its resources, he was very glad to hear it. But he objected to the tax on salt, as falling too heavily on the lower classes of the people. The tax on armorial bearings he rather considered as whimsical; until that moment he never had learnt the utility of the right honourable gentleman's having created so many Peers. He advised him, however, to class the orders of distinction: to charge, for instance, a certain handsome sum for a coronet, a smaller sum for a crest, and so on; by which the lower orders of society might be relieved from some of their burden.

The resolutions were then severally put and agreed to. On the next day the report of the committee upon those resolutions were agreed to, and the bills or-

dered to be brought in, which were afterwards severally passed into laws, with very little variation from the shape in which Mr. Pitt first proposed them.

Another measure of finance was adopted this session, at the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, namely, the repeal of the tax upon clocks and watches, and the consolidation of the several duties upon houses and windows. Agreeably to notice he had given, he moved the repeal of the above-mentioned tax on the 14th of March. And as the exigencies of the state required that the deficiency should be made up by other means, he had the satisfaction of stating to the house, that the substitute he meant to propose in lieu of this tax, would be such as would afford as little discontent as possible. He remarked that the watch and clock duty had been calculated at about 200,000*l*. It was therefore requisite that whatever might be adopted instead should at least produce that sum; for this purpose he proposed an increase of the assessed taxes, in such way as would nearly accomplish this object. The produce of these taxes already amounted to about 1,400,000*l*. if therefore the intended increase was taken at a seventh of the whole, the sum thus obtained would amount to the sum required. As he could not move for a repeal of a tax, and also introduce another in lieu of it on the same day, the new measure was therefore postponed a few days. On the 19th of March, he informed the house that it was his intention to consolidate, and insert into one table,

the various duties now existing upon houses and windows, and he wished them to be regulated according to a table which he then held in his hand, and which was afterwards printed for the inspection and consideration of the members.

When the report of the committee on increasing the assessed taxes was taken into consideration on the 21st of March—the chancellor of the exchequer stated to the house the principle on which he had brought forward his plan. The ratio which he had adopted, was that of laying an increased rate on each house in proportion to the number of windows. But in order to prevent windows from being stopped up, it had been found necessary in some parts of the scale to have a decrease instead of an increase. To use an uncommon expression, he observed, that the intended tax increased in a decreasing proportion.

Mr. Rose (the house having formed itself into a committee of ways and means on the 16th of May) remarked that the chancellor of the exchequer, when opening the budget to the house, and stating the ways and means, had taken credit for various sums, and among others, for a sum to be produced by some proposed new duties upon exports and imports. He first proposed a duty of one-half per cent. upon British goods exported to European markets: it had been at first intended to have made this duty much higher; but, upon deliberation, it had been found that it would be injurious to lay a large duty upon goods for those markets, because in some instances it might enable foreigners to undersell us. With

respect to goods sent to America and the West Indies, he proposed a higher duty, because there was no danger of any competition. Upon goods exported to those places he therefore proposed a duty of two per cent. Goods exported to Ireland and the East Indies he meant to exempt from any new duties. He estimated that the amount of the duty upon exports to European markets would produce the sum of 256,000*l.* including some regulations respecting sugar and coffee. With respect to the imports, he meant to propose a greater duty, viz. one of three per cent. With regard to the imports from the East Indies, he meant that the duty should fall upon those articles which came in competition with our manufactures, such as cotton, &c. With respect to sugar and coffee, articles which were re-exported, this addition would not be prejudicial, because there was no danger of any competition with us as to those articles in the European market. The whole of these duties he estimated at the sum of 1,170,000*l.* In addition to this, he proposed a duty upon tonnage, whether British or foreign, varying in amount according to the place of destination. This duty he estimated at 208,000*l.* which, added to the duties upon exports and imports, would amount to 1,378,000*l.* This sum was short of what the chancellor of the exchequer had estimated these duties at. This difference had taken place from imposing a less duty upon the exportation of British goods to European markets than had been at first intended.

Mr. Rose concluded by saying,

that the resolutions he had to propose were exceedingly numerous, because it was the wish of the merchants that the rates should be as specific as possible. Mr. Bryan Edwards, Sir Francis Baring, and Mr. Tierney, made some observations upon the proposed duties: the first contended that the West India planters, who imported to the value of eight millions annually into this country, were so far from having given their approbation of this measure, that they did not even know of it.

Sir Francis urged, that these duties would fall very heavy upon goods sent to America; this he thought impolitic, because America was our best customer. With respect to the continuance of these duties, Mr. Rose assured these gentlemen, that as this was a war tax, it would certainly cease with the war. The resolutions were then agreed to, and the report received the next day; upon which a bill was framed, brought in, and passed into a law in a few days.

CHAPTER XIII.

Address for the Dismission of Ministers, moved by the Duke of Bedford.

SUCH was the financial business of the session. During the progress through the Commons a debate of high interest from the speeches which it called forth, occurred in the Lords. On the 22d of March, the Duke of Bedford moved an address to the Crown, praying his majesty to dismiss his present ministers.

It would not, he said, require much argument to prove that the present ministers had been supported in their career by the implicit confidence of the house. They had been uncontrouled by their interference, they had been strengthened by their concurrence, nor had they, at any time, been thwarted by an opposition, from any quarter which could obstruct their pursuit of the system on which they acted, or impede its ultimate success. If ministers, then, having been invested with the extraordinary powers which they possessed,

and enjoying the unlimited confidence reposed in them by parliament from the commencement of the war, notwithstanding all the means with which they were entrusted, had, by their incapacity and misconduct, reduced the country to the calamitous state in which it was at present, their dismission was the only remedy for our distress.

Without entering into the causes of the war, his grace begged to remind the house, that, prior to its commencement, ministers had been charged with pursuing a line of conduct which infallibly must lead to hostilities; and so it had proved. But his present object was to remove, not to criminate them, as the situation of the times rendered such a measure but a secondary consideration; and the subject would be better suited to a moment of tranquillity, when the absence of danger would enable them more coolly to enter

into the investigation of guilt. It was from a conviction that our only chance of safety depended on their removal, that he now earnestly called upon their lordships to support the motion; not doubting but, if he could authenticate his statement, they would feel themselves compelled, by a sense of duty, to vote in its favour.

With whatever sentiments ministers had been supposed to contemplate an approaching war, it must be recollected that its declaration, on the part of the French, excited the most lively joy in the Cabinet. They concealed not their satisfaction, that the French had furnished a pretext for it; and the war was not considered as a matter of melancholy and regret, but of triumph and exultation. Those persons, however, who thought a rupture with France should be prevented, left no effort untried to put an end to the evils in which we were involved, and to retard their progress. Remonstrances were made against the measures of the ministry. Parliament was called upon to declare, that this country would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; and when the hostile views of ministers became less disguised, they were entreated to enter into no alliances with foreign powers, which would form an obstacle to peace, and embarrass its attainment.

To these remonstrances no answers were given. Parliament afterwards declared, that if Great Britain engaged in a war, it should merely be defensive, and entered upon for the sole purpose of protecting and fulfilling our treaties with our allies, and checking any

views of aggrandisement which the French might entertain at the expence of other powers. To this no answer was made, except that since we were embarked in the contest, England could only be safe by weakening France. Again, to remove all misunderstanding of the objects and the views entertained in the prosecution of the war, parliament was required to testify, that the war was undertaken, not for the purposes of aggrandizement, but on the most benevolent principles of general interest. When the French were defeated, and reduced within their own territories, ministers affirmed, that *this* was not the moment to come forward with offers of peace. When they were successful, it was said, that we ought to persevere, till their existing government was replaced by a better system; and that their prosperity was not the time for our reconciliation. Such was the language with which every attempt to oppose the progress of bloodshed was resisted! Ministers, indeed, had not then developed all their schemes, nor avowed all their objects. They wished not to alarm the country with too extensive a plan of warfare, lest we should have been diverted from its prosecution, and inclined to peace. At this time, the debt incurred was seven millions; with an added annual charge upon the country of no more than 250,000*l*.

The next session of parliament opened with a speech from the throne, in which ministers (for the speech was ever to be considered that of the minister) expressed a different language. We

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then were told, that we were engaged in the contest, not merely for the defence of our allies, and to repel aggression, but to resist the progress of anarchy, impiety and irreligion, and that it was impossible to talk of peace till the monarchy of France was restored. Now it was that the most absurd plans were devised, and the most frantic projects conceived; and in the pride of momentary success, ministers hoped to rival the proudest of their predecessors in the proudest days England had ever seen. Infatuated men! they imagined that temples and trophies would be erected upon the mutilated carcases of their enemies.

In these wild and visionary expectations they were disappointed; but in their destructive career they were supported by this house! Inflamed with indignation (continued his grace) you too became unjust, and, as a learned prelate has recently observed, "assumed the right of that vengeance which belongeth not to man, but to the Deity alone." A few indeed there were, unblinded by this mistaken zeal; a few unawed by clamour, undaunted by prejudice, and undisturbed by calumny, who, as ardent friends to their country, opposed the minister. They contended, that if our views were directed to the conquest of the French, they were chimerical; if meant to sow dissension amongst them, vain: for that they only confirmed the power and strengthened the hands of the existing rulers. At the close of the session the same efforts were renewed, but without effect. Resolutions were formed in the

other house, to ascertain precisely the real object of the war: ministers contended that it was impolitic to state their reasons at such a moment, and asked, whether we were to treat, in the hour of victory, with jacobins? with men who had embued their hands in the blood of their sovereign; who called our king a tyrant, and our parliament usurpers? "No! let us die with arms in our hands!" was their boastful cry—"Never can we treat with jacobins!" But did they persevere in this high tone? did they discover a firmness in adversity corresponding to their presumption in success? Look at their conduct in the ensuing year, and see how these pretensions were justified. The session closed; and if peace had then been obtained, we should not have experienced the financial difficulties under which we since had laboured, nor should we have to dread the danger which now impended.

Next session the sentiments of the people had undergone a considerable change. The prospects held out to them had been disappointed, the appearance of a war of extermination now threatened them, when it was doubtful which party would be its victim. When the French were to be the objects, the idea was agreeable; but when it turned against ourselves, its aspect changed. Not merely out of doors, but in parliament itself this alteration had taken place. It was necessary therefore to use some management with those with whom the war was not popular. The distraction of the French republic; the disorder and approaching ruin of her finan-

ces; the cause of religion and social order, were insisted upon. Still, however, the desire of peace gained ground.

In the house of commons, those who had uniformly exerted themselves for its restoration made new attempts to pave the way for that object. Upon this occasion ministers moved an amendment, in which it was said that we were determined to persevere in the contest till such a government was established in France as might be able to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity. Not a word was added to explain when such a government was to be expected, or in what it would be allowed to consist. It was affirmed by the friends of peace, that it was necessary to abandon that system which led to extermination, and to treat at a period when, if unsuccessful, we should be able to continue the war with vigour. To this it was answered, Would we throw our country at the feet of France, and recognise her superiority? No—it was replied: but we had reason to distrust the capacity of those who had involved us in our present difficulties. Ministers, however, continued to exclaim, Would we treat with the republic? would we acknowledge that our king and parliament were unfit to govern us? would we surrender our West-India islands and our commercial advantages? They told us also, that the finances of the enemy were exhausted, and that he was incapable of maintaining the contest. Amidst all these topics, however, their lofty tone was softened; they no longer said they were fighting to restore the an-

cient government of France; their spirit sank as their difficulties increased, their concessions advanced in proportion as their embarrassments thickened; but this was no advantage to their country, it only produced disgrace, without promoting conciliation.

In the next speech from the throne, France was declared to have come to a crisis which might lead to peace. Many doubted the propriety of the steps taken to effect it: many suspected they were not sincere; some advances to negotiation, however, were made by Mr. Wickham to Barthelemi, the French envoy at Basle. The success of that application was well known, and its object was strongly suspected to have been merely to satisfy the prevailing inclination of the people. The conduct of lord Malmesbury, in the first instance, proved also, that if ministers were sincere, they must have been the most incapable administration that ever existed. A minister was sent with power to conclude, and not to treat, except for the emperor: and that was without his authority! Vain attempts had been made to obtain certain documents and papers, without which it was impossible to develop the true state of some very important points in the negotiation; and his grace confessed, that he was not able to form a correct opinion upon the subject. But as those documents were refused, he concluded that they contained nothing which could justify ministers in the demands of Belgium as a *sine qua non*. Notwithstanding the pretences upon which the war was said to be undertaken (as to give protection to the oppressed,

to check the career of ambition, and to defend property), what were the terms on which we proposed to conclude a peace? All the greater powers were to be benefited at the expense of the smaller. Whilst Poland was allowed to be divided without a remonstrance, schemes of partition were devised by those who pretended to interfere for the advantage of the weak, and the interest of all parties. France was to have retained some of her conquests, the emperor to have received compensation for his losses, and Great Britain to have taken the Dutch settlements in the east. Upon this occasion (as a *sine qua non*) Belgium was not to have remained with France. Lord Malmesbury's first negotiation was broken off upon this point, though it was the opinion of many (well calculated to judge) that it ought to have been ceded as the means of obtaining peace.

This surrender would have been yet more necessary had it been known that the Bank was in danger of stopping payment; and what must have been the capacity of those ministers, who, being warned of the consequences, persisted in measures which must induce them!

The duke proceeded to point out the difference of our situation now, and five years ago; the country was obliged to pay interest for a debt of 160 millions, the most enormous that ever was incurred in any war. This was the sum which it was thought necessary to expend for the destruction of jacobins! And, after all, the jacobin rulers still existed in France, and possessed more honour than ever they did! Not-

withstanding this debt, another was to be contracted; and an additional charge of nine millions and a half annually was to be laid on this country. A greater burden than the whole interest of the loan at the end of the American war! Could it be said that no blame attached to the men who had squandered so profusely the resources of the nation without fruit or advantage?

The war began in conjunction with the greatest confederacy ever known in Europe, and we were now without a single ally except Portugal! we were reduced to a state of inert self-defence; we had no prospect to cheer our gloom, or compensate for our sacrifices; and our exertions under the present ministry were as hopeless as they were incalculable. Whilst this was our outward situation, there was nothing in our internal state to afford us consolation; whilst our burdens increased our privileges had been abridged; we now were living under laws which were hostile to the best principles our ancestors had laboured to establish. But there was another topic which this review suggested; this was the affairs of Ireland: did not the ministry of this country, by the system which they pursued, alienate the affections of the sister kingdom? His grace declared, that if he were to enter into the detail of the atrocities committed in Ireland, the picture would appal the stoutest hearts. What could be expected, indeed, if men, kept in strict discipline, were all at once allowed to give loose to their fury and their passions? Yet it was not to the military to whom he

would impute the blame, but to those by whom their excesses had been permitted and encouraged. Certain it was that two distinct and opposite orders had been issued forth for regulating the conduct of the military; one by which they were restrained from acting without the magistracy, and the other by which they were allowed to *act without* them. These proceedings were sanctioned by government, and what would be the consequences? the loss of Ireland! A reform in parliament was absolutely necessary to check the influence of the crown, and the power of the aristocracy: to check that enormous influence which the minister had derived by the creation of peers, when peers were sent into the house by dozens.

(The duke was here called to order by lord Fauconberg, who said he had never heard such language poured forth in that house upon the members of it.)

His grace affirmed that he had uttered nothing injurious to the characters of those elevated to the peerage: they were men of talents, of consideration, and of property; but if all men of this description, or rather, of great landed property, were selected by the minister out of the house of commons, and sent up to that house, the independence of the commons must ultimately be affected. If no country gentlemen of wealth and consideration remained, the ministers would acquire the command of every election, especially supported as they were by all the influence which the overgrown revenue of this

country must everywhere place in his hands.

His grace next took notice of the calumnies which were cast upon all who opposed the measures of administration. They had been accused of inflaming the minds of the people, of being hostile to the constitution; nay, he himself had been charged with rejoicing in the success of the French against this country! He could not help considering it as a disadvantage to hold out to the enemy, that on landing here they would find supporters; but in case of invasion, who would be the men from whom the directory might hope assistance? from those mean sycophants of power, who readily and servilely followed every change, who had been the creatures of every one in authority, and whose loyalty depended on the times! Every Englishman well knew, that if the French succeeded, we should be the most degraded slaves that ever existed; and no reasonable person would believe that the opposers of faulty ministers would be the abettors of the French. His grace solemnly avowed, that for his own part, though he never would contribute to keep the present ministers in their places, he would exert every effort to repel invaders from our coasts. He would wait upon his sovereign's command to take arms in defence of his country, and in the foremost posts of danger prove his loyalty; suspending all difference of opinion till the attack was ended; but if he returned safe, he should return with the same abhorrence and detestation of the minister's conduct, and should

vow eternal enmity to his system—and, if ever he contracted any alliance with any administration upon any other basis than that he had described, or joined any set of men upon public principles different from those he had professed, he wished the just indignation of his country to pursue him, and the bitterest execrations of mankind to be his portion. The duke concluded by moving the following address:

“That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to represent, that, from the commencement of the war to the present moment, his majesty’s ministers have had all the advantages which could be derived from the entire confidence and support of parliament; that this confidence and support have given them the unlimited command and disposal of the power and revenue of these kingdoms; that, with means profusely furnished to obtain success, the counsels which have had the direction of this power, and the application of these resources, have been attended with no effect but to exalt France to her present formidable greatness, and in the same proportion to impair the relative situation of Great Britain, to expose her, with reduced strength and diminished resources, to all those dangers which it was alleged could be averted only by an early and successful combination to resist the principles, as well as the power, of the French government: and after an unavailing expence of blood and treasure, to compel his majesty’s ministers to open a negotiation for peace, by a total dereliction of all the principles on

which the war was said to be unavoidable; and by submitting to abandon those safeguards and defences, which, in the early period of hostilities, were insisted on as absolutely indispensable to the security of these kingdoms.

“That, without looking back to the causes of the war, or inquiring whether it might, or might not, have been avoided, and reserving for another moment all consideration of the charges which may hereafter be brought against those persons, who originally advised his majesty not to acknowledge the republic of France, nor to listen to any terms of accommodation, we think it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty the situation in which we are now placed.

“We are awed by the result of the war itself, and astonished at the conclusion drawn from it by his majesty’s ministers, who, with all the means of vigorous attack, have reduced us to a state of precarious defence, yet still have the confidence to assert, that in the same counsels, which have proved so incompetent in prosperity to direct with advantage the affairs of the nation, the best means are to be found of relief and security in our present difficulty and distress, and that we are still to look to them alone for the attainment of a safe and honourable peace.

“That this house, and every member of it, is ready to provide for a vigorous defence of the country, and will not shrink from any personal difficulty or danger that may attend the performance of this duty; that whatever differences may exist, with regard to the principles and policy of our

internal government, we are determined and unanimous in our resolution to resist all foreign interference. But, instructed as we are by a long series of events, and corrected by experience, we are bound by our duty, and compelled by necessity, to submit to his majesty our humble opinion, that the situation of the country is too critical, and the dangers that surround it are too serious, to admit of any farther trial of the same counsels which have constantly failed, or of the same persons for whose continuance in office, notwithstanding the heavy and unanswerable charges which have been brought against them, even themselves have nothing to plead but a feeble unavailing rectitude of intention constantly overpowered by the superior policy and vigour of the enemy, or a pretended apprehension, equally false and malignant, of the designs and principles of those whom his majesty might appoint to succeed them in the administration of public affairs—as if in the present cabinet were to be found the only efficient persons whose loyalty and attachment to the constitution were free from all suspicion and doubt.

“That, lamenting as we do, the failure of the late negotiations for peace, we beseech his majesty seriously to reflect, whether, when conducted by his present ministers, there could be any reasonable hope of their success. We have not forgotten their haughty and supercilious rejection of all offers of accommodation previous to the commencement of hostilities; and we too well remember the terms of inveterate and irre-

concilable enmity on which the contest was placed at the outset, and on which it has ever since been conducted, to hope for any conciliatory disposition between the enemy and the original advisers of the war. We cannot be surprised that any overture which may now be made by his majesty's ministers, after having wilfully neglected or insolently refused every favourable opportunity of negotiation, should be received as an acknowledgment of weakness and distress, rather than as a proof of a sincere disposition to peace.

“Farther, to represent to his majesty, that the situation of the country is in all respects pregnant with dangers unknown at any former period: our domestic distress is great, and is hourly increasing; the principles of our free constitution have been violated, and some of the most essential securities of our liberties destroyed: the connection with our sister kingdom is threatened with dissolution, and all the foundations of our importance and power in Europe are rendered precarious and uncertain. To extricate us from such difficulties requires much fortitude and wisdom; for these qualities we cannot look to his majesty's present advisers; under them we cannot hope for a successful prosecution of the war, still less for the conclusion of a secure and equitable peace.

“We therefore submit this our humble representation to his majesty, trusting that his majesty will see, as we do, the urgent and indispensable necessity of employing other persons, and of adopting other counsels.”

Lord Boringdon said, that the proposition was of a most plain and simple nature; at the same time it was of the utmost importance; for upon their lordships' rejection or adoption of it, depended in his opinion, the independence of the country, and the existence of the constitution. The duke, he said, in all his observations upon our present situation, had wholly abstained from speaking of it, with respect to the other powers of Europe. He had made no comparison between them and us, and had, consequently, given a very inadequate idea of our real state, estimated, as it had always been, by the consideration of its relation to others. The impression arising from such a discussion must have been, contentment and exultation at our own superiority, at the unrivalled blessings we enjoyed, at the dignified station in which we were held by all who looked with horror to the dominion of foreign tyranny, and to whom religion, liberty, and law, were still objects of veneration and love. Had the situation of the Batavian republic, of the Spanish monarchy, or of the neutral maritime powers, been stated: had his grace talked of the tranquillity of Italy or Switzerland; or had he expatiated on the happiness enjoyed even in the French republic, the effect must have been to raise in the opinion of the house those ministers, who, amid such a general wreck of empire, had preserved this country in a state of prosperity and vigour which in no former period had been exceeded. If such a sum as 160 millions had been added to the public debt,

with all those other calamities so eloquently, and, he must say, so *carefully*, enumerated in a time of tranquillity, the ministers might be considered as weak and wicked; but the contrary was the fact: that debt and those calamities had been the consequences of a war which had desolated Europe, and they were light when balanced with those of other nations. The restoration of monarchy in France had been at one time regarded as a means of peace, but he would ever deny that it had been the object of the war. In taking advantage of the royalist party, we had acted according to just and sound policy at the time, and according to the general practice of civilised nations. In all the wars in Europe, during the present century, the same conduct had been pursued. Louis the XIVth, on the one hand, and England and Austria on the other, took pains to influence the Spaniards, and secure their co-operation in what was commonly called the succession-war. The same principle occurred with regard to the powers which supported the interests of Charles VII. and Francis the First, as emperor of Germany: nor were the repeated succours afforded by France to James II. and his successors, against England, considered as contrary to the law of nations. Be this, however, as it might, he had authority for saying, that the restoration of monarchy was not our object in the present case. Tal-
lien addressed a public paper to the French nation, affirming, "that it was against France, and not against their republic, that England was fighting; and that

if France was to declare for a monarchy, England would support the republic." This was intelligible language, and could be supposed to mean nothing more or less than that it was not against any form of government in France, but against her gigantic and ambitious projects that England would oppose herself.

Upon another subject his lordship said, he was sorry to perceive the duke had not observed that strict delicacy which it demanded; namely, the situation of Ireland. Could any system of conciliation produce the effect of tranquillizing men who had avowed their determination to hear of nothing but what came from themselves? He was much surprised also to hear his grace descant on the numberless atrocities committed by the military in Ireland, and at the belief with which such accounts were received by this country.

Lord Moira had, a few months ago, brought forward this subject, and had been assiduous in collecting the instances he adduced: but it had been proved since, that he had been extremely mistaken in some of the principal cases which he had laid before the House. No one, continued Lord Boringdon, could be more friendly to plans of conciliation than himself: but he thought if the Irish legislature was now to adopt the two measures which were comprehended under the term, no possible good could result from it.

In proposing to the house the address, to remove the present Cabinet, it was calling upon their lordships to obliterate all remembrance of the former services of ministers, to forget that to them

we were indebted for the advantageous commercial treaty with France in 1788: to them we owed the improvements which the jurisprudence of this country had derived from juries, and from the decision of the question respecting the abatement of impeachment; the admirable system of finance which had raised the funds to the extraordinary pitch at which they had arrived, previous to the year 1793. Nor was this all; the duke had called for their removal at a period when the suspension of the powers of government, even for a week, must be attended with the most serious consequences; at a time when a conspiracy existed against all the old governments of the earth; when the power and animosity of the enemy were increased; when common spoil would not satisfy him: when he was actually at our gates; when his language was clear and decided;

"Actum," inquit, "nihil est, ni
Pœno milite portas
Frangimus, et mediâ vexillum pono
suburrâ."

This was precisely the moment when his grace had recommended to the house to address the king to change the whole executive government of the country! But what must be the effect of such a change? The British constitution would be committed to men whose ideas of parliamentary reform must necessarily weaken our means of national defence, and create disunion throughout every part of the kingdom.

Their lordships were totally unacquainted with the system on which this new government would act; several of the persons, most

likely to compose it, had virtually declared the house of commons to be no longer the representatives of the people. Would they condescend to resume their seats in that assembly? and would their first acts be proposed to the consideration of parliament, or ushered into the world through any other channel? In short, their intentions were unknown, or how far, in their desiring to obtain a nominal peace with France, they might humble this country at its feet, or be carried beyond their own plans in the prosecution of this favourite object—a *radical* reform.

The duke of Bedford here rose to explain, that the address could not have that effect: he had distinctly stated, that if there were men of integrity and talents in that house, and in the house of commons, on the removal of the present ministry, they might procure peace with France, and conciliate Ireland. He had not said, that if the present ministers were dismissed, they must necessarily be succeeded by others who were determined on a radical reform in parliament.

Lord Holland was surprised that the nobles who espoused the present ministers could assert, that this country was not in a state of unprecedented calamity: the rashness of the present administration had brought us into the war, and their incapacity had rendered it peculiarly disastrous.

The noble Lord, indeed, had admitted that our situation was pregnant with danger, whilst he boasted of the dignified state of the country. If then we were "threatened with a conspiracy," if the

enemy was at our gates; did we not need the assistance of men of abilities, fortitude, and vigour? and did not our situation require the house to withdraw its support from those who exhibited throughout their ministerial office a total insufficiency to discharge it properly?

That the present minister had great talents he did not deny; but they were talents unfitted for the present times.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus
istis,
Tempus eget.

Lofty declamation without energy, boasted eloquence without vigour, little cunning without wisdom, feeble efforts, or temporising expedients, would never rescue us from the impending evils. The authority of Tallien was adduced to prove that the restoration of monarchy in France was not our object; it was not the republic, but the French nation, against which we waged the war. This was true at one time, and at another false, as it happened to suit the views of ministers. Mr. Burke had maintained, that without a monarchy was established in France, there was no security in Europe; and whilst he was urging the necessity of overturning the republic, ministers thought it a proper pretext for attacking the nation, and thus unhappily contrived to enlist every man in France, whether republican or loyalist, against them. It was to the confusion of those two doctrines that we owed all the errors and calamities of the war, irritating and inflaming thereby all the French against this country. By this confusion of principle and du-

licity of conduct, and the obvious treachery of their views, did the allies enlist against themselves, not only the interests, but the vanity of France; for every individual felt it to be his duty to resist the combination of princes. England, as had been stated, was at that time in a condition of unexampled prosperity; yet flourishing as she was, she found it impossible to check the progress of France: and might we not presume that such miscarriages, so uniformly attending every plan of ministers, could only be owing to their want of capacity as statesmen?

They set out with a confident promise that the war would be of short duration: it had turned out otherwise: and it was natural for them to plead, and candid for us to admit, that so far they were in error: but if a long series of action was found to be but one long series of error; if, in a period of six years, changing from principle to principle, from expedient to expedient, they are not once in the right, were we not justified in saying they were unfit for their offices, and in requesting their dismissal?

But this, it is answered, would be ingratitude; they have rendered services to the country, and raised its finances to affluence. But should such a paltry evasion be deemed a justification for their having destroyed the finances of the country since? Let ministers restore them even to the state in which they stood previous to their boasted services: not only have they undone what they themselves did, but all that had been done before their times. Ought we, out of gratitude for a small and tempo-

rary benefit, to devote our country to them and to destruction?

At the beginning of every session we were told, "these are your expenses for this year"—and constantly the sum had been doubled before the end of the session. This was called "an unforeseen accident." Subsidies were unexpectedly found necessary, and the ordinary mode of supply was abolished. Here too, they pleaded error; but were they never cautioned against those subsidies? were there no men eminent for virtue and capacity, who predicted at the time, that the subsidised powers would desert the alliance, and that the treasures of the nation would be squandered in vain?

He would not dwell on the known desertion of Prussia; but Austria and Sardinia were subsidised to carry on the war. The Dutch did not desire our interference at all; and as they began the war, so they continued it, merely because we persuaded them. But happy would it have been for this country if ministers had subsidised these powers to make peace instead: unfortunate it was, that Austria was not persuaded so to do, before Belgium was lost! When Sardinia, in return for our subsidy, concluded peace with France, this was also "an unforeseen accident." The minister had been the most unfortunate man in the world in the multiplicity of his 'unforeseen accidents!' It was the admirable remark of the Marquess of Lansdowne, "that the allies, by their conduct in the war, would establish a military republic in the heart of Europe,"—and thus it had turned out!

Of Ireland, he had but few ob-

servations to offer; and the chief was, if conciliation would not produce tranquillity, would coercion? Was there any instance of such an effect proceeding from such measures? Had the war with France or with America, both of which inspired their advocates with the most sanguine hopes, afforded us any reason to put confidence in force? His majesty's present ministers indeed were not likely to tranquillise Ireland by conciliation; how could they, when their concession had always been known to proceed from fear? and when they refused to supplicate what they granted to menace? when they never accorded any thing to the Irish without the preliminaries of refusal and resistance. And it was thus the rulers of France argued, and hence arose their reluctance to make peace till they could exact from the fear and feebleness of administration that which they would despair of obtaining from any other set of men. Observing in our domestic policy the nature of our minister, and his jealousy of the people, they reasonably thought he did not ask for peace in its true spirit, but because he would appease clamours at home by the pretext of negociation. The directory therefore had withheld that peace, which, if any other men were our ministers, they would have found it their interest to grant.

The British minister, who was so dignified, that he would hold no terms with the murderers of the king of France, had sent a plenipotentiary over to crouch to one of the very worst of his murderers: and the enemy judging by

this, that by waiting longer they would have more ample concessions, repulsed him; for the *malus animus* was no more dead amongst the rulers of France than amongst ours.

Lord Holland concluded with supporting strongly the address for dismission of the ministers.

The Marquess of Downshire affirmed, that no conciliation would save Ireland: if, indeed thereby was meant, that the king of Great Britain should no longer be acknowledged by Ireland, and that that country should become a province of France, that point might be obtained by conciliation: but he confidently could declare, that it was the general wish of that kingdom to stand or fall by this. Every syllable which a noble earl had stated upon certain necessary measures had been contradicted by facts. There were indeed two sets of people in Ireland; one said they wished only the emancipation of the catholics, the other parliamentary reform; in which they were not sincere. They made use of these pretexts to deceive the vulgar and the ignorant. He confessed he was not afraid of the effects of coercion, although he liked concession in the right place: but not of that kind which must endanger the state. Ever since our sovereign had ascended the throne, concession had been granted after concession. Ireland had a free trade, as free as could be securely made with regard to the other parts of his majesty's dominions. Every catholic was free who chose to be so—that was, as free as the safety of the state would admit. Were the catholics to have an equal share in

the government as the protestants, the government and the country would be lost. He was sorry to be obliged, to say, that coercion was absolutely necessary in Ireland, to check and prevent the designs of the united Irishmen. But their efforts were now becoming more feeble, and the deluded people had awakened to a sense of duty and allegiance by these measures. He could not but observe that the united Irishmen would never have committed such atrocities if they had not received support from the clubs and societies of this country; and he was ashamed to see that too many noblemen gave strength to these societies, by belonging to them. The menaces of assassination, and the murders, so shocking to human nature, which they had perpetrated, were to be attributed to the principles which had been disseminated by the emissaries of France, by the corresponding societies, and by those who had affiliated themselves to the directory. Believing this, he had only to add his decided negative to the address.

Lord Romney said, it had been observed by lord Holland, that the two wars had been owing to the want of parliamentary reform—now he could affirm (for he was in parliament during the whole of the American war) that if ever there was a war ended by parliament, it was *that*, to the great joy and exultation of the country. He did not see the slightest ground for the present motion: ministers possessed the public opinion as much as at any period of administration, and they deserved the thanks, not the censure of the house. This war had not

been unsuccessful; in no spot upon the whole globe had we lost a single point. The enemy had been blocked up in their own ports, and dared not attack us, even within a league of their coasts, for they had not attempted it at Guernsey or Jersey. Dispiriting language ill became us; we ought to remember the situation in which we stood last year, when surrounded with so many domestic difficulties, and so many domestic enemies. How was the picture changed! Men of every description were now eager to show their zeal in the cause of their country, and to contribute to the government under which they were so happy as to live. Respecting Ireland, he referred the house to the testimony of the Marquess of Downshire, who, from his connections in that kingdom, had much better information than any other person.

It was a matter of indifference to him who were the ministers, provided they did their duty; and our capability of carrying on the war with more resources this year than last, he considered as the effect of the wise policy of the present administration. So clear was his conviction on this point, that if this motion (which had his total disapprobation) was not carried, he should vote for approving the conduct of ministers during the progress of the war.

Earl Darnley rose next, and argued for a considerable time against the proposed address. He said, he did not mean to deny there might be many men in the kingdom competent to form an administration besides his Majesty's ministers, or his grace's parti-

cular friends; but he ever should maintain that it was novel in the practice of the constitution, that the crown should entrust its power to men unknown to the country, either as to their characters or principles, which must be the case if neither any person at present in administration, or avowedly in opposition to it, was admitted.

The question was called for, and the lord chancellor began to read the motion, when the Marquess of Lansdowne addressed the house. He said, the question before them was, whether the present ministers were capable or incapable of conducting the affairs of the country at this critical juncture? Judgment was to be decided by their past conduct; for there was no other way to judge, but by the conduct and actions of men.

To form an accurate opinion, we had only to examine what they had promised, and what they had performed; and if they had promised any thing which they had not performed, what reasons could be alleged for their failure? If they had been proved to have acted as wise men ought to have acted, let them not only be free from censure, but let them receive applause; for that man must be weak and wicked who could advise the sovereign to dismiss ministers who had acted well. It would be dangerous to suspend the operations of government at such a time, even for three days, without an administration. He spoke not with party spirit; there were men on each side whose talents he most highly respected.—The duke, whose motion was now before the house, possessed an integrity of mind

which could not be appreciated beyond its value; and if it should appear that the ministers had reduced the nation from affluence to poverty, and, with the command of the wealth of our country, brought into that very state in which declared often the enemy to be, and all this by negligence or incapacity, it would be the duty of their lordships to address their sovereign with petitions to dismiss them.

The Marquess then referred to the American war; he remembered, he said, how much the passions were interested on that subject also, and that every person who attempted to address the judgment of the people was stigmatised and calumniated; he lived to see all that false ardour abate, but not until great mischief had followed. Would to Heaven the danger was not now much greater! for the evils of that war were nothing in comparison with those of the present. Bold and unqualified assurances of success had been repeatedly made in that and in the other house: similar declarations were promulgated in the time of the American war; yet every one of them were contradicted by the events which took place: and so it had been in this. With regard to allies, it was affirmed, they never would forsake us; when any thing was urged against them it was considered so dangerous, that a public discussion was said to embroil the safety of the country.

The coalition of the powers against France was represented as an irresistible force, far above that confederacy formed in the reign of Queen Anne. Nay, he

had heard it called a libel upon his Imperial Majesty to doubt the solvency of the court of Vienna; for actions to the amount of 400*l.* for every 300*l.* were deposited in the Bank to make good the payments of the imperial loan. The idea of the emperor making peace without us was so absurd, that its statement was not to be endured. The French were said to be in a state of penury: that in Paris, and all the provinces, they were reduced to their last penny; that they had issued milliards in paper, which had been spent in a single campaign; and which, amounting to the sum of one hundred and seventy-two millions sterling, they could never pay; and that it was impossible for them to go on: whereas, we had a million surplus, besides our sinking fund; in short, that our property was unbounded, whilst they had not any. The war, also, was to secure our property, which would be done so completely, notwithstanding the war, that we should never be called upon to go out of the ordinary course of taxation. Let these promises be compared with facts. Added to them, we were assured of great success upon the continent; from which we were now driven, nor could any thing protect us from mischief there, but the total insignificance to which we were reduced. And what period had there been, till the present, in the history of Europe, when Great Britain dared not show herself upon the continent, and was blotted out of the map! We had no ambassador to see or represent any thing respecting our balance of power, which we now had lost, and lost

through the mismanagement of ministers!

Lord Holland, (continued the Marquess) asked, the other day, for some papers relative to Belgium being insisted upon as a *sine qua non* of peace: had he been in the house he would have saved him the trouble, because ministers had no such papers to produce: if they had, what could possess them to make that absurd demand upon the French, on the 27th of December, 1796? They then insisted on the restoration of the Milanese and the whole of Savoy; and that every thing should be put on the footing of the *status quo ante bellum*. In less than four months after, it appeared that the emperor had opened a negociation with the French, stipulating, as a preliminary, not to insist upon any of those points which our ministers insisted upon for him. Could they have done this, had they received communications from the court of Vienna? This negociation opened the 17th of April, 1797. But what was become of the milliards of paper which were to bear down the finance of France? These they had got rid of, at the expense to their government of only six millions sterling; and they had also contrived to continue the war, which had been pronounced by our ministers impossible. Their paper was extinct, instead of being extended. But what was our state of finance? We were driven to every desperate resource: somebody said something of swindling, and this was very near the truth. With regard to subscriptions, he must repeat what had been said by Mr. Burke, who had great

weight with ministers: "It was one step towards the dissolution of all property." We were going all over the country, making public and chartered bodies apply the property entrusted to them for certain uses to the exigencies of government.—The Bank of England is made to give 200,000*l.* without the advice of its council. Why had they a council? Why should they throw away their own money, and the money of others at the feet of the executive government? It was contrary to the principles of justice, and contrary to the rules of law.

There was another point which demanded serious consideration: it had been said, in another house, "that offices and places were held by a stronger tenure than any freehold." This was a doctrine which should never go unrefuted by him: to consider offices and places under the crown of equal or superior weight with freehold property was a most dangerous principle. Offices were obtained by accident, intrigue, or court corruption, and ought never to be placed on the footing of a freehold. If property was insecure, liberty would soon become so; indeed, property might sooner subsist without liberty, than liberty without property.

The Marquess next expatiated upon the folly of the ministers, in endeavouring to extend our empire by conquest: it was pleasing to weak minds, because it extended patronage; but, in a national view, it was destructive. We had conquered islands, and given them up. Corsica had been ours, at an immense expense, and was resigned; and it would have been

well if we had abandoned our mad schemes of conquest in St. Domingo. Of the state of Ireland he thought differently from the Marquess of Downshire; he believed it was held from one end to the other by military tenure. That very day he had received accounts, not from a politician, who coloured facts to suit his system; not from a man who was paid for writing news; but from a plain individual, who affirmed, that the farmers in Ireland were declining their tillage! What a scene of calamity did this open! at least, it was the possibility of a famine in one part of the empire. But to look at it upon a larger scale; what was the British empire? It consisted of Great Britain and Ireland, with its dependencies, which he conceived to be a considerable burden in any but a commercial view. Even India was only of importance for its wealth; and that was little advantage compared with the losses of life and corruption of morals which it occasioned. Scotland was said to be quiet, that there were no distrusts, reigning between the gentry and the labourers, and leading to disaffection; though the state of trials would scarcely lead one to this conclusion. But the time might soon arrive when England must support Scotland to carry on a war in Ireland; and in this way, if the country was made of gold, and men sprang up as mushrooms, we could not long continue this system. If we were secure from invasion, the want of money would destroy our efforts.

He much objected to coercion; it required superior talents to adopt measures of lenity: we might not

always hear of a Richelieu, or an Oliver Cromwell; and, from the earliest history of mankind, the precedents were twenty to one in favour of gentle measures. The difference between a wise and a weak man was, that the wise man saw an event three days before the other.

Respecting the specific motion before the house, the Marquess said, though he had always been inclined against similar motions, he was for this, from the experience of 1782, where he found ministers called in to make a peace, and then dismissed. He called for the dismissal of the present ministers immediately, because we were in a desperate situation, and no time was to be lost. Let us but have an administration which could procure tranquillity, and it would achieve great good, although those who were now in power should return to it, and those who procured peace were to be hanged for their trouble.

Lord Mulgrave defended the conduct of ministers, especially as it respected the finances of this country. So far, he said, had this conduct been from any thing approaching to swindling, that our engagements had been most punctually and honourably fulfilled, and the capacity and uprightness of ministers thereby evinced. The confidence of the people also was forcibly proved, by the spirit and alacrity with which they now pressed forward with voluntary subscriptions in aid of the growing exigencies of the state. If there were any objection to be urged against administration, it was, their manifesting a desire to enter into negotiations with France when

there was no probability of success. Respecting the last, he believed there was no difference of opinion as to the cause of its termination, nor would it admit an argument in favour of the enemy.

His lordship inveighed with great force and ability against the principles of the united Irishmen, who, he said, were prepared to throw their country into the hands of France; but if it was ever so unfortunate as to fall under the tyranny of the directory, it might now anticipate the horrors of slavery, by reflecting on the situation to which they had reduced all who had listened to their invitations of fraternity. These were the fatal effects which he deprecated, and on these he rested his resistance to a conciliation with the rebels of Ireland, and his defence of the present ministers; for if they could not make peace, as was stated by the duke, nor conciliate Ireland, as was affirmed by Lord Holland, was there not reason to apprehend that France, viewing a change of ministers, as a change of the system of the war, as an acknowledgment that we were the original aggressors, would extend her demands with the lamentations of the new ambassador, and grow in insolence as the ministers of the new creation enlarged their sympathies and professed their griefs? He was not for entrusting power to the hands of any men whom the French would regard as their friends; nor did he think it either safe or expedient to remove ministers, who enjoyed the confidence of the country, to make room for those who were supposed less objectionable to the directory; and under these circum-

stances he could not approve the motion of his grace.

Lord Grenville considered the present motion as much more important to the future interests of the country, than in its reference to the conduct and character of the whole British nation. It related less to these than to the system on which the Parliament and people of England were now acting in opposition to the arms and principles of France. In order to decry this system, and induce the nation to confess the crimes and folly, the injustice and cruelty, with which his grace had charged them, the duke had revived all the unfounded allegations respecting the principle of the war, so often made in that place, and so often rejected. The decisive proofs upon this subject were to be found in the journals of the house, not in loose recollection and in vague report. The speeches with which the King had opened and concluded each session of Parliament afforded authentic records of the language of government concerning the origin, grounds, and progress of the war. There were many declarations besides which the house had made at different periods, to obviate misrepresentation. Why were not these appealed to? This was his defence of Parliament against the imputation of its having varied its language, or disguised its objects—of having engaged in the war for the restoration of monarchy, or having pursued it with any other view than that of obtaining an honourable peace for this country.

But, it was asserted, that ministers had pledged themselves that

the allies would never desert them. Was it possible such a pledge could have been given, or that Parliament should ever require it? The British government could not control the conduct of foreign powers. They had, indeed, alleged, particularly in the case of Austria, the various motives of good faith, honour, and dignity, of interest, and even of security, which ought to induce that power to abide by its engagements with Great Britain; and if they had not yet been taught, that by shaking the public faith of their governments, they had shaken the foundation of their thrones, we might regret the circumstance for their sake, and lament it for our own; but we could not, in justice, impute the blame of blindness to men who acted on more honourable principles and with a wiser policy. We had also this consolation, that if we contend alone, it is against an enemy exhausted by the effects of that very system of alliance so condemned. What able statesman would decline availing himself in a just contest of useful allies, because there could be no certainty of their permanent assistance; or would refuse a powerful aid, because it might possibly be withdrawn before the termination of the war?

In all the statements of our progress and miscarriages, not the slightest mention had been made of our naval triumphs: on the affairs of the continent, in which we had only a secondary interest, opposition had dwelt with peculiar emphasis; but on that which was the primary object of Great Britain, not a word had been uttered. The house was adjured to dismiss

the ministers, without examining the principal feature in their cause. For the system of foreign courts, which we could not direct; for the success of military plans which we could not control; for the operations of distant armies, in which we had not the smallest share; the character and conduct of ministers was attacked. Of that which is immediately within the sphere of British government, which claims the first duty of administration, and the first attention of Parliament, all consideration is banished. Against this mode of trial, his lordship said, he must decidedly protest: in that part of the war which belonged to England, and in which alone our conduct could appear entire and unmixed, we had obtained successes which surpassed the most brilliant examples of our ancestors. It was with these that he was not afraid to compare the present war, demanding of his opponents what other period of our history could be found, in which, after the decisive and glorious victories gained over the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, the British navy had rid triumphant at the same moment at the mouths of Brest, Cadiz, and the Texel.

“But we had evinced a disposition to continue the war beyond the time when peace could have been obtained.”

It was difficult to meet an assertion which did not specify the time to which it referred. As a general assertion, he denied it in the most unequivocal terms; but as far as he could collect the time alluded to, it was that of Robespierre, of whom he could not speak in terms of abhorrence

equally forcible with those used by every Frenchman. He mentioned the name to remind their lordships of the system of terror then pursued. There was then no government in France, unless a reign of assassins, butchers, and executioners, deserved to be called so. There was no tendency to peace, unless it could be found in the reports of Barrere, who first brought forward the comparison of Rome and Carthage, who then first announced the principle *Delenda est Carthago*, leaving to his successors the first example of that language since so completely adopted by the French directory.

If other proof were wanting, it might be found in that decree of giving no quarter to the British troops; a decree, which in justice to the French troops, little as he was disposed to praise them, he must say, that even they had refused to execute. So far was he from thinking that, at that moment, there was any real chance of negotiation, that he believed, from his soul, that any British minister, then sent to Paris, would have been sent to the guillotine with the rest of the victims. From the fall of Robespierre, every opportunity which pointed towards peace had been eagerly embraced; the question of the negotiation at Paris had that night been revived—often as it had been discussed before; but his grace had brought forward an accusation so extraordinary, that he could not refrain expressing utter astonishment at it. The duke had affirmed, “that the plan of peace offered by Great Britain rested on the partition and spoliation of the little powers of Europe.” Spain and Holland had

never before been considered under the description of "little powers,"—nor would it have been regarded as a proof of pacific disposition, if we had announced at Paris, that peace must be deferred till Russia, Austria, and Prussia, were compelled (by what means he knew not) to restore the ancient limits of Poland.

We were no parties to that partition which we had always reprobated, but which we had no means to prevent, much less to rescind after its completion. Holland, when we were first driven into the war, was a friendly independent power, with whom rested the defence of those possessions which we considered as the keys of the British empire in India. We offered to France, that if she could replace Holland in that situation of independence and amity towards us, we would restore those conquests; adding, that we would weigh to what extent our own safety would allow us, to relax from demands in which that consideration had formed the principal ingredient.

So far from plundering the little powers, the project had been expressly framed to prevent such a measure. If, by the restoration of our conquests from France, we could have procured the Netherlands for the emperor, all plea for those extensive schemes of partition now in agitation would have been removed. The failure of that plan had led to the system now pursued at Rastadt, without the concurrence of Great Britain. Of the negotiation at Lisle, the duke had found it impossible to speak in terms contrary to the sentiments of the country upon it; and therefore he had contented

himself with blaming the choice of the negotiator. On this, he should only remark, that he was now censured for employing a man on whose conduct, in the most difficult situation, neither malignity nor faction could fix the slightest imputation.

The subject of "radical reform," for some reason of management or intrigue, seemed to be put less forward in this night's debate than formerly: the light was thrown on other parts of the picture, whilst this was shaded over, and kept with care in the back ground. Still, however, it was there: the duke had declared he would never belong to any government that did not carry through this radical reform; and had concluded his speech with imprecations on himself if ever he acted with the present ministers who were hostile to it. Whatever dislike his grace might feel to their system, it could not possibly exceed the detestation which they entertained for the principles and conduct of radical reformers. Their opinion, indeed, was the same which had been delivered by Condorcet, who, when he announced with joy that the patriots of England were labouring in that cause, added, that from such reform the transition would be short to the establishment of a complete republic.

The duke, indeed, had consented that the new ministers should postpone the question in England; but in Ireland, he required, that it should be carried immediately: nor was this all; peace must be procured with France notwithstanding her inveterate hostility to us: and a noble Mar-

guess had said, what he seemed to think a matter of much indifference to the house, though to the new minister it might be a matter of some consideration, "that the peace must be made, though the person who made it would probably be hanged." The principles on which such a peace was likely to be effected could easily be collected; in addition to all our 'injustice,' in opposing it, we must humble ourselves to the directory, and confess our sincere repentance for the bloodshed and carnage they had occasioned. The marquess had given the house an estimate of the value of our foreign possessions; perhaps the directory, out of pity, and in consideration of our humility, would deliver us from some part of the burden under which we complained; they might possibly have the goodness to relieve us of Jamaica, to take upon themselves the defence of our Indian possessions; perhaps even to discharge us from the weight of Bengal: and though we might lose the best part of our commerce, more than half our revenue, and the whole supply of our naval strength, we should certainly remain a light, disburdened, well-compacted power, peculiarly fitted to resist the future enterprises of France, and to defend ourselves against that tyranny which even the noble lord had described as the utmost of human misery. If these were the conditions of the peace, he seriously believed the marquess's prediction would be verified—"the ministers who made it would be hanged;" and he was sure they would deserve to be so.

But the house had heard that

night another matter of no slight importance; the corresponding societies had been mentioned: what these societies were, their publications, their meetings, were in the memory of their lordships.

Lord Downshire had told them, that even the united Irishmen would not have proceeded to their enormities without these encouragements. Yet with these very societies the duke and his party were suspected to have formed a mysterious enigmatical connection. He trusted this suspicion would be cleared up—he hoped no member of that house could have the smallest difficulty in disavowing the charge, and he solemnly called upon the duke to do so.

For himself, and those with whom he had the happiness of being connected, he had explained the motives of their conduct; it was for the house to decide upon the question; it would not affect the principles on which they acted, anxious only to bear their part, whatever it might be, in that noble stand which placed this country at this moment in a state of greater consideration and respect in Europe, than ever she had acquired at the head of the most triumphant league. If they were anxious for glory, it was the glory of resistance, first in labour, first in danger, and, he trusted, not last in honour!

The Marquess of Lansdowne in reply said, the noble lord derived no inconsiderable aid from a loud voice, a confident manner, and an authoritative air, the usual concomitants of office. But nothing should prevent his maintaining what no false representations could

do away. He denied the arguments used by the secretary of state: he contended that it was not the interest of France, any more than of this country, to divide the German empire, and to dissolve a number of the small independent states which for so many years formed the bulwarks, and preserved the balance of Europe, and to divide them, so as to add them to three or four great powers. To this the republic was driven. Great Britain had refused reasonable conditions of peace, which France was anxious to obtain, and the only alternative left to the latter was to hang round the emperor, and make the best terms she could with him. It was not to the time of Robespierre that he alluded, when he spoke of the best opportunity of making peace; though even then advantageous terms might have been made; and he saw no reason why peace might not be concluded at this moment. His lordship concluded with lamenting the dangers of the present contest, saying, that in a few months it might create a question about the people's liberties, and their lordships' properties; but Heaven forbid it should ever touch the crown!

The Duke of Bedford rose to observe, that the secretary of state had been driven to his usual miserable shifts, and again assimilated his own fate with that of the country, to avert the vengeance of an irritated and injured people. He felt no surprise at being himself calumniated; and he was now determined to trouble them no more, since his conduct, and not the distresses of the country, was made the subject of discussion. Their lordships could

best judge whether he had formed any mysterious and enigmatical connection with the corresponding societies, or with any set of men who were traitors to their country. He was now called to answer a charge alleged in most extraordinary terms, such as "management, intrigue, and trick," and it might astonish the house that to such charges he made no reply. There was such a thing as true honour, and there were characters who imbibed it from their infancy. Those who possessed it were as little capable of suspecting others of meanness "and mysterious enigmatical connection" as they were of practising it. He should be sorry if the house imagined him capable of descending to such low and degrading resources; but to those who did suspect him he should make no reply, but a declaration of sovereign contempt for them, their character, their conduct, and their opinions!

The question was called for, and the house divided, on the duke's motion.

Non-contents 88, proxies 25—113.
Contents 11, proxies 2—13.

As soon as the division was over, Lord Romney moved the following resolution:

"Resolved,

"That in a crisis, in which all the interests of the country are at stake, we have seen the zeal and public spirit of every rank rising in proportion to the magnitude of the occasion, and animated by the same sentiments: we deem it an indispensable duty, instead of distracting the council of our sovereign by proposals of change, to renew the declaration

of our adherence to the principles which have governed his counsels, and in which the parliament has uniformly concurred for the security of these kingdoms against fo-

rein attack, and for the maintenance of our religion, laws, and constitution."

The resolution was carried *ne-mine contradicente*.

CHAPTER XIV.

Proceedings consequent upon the Alarm of Invasion. Bill to enable the Supplemental Militia to enlist into the Line. Bill for the better Defence of the Realm. Revival of the Alien Bill. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Bill for manning the Navy. Conversation which led to the Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney.

THE threats of invasion which the enemy perpetually held out, and the magnitude of the preparations which were known to be carried forward in the ports of France, called for corresponding defensive exertions in the British government.

On the thirtieth of December, 1797, Mr. Secretary Dundas acquainted the house of commons, that a great number of men had been raised under the supplemental militia act, passed in the last session of parliament, and had been employed for the public service. It had happened, that many of the men, composing this militia, having enlisted into his majesty's regular service, were reclaimed as militia men, and, as the law now stood, were obliged to be restored, to the manifest prejudice of his majesty's service. The object of a bill which he now intended to move for, was to remedy that defect, by enabling any man, if desirous of enlisting, so to do, without being afterwards reclaimed as a militia-man: nor should the parish be obliged to replace him. This plan would add to the

general and regular force of his majesty's arms, without any additional expence to the public. Mr. Dundas's motion, for leave to bring in a bill to this effect, was agreed to.

In a committee of the whole house on this bill, on the third of January, 1798, general Fitzpatrick expressed a wish, which he had before suggested, to see the bill extended, if it were possible, to the whole military. By the provisions, which were to receive the sanction of the committee, a limited time was fixed for the engagement of the militia soldier, who should enlist in the regulars, while, in all the regular troops, the engagement of the soldier ended only with life: an inequality which would have a tendency to create confusion, and excite discontent.

Mr. Dundas said, that whatever opinion he might entertain now, or hereafter form, respecting the suggestion of the honourable general, there was nothing in it that could lie as an objection to the present bill, which only enabled militia-men voluntarily to extend

the *limits* of their service, without extending its *duration*: and without interfering at all with their present engagements. The clauses into which the bill was divided were read, one by one, and agreed to. The duration of the bill, by one of these, was limited to six months after the conclusion of a general peace: and the number of men to pass over from the supplementary militia to the regulars, was confined to 10,000, or at the utmost to one-fifth of the number of that body. This bill, having been carried through the usual stages, was read a third time, and passed in the house of commons, on the fifteenth of February; and in the house of lords on the 20th of April.

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1798, Mr. secretary Dundas moved the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the security and defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures as should be thought necessary. The house, he said, would go along with him in the opinion, that the zeal and spirit which, so much to the honour of this country, did exist, should be reduced to a system, that, when the people were called forth, to exertions, in the cause of the country, they might act with regularity; that, in place of that confusion which must naturally be the consequence of any alarm of an approaching or invading enemy, every man, desirous of coming forward to repel that enemy, might distinctly know the part he was called on to act.

Feeling all possible confidence in

the general disposition of the people, he should think that the executive government did not enable the zeal and spirit of the country to come forward most effectually, were a measure like the present not adopted and pursued. Many reasons might be assigned for the zeal which distinguished the present period; however, it was sufficient to mention one, viz. that we were fighting for the deepest stake that ever any country had at issue in any contest. This was the opinion of wise men, even in the early stages of the French revolution. Mr. Dundas next made some remarks on the conduct of the French convention relative to their multiplied attempts to introduce anarchy among the people of England, by the emissaries of sedition and revolt. Happily, however, he remarked, the evil spirit had been discovered while lurking insidiously in the silence of the haunts of sedition, and the enemies of order. The honourable secretary did not think it necessary to enter into a detail of the acts of parliament to prove that such was the state of things at that period, he thought it enough to mention it generally.—He said it was now his wish to state the object of the bill; in truth, it had two or three objects of importance connected with it. Already some counties had expressed a wish to adopt measures in their nature similar. For instance, Dorset, where propositions were made by the men of property, which induced the sheriff to hold several meetings; but as from the nature of his office, he could only call out the *posse comitatus* in cases limited by circumstances

of mere local urgency, these meetings had no other effect than that of giving a collected expression to the patriotism of that county. In other counties, the lord lieutenants had done more; but it was doubtful whether even *they* could go beyond certain bounds. It was the object of this bill to provide for every possible emergency, by giving a power to his majesty to discover who were the persons prepared to appear in arms embodied for their own defence. Another provision of the bill was to see what number of the inhabitants of certain districts would be able to act as pioneers, or in other laborious situations. He also remarked, that in the crisis of real danger, some persons might be influenced by motives of personal safety, or the natural wish of preserving their property, which might lead some to withdraw from their country; the present bill, however, would provide, that should the property of individuals be destroyed by a marching army, or fall into the enemy's hands, or be taken for the service of the country, indemnification should be rendered according to its value. The other provisions were, that in the event of its being necessary to employ persons as pioneers, to remove stock, or assist in facilitating the carriage of military stores, proper compensation would be made. The bill, he observed, was intended to give a power of embodying also a portion of the regular militia, and employing them in the defence of the country.—Upon these broad principles of justice, he was confident the spirit of the country would be exerted; and he believed that

there was nothing that could infuse confidence into a people, and make them feel that their security depended on the measures taken for their defence, but enabling them to unite to defend themselves. Mr. Dundas next made some remarks on the conduct of certain individuals in this country, who, under the pretext of a parliamentary reform, were corresponding with the enemy on subjects highly treasonable. It must be obvious, that, however plausible associations for reform might be at other times, the present was not a period fit either to propose or to discuss that question. After making some observations on the conduct of the French towards Genoa, Venice, and Swisserland, who had announced, he said, to their troops, that every battle gained, was an advantage over England—such an enemy, he said, it became us to oppose, who sought for nothing less than the destruction of our fleet, the annihilation of our commerce, and the overthrow of our constitution. He then moved, “That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty more effectually to provide for the security and defence of these realms, and to indemnify persons who may suffer injury in their property by the operation of such measures.”

General Tarleton did not rise to oppose the motion; but whatever might be the danger apprehended by ministers, he believed there did not exist in the country any body of men exclusively attached to France. The country, however, abounded in military resources, which, if rightly managed, would enable it to resist any

enemy. In his opinion, the best way of providing for our defence would be to examine the parts most vulnerable; and there to put ourselves in a situation to resist the enemy. He could not be so well informed as ministers were relative to the preparations going on in France; but it did not appear to him that they were such as could induce a belief in the probability of a speedy invasion. That they meant to make an attempt was evident, by the preparations in their dockyards; and though much had been said of the impracticability of a successful descent on our coast, whatever was the situation of some places, he entertained no doubt of the practicability of landing. The general observed, that the military operations of France were conducted on a plan different from that of any other European power; a plan which had abolished the old transport system, while it facilitated the debarkation of troops: this, joined to the uncertainty of the spot in which the enemy would land, induced him to recommend that all the attention of government might be directed to the defence of the metropolis, in the environs of which, he thought the efficient force of the country ought to be concentrated. He remarked, that it was no information to the French, and that he was therefore in order when he stated, that between London and any part of the coast there was no fortified place to resist the progress of the enemy. If they effected a landing, it must be at a considerable distance from the metropolis, perhaps 150 miles. Six days must elapse in per-

forming this march, during which period an advantageous situation might be taken to defend the capital. The general concluded by saying, that he had thrown out these observations from a sense of his duty to the house and the country, but that he would not oppose the measure.

General Delancy said a few words in answer to general Tarleton. He remarked it was not true that no preparations had been made to put the country in a proper state of defence. The illustrious commander-in-chief had, he knew, with great productive diligence, applied himself to the consideration of the state of the country, and was able to draw out the forces to the best advantage.

Sir William Pulteney approved the plan which had that day been offered to the house, although he could have wished that a similar one had been brought forward at an earlier moment: but it was not yet too late, and in consequence of its lateness, the country had only to use greater exertions. He agreed with the honourable general, that the metropolis ought to be guarded with a very great force; and also all the other great towns throughout the kingdom. With regard to the assertion of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas), that there was a large body of people in the country who wished to favour the designs of the enemy; for his part, he was sure that there were scarcely any of such a description; and if there were they must be very few. Whatever opinions might have been once entertained concerning the French, he would venture to say they were now changed. He knew

that many persons, in a moment of warmth, would say things of which they afterwards repented; and there was no circumstance that could serve to rouse the spirit and indignation of the country more effectually than the recent example of *Swisserland*.

Mr. Nicholls did not rise to oppose the measure, but to declare it as his opinion, that all the exertions which could be made in consequence of this plan could produce but little effect, if the present system of coercion in *Ireland* was continued. There was no chance of making any effectual resistance whilst the people of the sister kingdom were kept down and oppressed: for the remaining part of the empire, he observed, could be but feebly supported. He made some remarks on the success of the French, relative to *Austria* and *Rome*; and said, that *Naples* and *Spain* were in danger of experiencing the same fate. No person could lament the fate of *Swisserland* more than he did. But what was the cause of the calamities of the Swiss? It was the divisions which had existed among them, which prevented them from making the necessary preparations to resist an invasion. Such, he said, must be the fate of this country, if that dreadful division existed between *England* and *Ireland*. It was of the most serious importance to consider of lenient measures, and the well-wishers of the British constitution should try all means, and do every thing in their power, to put an end to those dreadful divisions.

Mr. Wilberforce conceived it necessary for him to rise to give his support to the present mea-

sure; because he perceived there were some gentlemen on the opposite side of the house who, although they pretended to support it, yet gave it a kind of secret opposition. In his opinion, it became every man to be unanimous on an occasion like the present. He made some remarks upon what had fallen from the honourable baronet relative to the measure not having been adopted sooner. He observed, that for these three or four years past, the same plan was acted upon in spirit, and that similar measures, all tending to the defence of the country, had been adopted during the whole of that time. In that county, which he had the honour to represent, he could say, that great numbers of the people, who had never been in the habit of understanding military affairs, had come forward long ago, and offered their services for the defence of the country.

The people of *Yorkshire* highly approved of the conduct of his majesty's present ministers, which they knew to be directed to the safety and advantage of the country. He would not trouble the house with any more observations, he found it necessary thus to declare what were the sentiments of his constituents, as well as to express the satisfaction he felt at hearing the present plan proposed.

Mr. Buxton said a few words in support of the present measure, and observed that he had proposed something similar in the counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where it had been approved of; and it was determined that carts and waggons should be in a state of readiness to carry away the pro-

perty of farmers living near the coast.

Mr. Dundas rose to make a short reply to the honourable baronet, relative to the plan being attended with no expense: he said, no gentleman could suppose, that persons being employed in the business of being trained, &c. should have no compensation, though many of the volunteers had come forward and refused any pay at all.

Mr. Hobhouse rose to ask, whether persons under this plan would be *forced* to serve?

Mr. Tierney said he highly approved of the measure, and should have contented himself with giving it his silent vote, had not an honourable gentleman thrown out some ungrounded assertions against gentlemen on his side of the house, by saying that they had made a secret opposition to the intended plan. This he observed was an illiberal insinuation, and such as he might naturally expect to come from that quarter. "But (said Mr. Tierney) I will tell that honourable gentleman, that I am as animated in the cause of defending my country as he can be." When any gentleman in that house, he added, proposed a measure which he conceived had a tendency to promote the interest of the empire, he would ask, whether that man could be a friend to his country, or acted in a manner becoming a member of that house, who from any little petulance should sneer at what had been offered from the best intentions? For his part, he did not consider himself bound to give a blind support to any measure,

though he highly approved of the present.

Mr. Wilberforce rose to explain, and said, he only meant to state to the house, that the language which had fallen from gentlemen on the other side of the house was not like that warm and cordial expression of sentiment which was naturally to be expected in a crisis so essentially different from all others that had ever occurred. In such a crisis, he thought, all ought to be united, that the people of the country without doors might be ready to put into execution those plans which the house might think proper to adopt.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to make some remarks on what he termed the unwarrantable language thrown out by the honourable gentleman on the other side of the house towards his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce) which he said was the most unprovoked attack he had ever heard. It was rather extraordinary, because his honourable friend complained that certain members did not give their hearty support to the measures proposed, that the honourable gentleman on the other side of the house should make a direct and violent attack against his honourable friend, as if he had been convinced that the insinuation had been thrown out against *him*. The honourable gentleman had not been so warm in the important cause of the defence of the country as his honourable friend, for though he had not objected to the plan under discussion, one might, with great consistency, suppose, that his opinion in favour of it was too lukewarm.

With respect to the honourable general's opinion as to the exact manner of defending the country, he would not pretend to discuss that point at present. The honourable general had alluded to the impracticability of driving away from the coasts the cattle of the farmers; he did not understand from him that we ought not to drive away the cattle in case of an invasion; but if he meant to say it ought not to be done, Mr. Pitt said he was the more surprised that the general should entertain an opinion of that kind, because from experience, as a military man, he ought to have known that it was expedient and necessary.

The chancellor made also some remarks on what had fallen from an honourable member relative to the coercion in Ireland, who had compared the state of that country to that of Switzerland, and had endeavoured to show that the want of unanimity among the people of that confederacy had produced those misfortunes in which they were at present involved, and had thus laboured to prove that similar calamities impended over this country. The honourable gentleman, he said, should know, that the British parliament, and the British government, during the whole of his present majesty's reign, had shown every indulgence, and granted every possible favour to that country. "The hon. gentleman speaks (said Mr. Pitt) of conciliation with Ireland: does the honourable gentleman mean, that we should make every concession, and every sacrifice, to traitors and

rebels? to men who are industriously propagating the most dangerous principles, and wantonly seducing and deluding the ignorant multitude under the specious pretence of parliamentary reform? No! the only measure of safety we can adopt, is a vigorous system of opposition to those who would completely destroy the country." He concluded by saying, he trusted that the example of the Swiss, that brave but unhappy people, would animate this country to vigorous and necessary exertions, that we might avoid those misfortunes into which they had unfortunately fallen.

Leave being given to bring in the bill, it was accordingly presented, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

On Wednesday, March 28, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill, relative to the defence of the nation, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures.

The bill was then read a second time, and on the following day the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of the same bill.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that since the bill had been before the house, he had endeavoured to alter it according to various suggestions he had received—he did not know whether those alterations would come fully up to the desires of those who had proposed them. However, he observed, that as the service required by the bill was to be wholly voluntary,

he proposed to omit the exceptions in favour of particular persons.

Mr. Tierney declared himself extremely anxious not to disturb that unanimity which appeared so general in favour of the measure ; yet he could not admit it to pass precisely in the form in which it stood : he approved of the service being voluntary, but he apprehended that the bill, as it was worded, would, without using actual compulsion, do worse ; for it would put those who did not enter in a very invidious situation. There were many situations in life which rendered it impossible for men to attend in order to be regularly trained and arrayed, who, when real danger approached, would be found to be as cordial and zealous as any others. He wished the service to be voluntary, and that the measure should go so far, as that the king should know what number, and what description of persons he might call upon, distinguishing those who were willing to come forward immediately ; as it was, one man, he said, would come forward in glowing language of zeal to offer his services, while another, not less zealous, would be branded with the imputation of coldness to the cause. This, then, was the only part to which he had any positive objection, as, in his opinion, it would have a tendency to create invidious distinctions.

Mr. Dundas said, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) would see, on consideration, that the bill must remain as it was, or it would have no effect. Having said so much, he would add, that if there was any difference as to

the provisions, it was not owing to any difference of spirit. But if the provisions were otherwise, the commanding officer of any district would not know how to apply them. But in order for a commander to know what he was to expect from the volunteers, he must first ascertain the nature of their services ; and this could only be done by a return from the lord-lieutenant of the particular county, that there were such a number of persons for such a purpose, within it, and so forth ; but if the commander was left at a loss, as to the distribution, a considerable part of the benefit would be lost. In order, however, to obviate Mr. Tierney's objections, he had left out all that related to the publication of names on the church doors, with which

Mr. Tierney now declared himself satisfied.

After certain modifications in the committee, the bill was carried to the Lords, and passed on the 20th of April.

As an additional security to the country the alien bill was revived, and in a committee of the whole house upon it, on April 19, the secretary at war began by remarking several of the vulgar prejudices which gentlemen ought to guard against on the present subject relative to foreigners. Thus, there was a very prevalent error concerning every foreigner, that he must be a Frenchman, and that every Frenchman must of necessity be an emigrant. Thus, it had been stated in the house, that a person had been apprehended, who was neither a Frenchman nor an emigrant, and, as it turned out, had not been guilty of any

crime. There were other mistaken opinions; thus, some were apt to see in emigrants nothing but persons coming into this country in distress; and in this view it was surely no light matter to expel persons merely because they were distressed, not from mere surmise or fancied apprehension of danger. But in his opinion the emigrants ought to be considered as men who had made great sacrifices for their loyalty and attachment to their ancient government: many of them were the respectable representatives of all that remained of the clergy, nobility, magistracy, and proprietary of the land; therefore they had a claim to be considered not merely as suffering individuals, but also in their collective and representative capacity, which was of greater consequence. He thought the country bound, not upon light grounds, to withhold that asylum and assistance they had hitherto received from this country; for that would be putting them in a worse situation than if they had never been taken under our protection. Those who wished the expulsion of the emigrants, did so merely from an apprehension of danger to this country. He would ask, what instance could be produced during the long period of the present war of these emigrants proving untrue, or betraying whatever trust was reposed in them? They composed a part of the army of the duke of York, upon the continent: had they proved betrayers of their trust then, or been deficient in their duty? He also made some remarks on their conduct in the

corps of Rhovan, of la Chatre, of Montalembert, and of the army of the prince of Condé, where, he observed, whole ranks were to be found composed of persons who had been loaded with honours for their services. He did not doubt but some worthless characters might be found amongst the emigrants, as was the case in every community; but this did not extend to the general body, in many of whom, he meant the French nobility, he could place all possible confidence with regard to his own life, and, what he did not value less, the safety and honour of his country. He concluded, by saying, he hoped the wisdom and prudence of that house would not give countenance to the impression, that in case of invasion, the French emigrants would turn upon their benefactors. Were this impression to gain ground, it might endanger the safety and lives of this unfortunate description of persons.

Mr. Tierney rose to repeat his reasons for having voted for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and said, unless a message came from his majesty, stating that a correspondence existed between certain persons in this country and France, a man would pause before he voted for a measure which has the effect of depriving the public for a time of one of the great bulwarks of freedom: but under the present circumstances of this country, he had voted for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, wishing, however, not to strengthen administration, but the executive government. Mr. Tierney next made

some pointed remarks on the conduct of the secretary at war, which, he said was the most inhuman he had ever witnessed; viz. to Mr. O'Connor, a gentleman with whom he had long lived in terms of the greatest friendship; "and I will say, (said Mr. Tierney,) that I never met a more intelligent man in my life, or a better friend to the constitution. With respect to the brother of Mr. O'Connor, who was confined in Ireland under a very serious charge, and who was brought to trial, no witnesses appeared, nor was the shadow of a proof adduced against him. The learned judge before whom he was brought for trial, lamented that no evidence was brought forward. Thank God, we have no such judge in England!" Mr. Tierney was proceeding, when he was called to order by Mr. Carew.

Mr. Tierney acknowledged that he was not speaking strictly to the question; but what he said grew out of what was insinuated by the secretary at war. He was continuing his remarks relative to Mr. O'Connor, but was called to order by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stated his reason for calling the hon. gentleman to order, viz. that he was making his remarks on a cause now pending in a court of justice, and which now stood for trial. In his proceeding thus he must do one of two things; either he must make a false impression upon the public, and prejudice the public mind against the prosecution, or compel his majesty's ministers to disclose that which might make a false impression, and create a pre-

judice against those who are charged. It was therefore impossible to proceed with this discussion with propriety. The honourable gentleman had made some remarks on the conduct of the judge who was appointed to try Mr. O'Connor, and had said, that judge lamented that no evidence was brought forward. This, he observed, was not a correct statement. The sentiment was this;—"that it would have given him more satisfaction, if Mr. O'Connor had been pronounced innocent, on a full trial of the merits of the case, instead of there being no witnesses called."

Mr. Tierney said, he would retract what he had said against the learned judge, if the facts were as the minister now stated them, as he knew nothing of the case but what appeared in the newspapers.

Mr. Buxton said, he must withdraw if any thing more was suffered to go on respecting Mr. O'Connor, because he was one of the grand jury who found the bill.

Lord Malden thought that whilst the emigrants conducted themselves with propriety, it would be cruel to proscribe them. At the same time he suggested the propriety of removing them to some distance from the metropolis.

Mr. Jones professed himself wholly unsatisfied as to the propriety of suffering so many emigrants to remain in this country.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply.

General Tarleton thought there were some of the emigrants who

might be serviceable at the present crisis.

Mr. Jefferys (of Coventry) spoke in favour of the bill.

Mr. H. Brown approved of the bill, as a proper measure of caution; but he wished to bear his testimony to the general good conduct of the emigrants.

The solicitor-general wished to explain the object of a new clause, which he intended to propose. By the former act, captains of ships were obliged to deliver to the officers of the customs, at the port at which they arrived, a list of the foreigners whom they had on board; but there existed no power to prevent them from landing, therefore he wished to introduce a clause to give power to prevent them from landing until they had permission.

Mr. Jolliffe made some remarks on the harsh language made use of in the preamble of the bill against the enemy, which he thought unworthy the dignity of the country.

The chancellor of the exchequer defended the language, and said, that tyranny and oppression were now universally imputed to the government of Robespierre by every party in France.

The solicitor-general said, he thought the man unworthy the character of an Englishman who was afraid to speak the language of truth to the enemy.

Mr. Jolliffe said, if the learned gentleman did not retract, or explain the observation he had made, he must expect to hear from him in another manner.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that nothing could be intended personal to the honourable gentleman. His learned

friend had stated his proposition generally.

The solicitor-general said, he would so far retract what he had said. What he said was generally spoken.

Mr. Jolliffe then declared himself satisfied with the explanation.

The chancellor of the exchequer suggested, that it would be better that his learned friend should bring up his clauses, that they should be read *pro forma*, and the discussion postponed till another day. This was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be printed.

On Friday, April 27, the house agreed to the amendments of the committee on the alien bill.

Mr. Jones proposed a clause, which was, that the secretary of state should take a security from every alien, or French emigrant in this country.

The secretary at war reprobated the principle of it, as having a cruel tendency, and pronounced a warm panegyric on the emigrants for their attachment to their sovereign and constitution.

Mr. Jones said, his main object was to separate the good from the bad. He observed, that there were 10,000 servants, Englishmen, out of place, and as many French employed; this circumstance he thought ought to be attended to.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the honourable gentleman who spoke last had taken a very strange method of separating the good from the bad, for his method had a tendency to confound both good and bad together. He observed, that the emigrants had offered to take arms in defence of this country, and he was

confident they would not betray it. From this consideration we ought not to be so ungenerous as to refuse protection, for which they would not be ungrateful. As to aliens, whether French or others, on whom any reasonable suspicion fell, government would take every precaution necessary for the interest of this country.

Mr. Martin said, he applauded the motives of the honourable gentleman who proposed the clause; but hoped he had heard enough to induce him to withdraw it.

Mr. Jones said, he had done his duty in proposing the clause.

The clause was then withdrawn, after which the alien bill was read a third time and passed.

The bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act was revived during the course of the session, in consequence of the connection which had been proved between the united Irishmen and traitors in this country. On the 20th of April, after a message from his majesty had been received, stating farther accounts relative to the preparations for invasion making in France, the house of commons was informed that the lords had passed a bill, intituled "an act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as he may suspect to be conspiring against his person and government."

On a motion from Mr. secretary Dundas, that the bill be read a first time,

Mr. Sheridan rose and said, he was so tenacious of the liberty of the subject, that he could not assent to such a measure without much stronger proofs of its necessity than any which had yet been given. It might be said, that there were persons now under

trial; and that therefore to produce specific evidence in support of the necessity of the bill now before the house, would be doing that which might operate to the prejudice of such accused persons. To this he would answer, that the very passing of such a bill as this, was in truth creating the greatest alarm, and raising the highest prejudices. Indeed there was not before the house at present so plausible a ground for suspending the habeas corpus act as there was when it was last suspended. Then a committee of each house of parliament sat for several days, and declared their opinion to be, that there existed in this country a conspiracy against its constitution and government, and the legislature acted upon that report. Here there was no evidence: on the contrary, the assurance of the chancellor of the exchequer tended to show that there existed in this country, at the moment he made it, a general spirit of loyalty and attachment to the government. He therefore considered the present measure rather unnecessary than otherwise, and concluded by giving his decided negative to the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that with regard to the existence of a conspiracy, what he had said had been misrepresented by the honourable gentleman. Loyalty, indeed, he was happy to say was general; but so far was he from stating it to be unanimous, that on the contrary he expressly asserted, that although a large portion of the people was favourable to government, there were nevertheless a description of persons too considerable, both in number and activity, to be passed

unnoticed, whose conduct was opposite to the general sense of the nation. Was it then to be contended that because these circumstances were so plain as to call forth the zeal of almost every man in the country except its enemies, that therefore we were to take no precaution whatever for our own safety?

The honourable gentleman had said there was a period when we did not think it necessary to take this precaution, without laying before parliament evidence very different from that which was before it now. There was indeed a time when evil-disposed persons were active; but would the honourable gentleman undertake to say, that the preparations made by the enemy for a descent upon this country were at any other period during the war ever so ripe, so extensive, or so truly alarming as at the present crisis. The French government, freed from the perplexities and struggles in which it had been involved by the military exertions of the continental powers, was at liberty to employ its troops directly against us, who had so gloriously opposed the torrent of general anarchy, and so manfully continued the contest against all the force and machinations which the enemy could employ.

Mr. Pitt was certain, he said, from the natural effusion of warmth and impassioned patriotism, with which the honourable gentleman had delivered his sentiments, that he felt that the zealous co-operation of every individual was required at this important crisis in the defence of the country: and surely he would not now attempt to weaken that desirable end by his

opposition to a bill which directly went to invigorate the public mind, by freeing every well-disposed person from the apprehension and dismay to which all were liable, by suffering men tainted with principles hostile to the constitution to remain at large, to contrive and carry into execution their horrid projects. That there were men disaffected to government, no doubt could possibly exist, for the preamble of the bill was proved in the most satisfactory manner, by clear and notorious testimony, and the consequence followed of course. He therefore earnestly called upon the house, and the honourable gentleman in particular, to agree to the bill, and not tardily to postpone our deliberations till the arrival of the enemy.

Mr. Sheridan replied, that he wished to act on certainty, and not on conjecture. He was told, indeed, that the French had published their intention of invading the country, and that they trusted to the aid of traitors here: he did not think that much credit was due to that assertion. For the French themselves had stated, that they would be joined in this country by all the friends of parliamentary reform: taking that as a specimen, either of their judgment or veracity, there did not seem to him to be much reliance due to either. He was clearly of opinion, that this country ought to be well prepared to meet the enemy; and that such preparation could only be made by raising the spirit of the people; but, in his opinion, to deprive them of so material a bulwark as the habeas corpus act, was not the

way to animate them; but would have a contrary tendency to spread discontent and division.

On the question being put "that this bill be now read," the house divided,

Ayes	183
Noes	5

Majority 178

Mr. Sheridan then said a few words for shortening the duration of the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought it advisable to continue the bill after the present session; since to limit its duration to a shorter period than that which was specified might possibly prevent the members of that house from being active in different parts of the country in the manner they might wish to be.

The Speaker observed, that the question relating to the duration of the bill could only be discussed in the committee; and that if the bill had originated in that house, the part of it which respected the duration must have been in blank.

Mr. Hobhouse said a few words relative to the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and contended, that he saw no necessity for the measure.

Mr. Tierney also said a few words in justification of his voting for the suspension of the habeas corpus act; and contended that he voted upon much better evidence than upon the word of the minister, for the preamble of the present bill was founded upon the verdict of the grand jury; and said it was upon the verdict of the jury he founded his vote, and he thought that no man ought to be ashamed to give a vote of confi-

dence upon a verdict of a jury of his country.

The question was then put for the second reading, and carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer asked, if any gentleman had any amendments to propose?

Mr. Tierney said he saw no necessity for continuing the bill till the first of February, because the next session would commence long before that period; therefore he wished that the bill might be limited to the first of November.

The speaker suggested, that this conversation could only be regular in a committee.

The question was then put, that the bill be committed, and it was ordered accordingly.

The house being in a committee, lord Hawkesbury in the chair:

Mr. Tierney moved, that the duration of the bill should be only till the first of November, or for ten days after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer wished to know, whether the honourable gentleman intended to fix it for the first of November next? as there might be a material difference betwixt that and ten days after the beginning of the session.

Mr. Tierney answered, that he wished to leave it to the first of November.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the date of the expiration of the bill would thus be made absolute, when, perhaps, the personal services of members might be so employed, as to prevent the assembling of that house.

Mr. Tierney could not conceive any situation of affairs, without the whole country was in the ene-

my's possession, in which the parliament could not meet.

The chancellor of the exchequer doubted whether they could meet with that full attendance necessary to the discussion of the question, without calling too many away from objects of equal or greater importance.

Mr. Sheridan again repeated his objections to the whole of the measure, and replied to Mr. Tierney relative to the measure being borne out by the verdict of a grand jury; and said, that the last suspension, to which he had objected, was founded on equally good authority, that of a committee of both houses of parliament; for both the grand jury and the committees proceeded on *ex parte* evidence. He said he could not forget the consequences of the last suspension, when about a hundred persons had been apprehended, and all of them discharged, without a spot of guilt. after a rigid and long confinement.

Mr. Tierney admitted, that the verdict of the committees and of the grand jury both proceeded on *ex parte* evidence; but that he preferred the verdict of the grand jury, as being less under the influence of the minister.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the persons to whom the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had alluded were not longer in custody than they might be by the law of treason as it ever stood.

General Tarleton supported the amendment, on the ground that, with respect to this country, the danger of an invasion must be over by the first of November,

though it might be greater as to the sister kingdom.

Ayes (for the amendment) 14

Noes - - - 131

Majority . . . 117

The duration of the bill, therefore, was fixed till the first of February, and it then went through all its stages and was passed.

One other debate, arising out of the precautions against invasion, produced an event most remarkable in parliamentary annals.

On the 25th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual manning of the navy; of his intention to bring forward this motion, he had given notice on a former occasion. The object it had in view was precisely the same with that for which a similar bill was brought in, in the year 1779; namely, to suspend for a limited time the protections which various descriptions of persons enjoy, and which prevented them from being impressed into the service of the navy. If the house had felt no hesitation in adopting this measure at that time in the second year of the war, when Spain and Holland were united, they would surely not hesitate to pronounce the repetition of it still more justifiable under the present alarming circumstances of the country. The house must likewise be sensible, that if the present situation of the country make it fit that this measure should be passed, it must from its nature, be also necessary that it be passed without any delay; it was, therefore, his wish that the bill should this day pass through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each, if

required, and that it should be sent to the Lords for their concurrence. The former bill was passed and read in all its stages in the proposed manner: but before it got into a committee, the house had continued debating on it till past 12 o'clock, and the debate was adjourned till the following afternoon, when the bill was passed. He hoped this would be considered as a sufficient precedent for what he was about to propose. After the different acts had been read, which granted the abovementioned protections, Mr. Pitt concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy.

Mr. Tierney said, that however the proposed measure might be good and prudent in itself, the very extraordinary manner in which the right honourable gentleman called upon the house to adopt it, could not fail of creating great alarm in their minds; such at least, was the effect which it had upon his. For his part, he had imagined that the augmentation of the navy was to be provided for in the usual way; or, that if any uncommon mode was to be resorted to for the attainment of that object, some intimation of it would have been given to the house. When the precipitancy with which it was required to pass this bill, was also required in the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the right honourable gentleman condescended to adduce some argument to prove its necessity; but, in the present case, which any plain man can hardly conceive to be different, no reason or argument whatever is attempt-

ed to be urged. It is impossible for those who may be in possession of the protections in question to secrete themselves. The manner of proposing this bill was altogether so extraordinary and objectionable, that he felt himself under the necessity of giving it his negative. He had heard no arguments that proved its propriety; he knew of no sudden emergency that urged its necessity, even if he did know such, some time ought to have been allowed him to weigh the force of such arguments, and examine the nature of such an emergency, before he proceeded to give three or four votes on a measure of which no notice of any sort had been given; and of which no idea had ever entered his mind. If the honourable gentleman persisted in hurrying the bill through the house in the manner proposed, he must give it his decided negative, however reluctantly he opposed any measure that was said to be necessary to the safety of the country. For, from what he had lately seen, he must view all the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject; and the present measure he regarded with peculiar jealousy, as it went directly to rob them of the few remaining privileges they were still permitted to enjoy.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that if every measure adopted against the designs of France, was to be considered as hostile to the liberty of this country, then indeed his idea of liberty differed very widely from that which seemed to be entertained by the honourable gentleman. The house would recollect,

however that honourable gentleman might say to the contrary, that he had given notice of the present motion, though he had not judged it prudent then to explain the mode in which it was to be put into execution. Neither could it be fairly supposed that the present measure was to be brought forward as the usual one for augmenting the navy. A bill of the nature of the latter was introduced about ten days ago, and at that time he stated to the house, that if they acceded to the proposed augmentation of the navy, they must adopt some vigorous measure to make that augmentation effectual, as nothing but a law of a vigorous nature could succeed in making the intended number of seamen complete. When the honourable gentleman complained of the manner in which the bill was to be hurried through the house, and hinted that it was too frequently resorted to, he saw the suspension of the habeas corpus act was lurking in his mind. The honourable gentleman would have a long notice given of the present motion, and would retard its progress through the house. He acknowledges that were it not passed in a day, those whom it might concern might elude its effect, thus himself assigning the reason for its immediate adoption. But if the measure be necessary, and that a notice of it would enable its effect to be eluded, how can the honourable gentleman's opposition to it be accounted for but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country? [Mr. Tierney called the right honourable gentleman to order. This language, Sir, said he, addressing

the Speaker, surely is not parliamentary, and upon you only, Sir, can I call for protection.]

The Speaker observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in language that clearly marked that intention, was, without doubt, irregular and unparliamentary; but if it argued no such intention there was no room for censuring it as disorderly; if, therefore, it was the opinion of the house, that such was the fair import of the language of the right honourable gentleman, they would judge of it accordingly, but they would first wait to hear the right honourable gentleman's explanation.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he feared the house must wait a long time, if they waited for his explanation on the present subject. The sense of what he advanced was, that there was no distinction between the two cases in question. That if notice was to be given of the measure under consideration, such notice would only serve to elude its execution, and therefore no man could be justified to himself in opposing the necessary expedition that made the measure effectual; or if he did, he must surely appear to obstruct the measures employed for the defence of the country. He knew very well that it was unparliamentary to state the motives that actuated the opinions of gentlemen, but it was impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induced an opposition to it. He submitted to the judgment of the house the propriety and necessity

of the arguments he had urged, and he would not depart from any thing he had there advanced, by either retracting or explaining them.

The bill was introduced on that night, and afterwards passed : but the words employed by Mr. Pitt

were considered to be so personally offensive by Mr. Tierney, that he called upon his great political antagonist for satisfaction in the field. The parties met on the following Sunday, and the affair terminated as we have related in our Chronicle (p. 49.)

CHAPTER XV.

Conversations in the House of Lords relating to Ireland. Motions of Mr. Sheridan and the Duke of Leinster, for Committees to inquire into the State of Ireland. Strangers excluded. Numbers on the Divisions. Copies of the Addresses moved. Lord George Cavendish's Resolutions. Mr. Fox's Motion. His Majesty's Messages. Lord Grenville's Bill to enable the Militia to serve in Ireland. Debates upon it. Passed.

The affairs of Ireland naturally occupied much of the attention of Parliament during this session.

On the 22d of November, the Earl of Moira, without making any specific motion, entered largely into the state of that country. The state of the empire in general, he observed, was materially altered since the preceding session; many interesting political events had taken place; the most prominent amongst these was certainly the rupture of the late negotiation for peace. This, as was declared, by the highest authority, to that house and to the country, was broken off on no trivial grounds; it was in consequence of no less a cause than a settled determination on the part of the enemy to subvert the constitution and government of this kingdom. If the statement was just, he entreated their lordships to look at the fatal consequences which such a prospect presented. He should argue upon the supposition, that this represen-

tation was just, though his own opinion was very different. If the contest became a struggle for existence on the part of both governments, what was the end to which it would lead? what was to be the situation of the country under this protracted expenditure, when its finances already were depressed and embarrassed? If this event of the negotiation had been foreseen (as had confidently been asserted), ought not provision to have been made to support the burdens which it rendered necessary? ought not some means to have been employed to enable us to have put an end to the cause from which the necessity of the contest proceeded? If we were merely to stand upon the defensive, and if the war was to be protracted a year longer upon this footing, the resources of this country could not sustain the embarrassments which would arise in addition to the difficulties we endured already. To judge of our situation, it would

be necessary to take a view of the recent events of the war. No person rejoiced more than he did in the victory obtained over the Dutch fleet; yet what was the effect of this brilliant exploit upon the state of the nation? It was acknowledged that some design had been in agitation, some danger had been threatened; and the impending mischief had for the moment been turned aside; but was the experiment to be repeated? were we to contend merely to parry the blow which aimed at our existence? In such a system he saw nothing but ruin to our resources, nothing but complete destruction to the oppressed and tottering fabric of our finances. They had indeed been extolled as adequate to any exertions we might be called upon to make; but he professed himself at a loss to discover upon what foundation this sanguine representation had been built. He did not deny that we had great means of defence; but he must complain of their improper application, and of the mischievous consequences that resulted. There were rumours of new schemes of finance, and extraordinary ways of supporting the efforts which it would be necessary to exert; and this did not furnish a very encouraging argument in favour of our situation.

If, however, the enemy was bent on the destruction of our constitution, the best mode of repelling the danger was to interest the hearts of the people in defence of the advantages they enjoyed, to convince them they had something worth contending for, and to impress the nation with the blessing which it might lose. It

was necessary also, that every part of the country should be able to contribute to its general defence. His lordship said, he feared that this was not the case: he had seen a paper, stating the supplies of the present year, which enumerated, amongst other articles, a sum for the service of Ireland; and this was set down as a reason for continuing the restriction on the Bank. If Ireland, instead of being assisted by England, was now (to say nothing more) but a dead weight upon her in her present embarrassed state, it was a consideration of the most serious importance. When our resources were so vaunted, it was a painful reflection to know, that the sister kingdom was no longer in a condition to contribute to the general cause. If Ireland was reduced to such a state of wretchedness, that men actually died for want, without any failure of the natural supplies of subsistence; if manufacturers in parts of the country, where formerly they had been most flourishing, were reduced to nothing; if the industry of the people was suspended; to what cause was it to be ascribed? When the increasing commerce of this country was made a subject of exultation, who would rejoice to think it was increased at the expense of the sister kingdom? If the manufacturers and merchants of England found their trade extended, he was persuaded they were too generous, too liberal, too high spirited, and too just, to wish to engross profits in which their fellow subjects in Ireland did not participate. In the addresses which had been sent about, to solicit subscriptions for the relief of the distressed manufactur-

ers in Ireland, it was stated, that the greater part of them were out of employment and starving. He referred their lordships to the application made by the Lord-mayor of Dublin for relief; by which document it appeared, that upwards of 37,000 manufacturers were reduced to the extremity of distress in that city. To prove the fact, by another instance—in the towns of Belfast and Newry, the customs had usually produced 150,000*l.*; the present produce of them would not amount to a fifteenth part of the sum. The causes of these unhappy effects therefore must originate in something connected with the internal system of the country. Last year, it was in vain that he called the attention of the house to their state, in vain he predicted the consequences which our system had now produced. The situation of Ireland was now more urgent; and by every motive of justice and policy, we were called upon to remedy the evils which the sister kingdom suffered, and to prevent those which might ultimately extend to us. It had been said, that for their lordships to interfere would be to usurp an authority over an independent country; to which his answer was, that the circumstances were such as might be the foundation of an address for the recall of a viceroy, and, therefore, the house was competent to the review of such proceedings. To move this address was far from his intention; he highly respected the character of the present lord-lieutenant of Ireland; he was convinced that he used every effort in his power to alleviate its distresses; but he

must contend, that the plan, so unwise in its application, and so obstinately pursued, was the cause of all the calamities which it endured. The plan was a plan of ill-judged severity, severity not only against individuals, but against the country itself. Nor were the measures warranted by sound policy. Men, influenced by their passions, which were kept constantly irritated and inflamed, might sometimes proceed to inexcusable lengths; but this did not justify a system of oppression. In observing the state of Ireland, the first thing that struck him was the light in which it was customary for the military to view an Irishman, and the fatal effects of encouraging such unjust prejudices: in their estimation, every Irishman was a rebel to the English government, and all kinds of insult were exercised on this supposition, even in those parts of the country where things were as quiet and peaceable as within seven miles of London. His lordship related one circumstance, to give some idea of the insult to which every man there was liable. The curfew was mentioned in the history of England, and had always been considered, as a degrading badge of servitude; it had been established in Ireland, with all the rigour of barbarous times. An instance had occurred within his own knowledge, in which a party of soldiers had come to the house of a man by the road side; they insisted upon his extinguishing his fire and candle; the man entreated that he might be permitted to retain his light, because his infant daughter was in convulsions, and the mother hanging over the child in its bed, in agony

at its distress, and waiting in hopes of a favourable moment, to offer it some relief, which she could not possibly do in the dark. The party, however, insisted that the fire and light should be extinguished, and all farther opposition would have been fatal.

In former times it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the Inquisition in detestation: one of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was, that the accused, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, and left in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by protestants in the practice of the Inquisition, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security, were taken away. In alluding to the Inquisition, he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic features. If the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the crime with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, to extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been introduced in Ireland.

When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, even if he was merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picqueting, (which had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman, even in the dragoon service,) was largely practised. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of his own supposed crime, or of that of

some of his neighbours, picqueted till he actually fainted; picqueted a second time till he fainted again; and, as soon as he came to himself, picqueted a third time, till he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture: men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened with the repetition of this cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed a part of our *system*. They were notorious; and no person could say who would be the next victim of the oppression and cruelty which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the people to give up their arms. It never was denied that this proclamation was illegal; though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising, that reluctance had been shown to comply with it, by men who conceived the constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up that right. In the execution of the order, the greatest cruelties had been committed: if any one was suspected of having concealed weapons of defence, his house, his furniture, and all his property, was burnt: but this was not all; if it was supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it

contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and, in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burned down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated; but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over more aggravated facts which he could have stated, and which he was willing to attest before the privy council, or at their lordships' bar. These facts were well known in Ireland, but they could not be made public through the channel of the newspapers, for fear of that summary mode of punishment which had been practised towards the Northern Star, when a party of troops, in open day (and in a town where the general's head-quarters were), went and destroyed all the offices and property belonging to that paper: it was thus authenticated accounts were suppressed. His Lordship concluded with entreating the house to take into serious consideration its present measures, which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the number of the discontented: the moment of conciliation was not yet passed; but if the system were not changed, he was convinced Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, that it was a matter of no small difficulty to enter into the question now brought forward, on the vague grounds and isolated facts

upon which it was supported. The noble baron had spoken of our depressed resources, and ill-applied means of defence; and had given it as his opinion, that should the war be protracted another year, its sure consequence would be the ruin of the country. An opinion so disheartening and unfounded, he hoped, would be singular. For his part, he was fully satisfied, that we had means and resources abundantly sufficient to prosecute the contest, not only for one year, but to the utmost extent which the imagination of any man could suppose the enemy to pursue it. Our naval exploits, our brilliant victories, and the advantages resulting from them, were just reasons for exultation. But what are we told?—that we had only *parried a danger*! Could the house hear with patience so low a statement of our important successes? Whatever our situation was, be it more or less exposed to difficulty and danger, it admonishes us cordially to unite in the defence of our constitution. For the necessity of this concurrence, he appealed, not only to England, but to every branch and member of the British empire, whose individual interest and safety, as well as that of the public, must depend on this co-operation. He was far from being able to discern what should alienate the affections of Ireland, or indispose her from this general union. He expressed his surprise to hear this government accused of hostile dispositions towards the sister country, or of eagerness to keep up in it a system of coercion. He confidently appealed to the house, whether we had ever abandoned measures of

concession or conciliation? For the whole space of thirty years his Majesty's government had been distinguished by the same uniform tenderness of regard, by the same adherence to the principles of a mild system. Amongst the various instances exhibited, of liberality and kindness on the part of this country towards Ireland, he adverted to the establishment of its parliament into an independent legislature, and a wide extension of its commercial privileges. He denied that we could enter into a discussion like the present, consistently with this independence which we had thus sanctioned: it would be an undue interference with the Irish legislature, and might be regarded as a manifest breach of solemn compact. The agitation of the question would be an impropriety in the house, and he need use no farther arguments to prove it. But that which had excited his astonishment in the Earl of Moira's speech, was, the cruelties said to be promoted by the British military, at the instigation of our government. It was, indeed, no arduous task to exonerate the former from any charges of inhumanity. Bravery, clemency, and good nature, were the characteristic features of the English disposition. That there might not be individual exceptions, he pretended not to say; but, if such excesses were perpetrated, were there no courts of justice, no laws, no magistrates, no tribunals open to the complaints of the oppressed? Ireland had its juries as well as this country, and the same safeguards were provided for the lives of Irishmen as for those of Englishmen. Indeed, if a system so rigorous as was de-

scribed, had been pursued, it must naturally be resented by a spirited and independent people. But what was the object for which these troops were sent over? To protect the great body of the people against conspiracy and assassination; to overawe and counteract the machinations of a set of men, who were actively plotting the destruction of their country, and favouring the designs of our most inveterate enemy. If against such men they had been at times incited to acts of harshness and severity; if they had been occasionally warmed into a sense of indignation, which broke out into insults and outrages, no one, who understood the heart of man, would wonder. What was more natural than that a large body of Englishmen should be enraged against the abettors of a conspiracy, to deliver up the country to the French invaders? That such a system did exist, had been proved: and that large sums had been distributed to hire assassins to murder those who were inimical to their traitorous plans; to intimidate all witnesses, who came to give evidence against them; and even to deter juries from giving a conscientious verdict. Were not the same terrors suspended over the heads of the judges and magistrates, in order to scare them from the performance of their sacred duty? Was this a system to be viewed with the cool composure, and deliberate circumspection, of civil prudence? Impossible! But it was the cause which was to be lamented; and if it had instigated some spirited individuals to acts of cruelty, they were to be attributed to those men whose atrocious conduct and evil designs had

provoked them. Keen, notwithstanding, must be the regret which such unwarrantable revenge had excited in every humane bosom. The same sensations must be awakened upon this subject in the Irish: and here he could not withhold joining the tribute of praise paid by Earl Moira to the present governor of Ireland. No public man, placed in so critical a situation as Lord Camden, had ever displayed more exemplary moderation in the discharge of a painful duty. If severe measures had been adopted, the circumstances of the country had required them; and if any partial abuses existed, they had been called out by treason. He could not therefore see what utility could be derived from the removal of a person whose conduct was thus commendable, and whose only care seemed to be a punctual execution of the laws. If any abuse attended the system, on which the government of Ireland had acted, the laws were open to grant redress, and inflict punishment. No imputation could justly be cast upon the British military, who had been sent to Ireland for the purpose of protecting it, and were paid by that country for defending its liberties. Nor was it only the English military who acted on these lamentable occasions. The nobility and gentry of Ireland were actively employed in the same service; and to their spirited exertions the Irish would owe their laws, their properties, and their lives. Concerning the press, which was said most unjustly to be abridged of all its freedom, he held now in his hands a printed paper, the contents of which were too shocking

to be read: its avowed object was to point out innocent men, by name, to the poignard of assassins. It loaded his Majesty with the most opprobrious epithets, and it reviled the English nation with every term of contumely, affirming it to be the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hand of *English ruffians* the property which those English ruffians had wrested from their ancestors. This was no ambiguous language; it developed the project of separating Great Britain and Ireland, an object which was suggested by France: and if this impious attempt should succeed, what would be the result, but that confusion, anarchy, and the public enemy, would rush in upon this country? Such was the situation to which an open conspiracy had reduced the sister kingdom; and how could it be ameliorated but by a system of vigorous laws; nor could such laws be enforced without entrusting great power to those on whom we imposed the arduous task of enforcing them. The question was, would their lordships interpose on the present occasion, and tell the parliament of Ireland, and the Irish magistracy, that we were more careful of the interests and happiness of their people than they themselves were; and that the English military were not to obey the Irish laws, but the arbitrary instructions of the British parliament?

Earl Moira, in reply, said, that no sentiment had fallen from him to that effect. He had not reprobated the troops in Ireland for obeying the law, but he had reprobated the conduct of the executive government, which was repugnant to the

feelings of the Irish people, inconsistent with the British character, and highly injurious to the real interests of both countries.

He asked the noble secretary, whether he knew of any point, under the general relation of the two countries to each other, in which any peer of parliament had a clearer right to address them than himself on the present subject? and, if he were now to move an address to his Majesty to remove lord Camden, whether he was not competent to make, and the house to agree to such a motion? He referred to a case which occurred in a reign when no privileges of the parliament were supposed to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown—the reign of Charles the II^d. The case was that of the Duke of Lauderdale. The parliament of Scotland was then independent of this country, and both stood precisely in the situation that Ireland now did respecting England; and yet the parliament here came to a vote, that the evil counsellors about the king were a grievance, and that the duke of Lauderdale was not fit to be trusted in any office or place of trust, whilst he was in Scotland: which vote was doubtless intended to have been followed by an impeachment, which did not take place, owing to the dissolution of parliament which soon ensued. But this illustrated the principle, and established the right of a member of the British parliament to bring forward a motion advising his Majesty to remove any of his ministers in such part of his dominions as were possessed of legislative bodies of its own. If, there-

fore, from motives of respect to the high station and personal character of lord Camden, he forbore agitating the question, it was not because he was not entitled so to do, if there existed a necessity for so doing.

Lord Grenville, he said, had only taken notice of partial points and incidental abuses. He had stated facts: a combination, he would admit, was formed in Ireland, and a most powerful alarming combination; but coercion was not the means of dissolving it. But it was said, had not the course of conduct adopted by the British legislature for these thirty years past been a uniform series of conciliatory measures? to this he replied, that it did not become the secretary of state to lay much stress on the conduct of the British legislature towards Ireland, while, by his own admission, it had exercised an authority so unwarrantable, that the British legislature fifteen years since, on a principle of justice, thought fit to renounce it altogether.

There existed a conspiracy of united Irishmen; and many persons who had joined that body had committed acts culpable in the extreme; but he did not believe the cause assigned just now was the real one. It was not originally with the design of overturning the constitution that these Irishmen united; it was with the view of a parliamentary reform; nor could they be censured for this, when the house of commons itself had come to a resolution for the same purpose. He was far from approving the outrages alleged, and some of which he did not doubt had been committed; but

the odious detestable practice of assassination did not arise from any settled plan to overturn government, but from private malice and revenge, the effect of personal disputes. The state of Ireland was most deplorable; it was too pressing to admit delay; and what would be the consequence if an army was to land under the present system of coercion? Destruction—which would extend to Britain. There could be no reliance placed upon the people unless they had hopes of conciliation: he again most strongly recommended it. He stood there not merely as a peer of parliament, not as a member of a judicial assembly, but in the capacity of an hereditary counsellor of the crown. He offered this advice to his Majesty in that house, he offered it to their lordships, and he offered it to the country, conscious of having performed an important duty in these arduous times.

The lord chancellor rose to rectify an expression, he said, of his noble friend, who had stated that it was a point of form for the parliament of Great Britain to abstain from any interference with the independent legislature of Ireland: on the contrary, it was not merely the form, but the essence of public faith and justice: it was matter of fact, that Ireland was as competent by law to make laws, superintend the administration of justice, enact any measure for its internal regulation, in like manner as Great Britain ever had done formerly, or did, at the present moment, for this country; and the more so, because *there* the parliament had an unappealable jurisdiction, which there was no power in this kingdom to alter

or vary. The case of the duke of Lauderdale was not applicable, for though he was a member of the executive government, it was not on any action in his official capacity that the vote to address his Majesty to remove him was founded. It was because he was one of the Cabal (as the famous administration of that period, 1673, was then called,) not on account of his conduct in Scotland, that the duke of Lauderdale fell under the animadversion of parliament: there was no attempt of the English to interfere with the Scottish parliament.

It was too true, that many individuals have been assassinated in Ireland, and many more have been marked out for assassination: this, though lord Moira thought it arose from malice and revenge, was to him a proof that there existed a strong conspiracy against all whose duty it was to preserve order. He was called upon, he said, to bear this testimony, and also to notice the printed paper before mentioned; by which it was too evident that a number of individuals were doomed to be the victims of destruction in future.

As to the regulation of putting out the lights, which had been considered as a badge of slavery, it depended on circumstances whether it was so or not: in the present instance, it was a humane as well as a prudent regulation. If there was good reason to suspect that there were dangerous conspiracies carrying on in the houses in question, the inhabitants were prevented from incurring the guilt, and rescued from the punishment of nefarious practices, by enforcing the extinction of fire and candle: he knew nothing of its being improperly en-

forced; it was a measure suggested to the parliament of Ireland; they had considered and determined on it; for us, it was useless to cavil at it, as there was no power in this country to put an end to that regulation: it was particularly unfit for the discussion of the house, as their lordships had no authentic information of the grievances of Ireland in the first place; and no power to redress them, if existing, in the second. They could not pass an opinion on them regularly, nor could they attempt to act, without subverting law, and counteracting authority. But arms had been demanded, when they were retained only for self-defence. This might be a fact, and yet might be justified by the same necessity. Times of extraordinary danger required vigorous exertions. But was this any proof that Ireland was not governed by law? Those who best knew the officers of the courts of law there would attest, that there need be no fear concerning the due administration of justice in that country. It was from misinformation, or from too hasty zeal, that any insinuations were thrown upon the Irish parliament by the noble lord, as if it would not take care of the welfare and the interests of the people of that country. For himself, he could not help expressing a hope, that in future a little reflection would take place before any observations were made public which might irritate the minds of men, and which, resting upon bare assertion, however respectable, could lead only to erroneous conclusions.

Earl Moira said, that he suspected the paper alluded to was only an invention, to justify the measures adopted and complained of in Ireland. No printer of a newspaper could have gained it from an authentic source; for no man concerned in a conspiracy for assassination would communicate his own criminal intention, or that of his colleagues. It was not by a system of terror that assassination was to be prevented: if you wish to prevent it (continued his lordship,) awaken them to the sense of its baseness: by stating to them only that it is cruel, you produce no good, as they are actuated by passions which have been worked up into fury, they cannot be deterred by any thing you can say of cruelty. Give them an elevated idea of their own condition; teach them to feel the dignity of human nature undebased by guilt, and unstained by the foulest, as it is the meanest of crimes, assassination; and this can only be done by convincing them that they live under a just and equitable government.

Lord Grenville protested that he did not take his information from any newspaper, but from a printed hand-bill, which bore at its head a description of a number of persons, who were known as witnesses, informers, and spies, and were to be considered as proper objects for death—the inference was, that every person concerned in bringing the united Irishmen to justice was to be assassinated. He trusted that he knew too much of the disposition of men belonging to public assemblies to attribute to them *all* the same motives

and the same views; but the object of most of the acting and leading members of the united Irishmen was, to overthrow the government of that country, and to render it a province to France.

The question of adjournment was then put and carried.

The affairs of Ireland, after this discussion, were only incidentally noticed in the debates of the house of peers, until the 22d of March; when on the duke of Bedford's motion for the dismissal of Ministers, the Marquess of Downshire, in the course of his speech, observed, that every syllable which Lord Moira had stated regarding the sister country was contradicted by plain facts; and added, that so imperfect was the noble earl's information, that he did not know that even in his own house traitors were employed in the fabrication of arms. On the 26th of March, when both the noble lords were in their places, the earl of Moira rose to reply to this broad contradiction. He opened the subject by supporting his former assertions. He had the affidavits of one hundred persons, he said, to prove that terror had been employed in forging confessions from individuals against themselves, and against their neighbours: that torture had been used, such as picqueting and half-hanging; that houses had been burnt most wantonly, and in prodigious numbers. The deponents were ready to come forward to the bar of the house with their testimonies; and he had but one reason for not calling upon them, which was, the irritated state of Ireland; and for this reason he desisted from doing any thing to exaspe-

rate: but if he was obliged, by a denial of these assertions, to produce his proofs of them, he must, in his own vindication, make them public; otherwise, he would content himself with placing his affidavits in the hands of the noble lord upon the woolsack, without stating their contents. He called upon the Marquess to advance what he thought fit upon the subject.

The Marquess of Downshire replied, that he was well convinced his lordship could have no improper motive for introducing the subject, though it would have given him peculiar satisfaction not to have it agitated here, since, he conceived, that peers of a British house of parliament, had no right to discuss the matter; and the discussion led to danger. Zeal had carried the noble lord too far in his resentments against the executive government. He was ready to admit, that some of the army, perhaps the undisciplined troops, might have done wrong; but he would contend it was not in consequence of their orders. Excesses had been committed, but these had been exaggerated. Such was the case in the American war; and lord Moira might remember (for he had served in it with as much benefit to his country as honour to himself,) how often the opposition newspapers abused the army under his lordship's command for outrages and cruelty; and when he now expressed his anger against military excesses, he might recollect how difficult it was to restrain them. Respecting coercive measures, he saw the necessity of them; nor would he disown, nor was he ashamed, of having been one of the first to ad-

wise them; the first to recommend the executive government to issue the proclamation which had appeared in the county of Down. He said then, and he said now, that the united Irishmen held forth the emancipation of the catholics, and a parliamentary reform, as a stalking horse, to deceive the vulgar and the ignorant. Very different sentiments were entertained by the respectable and reflecting people of Ireland. He never knew a catholic of education who was a friend to what was called *unqualified* emancipation, nor an enlightened protestant who was an advocate for radical reform. The curfew was the mere tolling of a bell, to warn the inhabitants to put out their lights at a certain hour in the evening, and that practice was enforced only in the proclaimed districts. As to the proclamation, which was so much complained of, as an engine of terror, it was no terror to the good; it was a protection to his majesty's subjects in their persons and properties, and it was agreeable to the wishes of all who did not seek to make Ireland a province of France.

The Marquess then read some authentic documents, stating the imports and exports, excise and customs of Belfast. The customs in 1795 amounted to 101,000*l.*, and the last decrease was no more than 7,073*l.* Belfast and Cork were the only towns which had suffered a defalcation in the receipt of their customs since the war commenced, whereas the city of Dublin had benefited by an increase of 8,000*l.* Limerick, Waterford, and Newry, with some other ports, had had a proportion-

ate increase. The principal cause of decrease in Belfast was owing to a less quantity of rum having been imported lately, a circumstance in which, as an Irishman, he rejoiced, and which he considered as an important national advantage, since it was occasioned by the great increase of distilleries in consequence of the rapid improvement of agriculture.

He adverted again to the misbehaviour of the military; he lamented it, but exonerated the government from any blame, and general Lake in particular, who, he said, was respected by the traitors themselves. As an instance of the provocations which frequently urged the military to act with violence, he mentioned the office of the newspaper printed in Belfast having been destroyed by soldiers belonging to a regiment which had been libelled by that paper. The soldiers carried an advertisement expressing their sorrow, their shame, and their contrition for what they had done. The printers threw the advertisement at them, and refused to insert it. Upon which they went to the office and destroyed all the materials, but they submitted immediately to their officers, and suffered the punishment due to their outrage. A regiment saw eight or ten of their comrades shot. These excesses, therefore, ought not to be ascribed to the executive government, who forbade, and who punished them.

Lord Moira then replied, that as the Marquess had no intention to contradict the statement he had made, he was freed from the necessity of proceeding farther in the proofs of his assertions.

But he wished to know what was meant by coercion? If the case of Ireland could be compared with that of the Low Countries——

Here he was called to order by the earl of Caernarvon, who hoped to appear justified by the opinion of both the lords engaged in the conversation in interrupting them, and thus putting an end to a very irregular proceeding. There was no need of any proofs. No person could doubt that the earl of Moira was persuaded of the truth of the facts he had stated, and it appeared he had taken pains not to be deceived; but he trusted that his lordship would not think he had a right to force every difference of opinion to an issue which was not necessary, and attended with danger.

The earl of Moira said, he had only one observation to make respecting the documents; that they did not relate to any casual excesses of the troops respecting which government could not be fairly blamed. They were of a different description: one particularly related to——Here his lordship was stopped by the duke of Athol, who disapproved of farther investigation, and wished their lordships to recollect that there was no question before the house. He therefore moved that the house do adjourn.

Lord Carlisle said there were two ways in which the information might be communicated; by reading the affidavits as part of a speech, or by laying them on the table; but they could not be placed in the chancellor's hands during the sitting of the house.

Lord Moira replied, that if he laid them upon the table, they must

be made public, and the consequence would be, that they would be printed. He would, therefore, deposit them with the lord chancellor as soon as the house adjourned.

Lord Grenville submitted it to the noble lord, whether, against his own opinion, against that of the Marquess of Downshire, and against the judgment of the house, which was anxious to stop the agitation of so delicate and dangerous a subject, he would proceed in the discussion.

The earl of Moira acquiesced, and the house adjourned.

After the actual breaking out of the rebellion on the 14th of June, Mr. Sheridan moved for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland. On this, as on a similar motion in the house of lords, on the following night, strangers were excluded. In the Commons, the motion was supported by lord George Cavendish, General Fitzpatrick, Messrs. W. Smith, Tierney, and Nicholson, and was opposed by Dr. Lawrence, Messrs. Dundas, Canning, and Windham, (Mr. Pitt was not present). On a division the numbers were

Ayes	43
Noes	159

Majority 116

The following is a copy of the address moved by Mr. Sheridan in order that it might be recorded on the journals of the house.

“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to submit our opinion to his Majesty, that the deplorable state of Ireland calls for an immediate and total change of counsels and mea-

asures in that kingdom : that if the system of coercion, enforced in the manner it has been, should succeed to the full extent of the most sanguine expectations of those who have advised it, the conquest of a desert is all that can be obtained by it ; and that Ireland, so reduced and so desolated, can in no way be preserved but by a continued waste of the wealth and strength of Great Britain, for which no other return from that country can be rationally expected, but implacable hatred, waiting for revenge : — That if these measures fail, the possibility of which no wise government would leave out of its calculation, Ireland will not merely be lost, but may become an accession to the power of France, and England may be exposed to the issue of a contest, on English ground, not for acquisition or dominion, but probably for existence.

“ We should fail in the duty we have undertaken, if we did not, at the same time, express to your Majesty our absolute conviction, that no change of system in Ireland would be effectual to its purpose, without a removal of those persons, whose counsels have produced the present calamities, and who cannot in reason be considered as capable of correcting their own errors, or of attempting it with sincerity ; and whose past conduct, both in practice and profession, renders it impossible for them, even were they to act on a sincere conviction of past error, to raise an expectation in Ireland, of such a government, on temperate principles, as might dispose them all to submit to the regular and

indispensable restraints of justice administered according to law, or even to accept of concessions without distrust, or of benefits with gratitude.

“ Nothing in our opinion, but a total change of men, as well as of measures, can prevent the otherwise certain alienation, and more than possible separation, of that country from Great Britain.”

The duke of Leinster's motion was supported by the dukes of Devonshire, Norfolk, Bedford and Leeds : the earl of Suffolk : lords Fitzwilliam, Moira, Holland, and Beshorough. It was opposed by the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of Townshend, the Earl of Carlisle, Earl Spencer, and Lord Grenville. On a division the numbers were,

Contents	18
Not Contents	51

Majority 33

The following is a copy of the address, in moving which the duke of Leinster's feelings, from obvious circumstances, were greatly affected.

“ To present an humble address to his Majesty, to assure his Majesty, that this House will at all times be ready to maintain by all just means in their power, the honour, independence and unity of the British Empire ; that considering his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland as an integral part of that empire, and the connection of that kingdom with Great Britain, as essential to the general safety and local prosperity of both, we are most unfeignedly afflicted at beholding the disorders now existing in several parts, and the discontents universally pre-

vailing throughout the whole of the sister kingdom; that we feel that affliction increased in a very great degree when we reflect, that though every member of this House, in his individual capacity, is but too well acquainted with the alarming condition of that country; yet his Majesty's Ministers have not thought proper to advise his Majesty hitherto to make any communication on the subject to this House, the great hereditary council of the Crown.

"That, in this state of extraordinary and unprecedented ignorance, this House finds it necessary to resort to its indisputable right of approaching his Majesty's throne, with an humble but earnest prayer, that his Majesty will deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this House a full and ample statement of the facts and circumstances which have led to this disastrous state of affairs, and of the measures which have hitherto been pursued for the purpose of averting such momentous evils.

That this House, as soon as it shall have obtained such necessary information, will without delay, as it is in duty bound, as well as by inclination willing, employ every exertion of assiduity, and all the resources of its best wisdom, towards the discovery of the true causes of these disorders, their nature and extent, by a diligent examination into, and a prudent and deliberate consideration of, the measures adopted by the Government, as well as of the situation of the country, to which such measures were applied, so far as this House may proceed consistently with the acknow-

ledged relation between the two kingdoms.

"That however great and alarming the disorders and discontents now prevailing in our sister kingdom notoriously are, however imminent the dangers which at this awful period threaten its future happiness, we will not despair, but that the result of such enquiry and discussion will enable us to assist his Majesty, according to our constitutional duty, with some well adapted remedy of such efficacious but healing counsel, as may tend to restore in that distracted part of the British Empire, confidence in the justice of the laws, by a due and impartial administration of them; obedience to the authority of his Majesty's Government, by a temperate use of its powers; satisfaction, happiness and union amongst all the descriptions of subjects in that kingdom—in which benevolent attempts we are well assured that this House will only second the paternal wishes of our gracious Sovereign."

On the 22nd of June, lord George Cavendish, introduced the following series of resolutions, as a proper system to be adopted by the house for the salvation of Ireland:—

"Resolved,

"1. That whenever this house is called upon for supplies of men or money, to be provided by levies and taxes on our constituents, it is our right and duty to watch over and control the purposes to which they are to be applied.

"2. That this house is ready to make every exertion in its power to enable his majesty to subdue all rebellion against his lawful au-

thority, trusting he will temper severity with mercy, and never lose sight of that equitable policy which, by the redress of real grievances, may secure to him the loyalty and affection of his people.

"3. That it is the opinion of the house, although we shall be ready, at all times, by all just means, to maintain the unity of the British empire, and our connexion with Ireland as a part of it, yet we never can believe it is the wish of his Majesty to support the principle of governing that country as a conquered and hostile country; a principle no less contrary to justice, than to the interests of the two kingdoms.

"4. That it is the duty of the ministers to advise his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to repeat the recommendation which he made through the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to that kingdom in 1793—seriously to consider the situation of the Irish catholics, and consider it with liberality, for the purpose of cementing general union amongst his majesty's subjects in support of the established constitution.

"5. That such persons as have expressed their disapprobation of measures of concession, and under whose administration Ireland has been reduced to a situation so imminently dangerous to the interests and happiness of the empire, cannot be effectual channels of his Majesty's royal grace and beneficent intentions towards their fellow subjects."

His lordship concluded by moving the first resolution.

Lord John Russel seconded it.

Mr. Canning opposed it, and moved the order of the day on the whole series of resolutions.

Mr. Fox then gave notice of a motion in case the resolutions should be negatived; Mr. Dundas followed Mr. Fox; Mr. William Grant, and Mr. Serjeant Adair, spoke against, Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan in support of the resolutions.

Ayes	-	-	-	66
Noes	-	-	-	212

Majority 146

The other motions were then severally put and negatived.

Mr. Fox then moved the following proposition, which he had announced:

"Resolved,

"That this house (understanding it to be a matter of notoriety, that the system of coercion had been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity, and particularly that scourges and other tortures had been employed to extort confessions) is of opinion, that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name, and that our hopes of restoring tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system, as far as relates to the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice those atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but of resentment and terror."

The motion was supported by Mr. Sheridan and colonel Walpole, and opposed by Mr. Douglas, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Dundas.

Ayes 142
Noes 204

Majority 142

On June 12, lord Grenville presented the following message from his Majesty :

“ G. R.

“ His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful lords, and considering that it may be of the utmost importance to provide for such emergencies as may arise at this critical conjuncture, is desirous that this house will enable him to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigencies of affairs may require.”

His lordship was then proceeding to move an address of thanks to his Majesty for his most gracious communication, when the earl of Suffolk rose, and requested the noble secretary of state to communicate to the house some idea of the object of the message, as the most alarming intelligence was, he understood, that day received from Ireland.

Lord Grenville said, he did not conceive it his duty to detail the news that might arrive from Ireland or from any other country. As to the message he had just delivered, he could not see any necessary connexion between it and the affairs of Ireland.

The earl of Suffolk said, he thought it ill became ministers, who had brought all these calamities on the kingdom, unconstitutionally to shelter themselves under the king's name, and to refuse granting information to the house on a point that so nearly concerned them.

Lord Grenville made a short reply, and denied that he had attempted to shelter himself under the king's name, in order to shrink from his responsibility as a minister. He should, however, persist in refusing the information called for by the noble lord.

The question was then put, and the address was voted *nemine dissente*.

On the 18th of June, lord Grenville rose to present another message from his Majesty, to acquaint the house, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, &c. of different regiments of militia of this kingdom, had made to his Majesty a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion now unhappily existing in that country.

Lord Sydney rose, and moved their lordships, that the house be cleared of strangers, which was accordingly done.

A bill to meet the object of the message was produced by Lord Grenville, and read a first time.

On Tuesday June 19, strangers were again ordered to withdraw. The king's message, relative to the militia of Great Britain serving in Ireland, was then read, which gave rise to a long and spirited debate.

The earl of Caernarvon moved an amendment, upon which the house divided.

Contents 13

Non contents 45

Majority 32

The house being resumed, the address was carried, and a bill, empowering his majesty to accept

the offers of such regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland was brought in and read a first and second time, and passed through the committee.

The subject was introduced to the house of commons on the 19th of June, when a message was sent down from his majesty, of the same purport as that received by the lords.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, as he was not aware of any objection that could reasonably be urged against the measure that was recommended by the message, he would move "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly thanking him for his most gracious communication to the house."

The address, which was, as usual, an echo of the message, being read, Mr. Nicholls said, he felt it his duty to oppose the address on a variety of grounds; for, if the address were adopted, the principle of the militia bill, as originally established, would be completely abandoned. The militia would be no longer a safeguard against the unconstitutional use which bad ministers might make of a standing army, in order to encroach on the rights and liberties of the people. The unconstitutional use, he observed, of a standing army, was dreaded, and anxiously looked to by the jealousy of our ancestors; and it was the duty of the house not to assent to the measure proposed, as it would have a tendency totally to unhinge the old system, by making the militia a part of the standing army, with which it ought to be most religiously unconnected. We had been lately told, that it was necessary that

this country should become an armed nation, in order to frustrate the attempts of the enemy to invade us. Was it then consistent with the safety of this kingdom, after a considerable part of the regular forces had been already sent out of it, to deprive it also of the protection of the militia, and to confine its protection to the new volunteer corps? Besides, the measure would be cruel and unjust to those who, wholly unsuspecting of any such intention, had entered *bonâ fide* into the militia service. There was another observation to which he was anxious to draw the attention of the house; and this was, that the house had not as yet proceeded to any act, or given any pledge, with respect to the causes and origin of the rebellion in Ireland. Such measures as had been pursued to meet it had been adopted by virtue of his majesty's prerogative. If the army now in Ireland was not able to arrest the progress of the rebellion, a great body of men must be in arms; and there were, consequently, great grounds for thinking that government had acted wrong in the system they had pursued against that kingdom. But upon this subject we were now left in the dark, nor would an inquiry into the discontents of that country be assented to by the ministers. After making some pointed remarks on the conduct of government in the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, he concluded by saying, that the house ought to be fully acquainted with the merits of the question before it proceeded to give its support to the executive government, and ought fully to ascertain the causes

of the discontents that had driven that unfortunate country into the present unnatural contest. Viewing the measure in these different lights, he said, he would give it his decided negative.

Mr. M. A. Taylor said, he could not but wish that ministers would condescend to state a few reasons why the constitution should be thus shaken to its foundation. The militia was raised for the defence of this country; such was the nature of its engagement when it enlisted, that it should not be compelled to serve out of it. But it might be said, that in the present instance they were merely allowed to follow their own inclination. But if one regiment offers, their example would make it compulsory on every other to do the same, otherwise their courage and patriotism might be brought into question. For his part, he thought there was more courage in refusing to go than in going. In his capacity of an officer in the militia, he felt himself called upon to defend this country, and this country alone would he defend. The army had, he observed, already experienced a breach of faith in government by a number of men being draughted into different regiments in which they would not have enlisted; and the consequence of this breach of faith was, that government was at a loss how to recruit the army: however, they attempted to recruit it from the supplementary militia, but their attempts were generally unsuccessful. This, he remarked, was another breach of faith. For though the present measures purported to rest on a voluntary offer, yet this offer was compulsory in

truth and in fact. The right honourable secretary of state adduced no reason or argument in favour of the measure, he only hinted that some military gentlemen had volunteered their services. The honourable gentleman next made some observations on the militia act, on which, he said, he should keep a steadfast eye, as the landmark of the constitution, which says, "the militia shall not go out of the country." Therefore he felt it his duty to oppose the measure.

Mr. Lawrence Palk also opposed the measure.

Mr. Pierrepont said a few words against the measure, and contended that it was a most gross and flagrant violation of the constitution. And whoever of his majesty's ministers advised it, they had acted, in his opinion, with great boldness.

Mr. D. Ryder said, it was with the greatest astonishment he heard mention made of the boldness of ministers in advising the message now under consideration. What then would not be said of their boldness, if, after having received such offers of voluntary service from a great body of men, ministers should have advised his majesty to repress such a spirit, and to repel such offers, at a time when a rebellion of the most heinous nature had reared its head? It was the interest of both countries that it should be immediately crushed. Could we quietly sit down and see our fellow subjects daily massacred in the most barbarous and shocking manner? He remarked, that, as great a part of the regular troops as could be spared had already been sent

over. Did gentlemen apprehend no danger for this country if it should be left without a due proportion of regular troops? He was at a loss, he said, to see the force of the constitutional objection that was urged against the message: was it more unconstitutional to employ the militia in Ireland, when they volunteered their service, than to employ them in England? After making some other remarks, he concluded by expressing his hearty approbation of the measure.

Lord William Russel said, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ryder) had expressed some surprise that ministers should be accused of boldness in advising a measure like the present; but was it not boldness to propose any thing that subverted the principles of the militia laws? The militia was intended to defend the liberties of the country, and for this only was it established. But what was the nature of the service it was now to be inured to? It was to be sent for the purpose of forcing upon Ireland a system of government, which nine tenths of its inhabitants disapproved and abhorred. Nor would it be a matter of choice with it as pretended, but of compulsion. He had often disapproved of the pernicious system that had been long pursued in Ireland; which, in fact, had driven the unfortunate people of that country to such extremities; nor would he be now so blind to the example he had before him as to vote a single man for the maintenance of such a system.

Mr. Banks said, though he could not approve of the measure proposed, he could not but repro-

bate the language held by the noble lord who had just sat down. For his part, he thought that no rebellion ever was more unprovoked than that now raging in Ireland. However, he was afraid if the principle of sending the militia to Ireland, for the defence of England, were once admitted, there was no species of warfare in which it might not be employed. It might be sent to Ostend or Quiberon, on the ground that such measures were in their nature defensive. He concluded, with moving an amendment, to leave out all but the two first paragraphs; to express the high sense the house entertained of the zeal and patriotism of those who had offered to come forward with their services; and to assure his majesty that the question suggested in the message was one of the utmost consequence, on which the house were not in the present circumstances prepared to give an opinion.

The secretary at war said, that the honourable gentleman who had just sat down had given more the appearance of argument to what he maintained than any of the gentlemen on the other side. One honourable gentleman had obscurely developed those principles on which the sending an additional force to Ireland was opposed; and the noble lord who had spoke last but one, had proved an ample commentator on what that honourable member had only partly disclosed. The noble lord had said, that he would not vote one man to assist the government of Ireland in subjugating the people of that country. Was not this the expression of a wish

that the rebellion might not be suppressed? (a cry of, hear! hear! from the opposite benches). Mr. Windham said, it was not by any means his wish to misrepresent the noble lord; and, if he had done so, the opportunity would presently occur of his being set right. It had been suggested that the house ought to pause before it agreed to the address; but were honourable gentlemen to pause, while an actual rebellion existed in one corner of the empire, while the king's troops and rebels were fighting, and were they not to assist the former to bring the latter to a sense of duty? His honourable friend (Mr. Bankes) had admitted that the militia might be reduced, and wished that a corps might be formed from it, consisting of such as were really disposed to volunteer their services against the rebels; however, if this were once done, the alleged constitutional check would cease; since if the militia was originally a check, any reduction of it would diminish that check. The objection that the militia had been originally raised merely for the protection of the country, and never to be sent out of it, did not appear to him stronger than might be urged in the case of the fencible corps, who had been raised on similar terms. It had been said, that no necessity existed for sending the militia to Ireland; but Mr. Windham said, the house was in possession of documents sufficient to show that Ireland was in imminent danger; and the disaster to England would be great if Ireland was lost. With regard to the supposition that many people would probably not again enter into the militia, if this

measure was adopted, he could only say that he thought it improbable; but even supposing it possible, he should not set that against the salvation of Ireland.

Lord William Russel said a few words in explanation.

Mr. Sheridan asserted that the motion which had just been submitted to the house was the most extraordinary in its nature that ever was heard. The right honourable gentleman, however, who moved the address, seemed to have considered the measure proposed as one to which no objection could possibly be framed; and he introduced it as one which demanded neither apology nor explanation. It was impossible to forget how lately the right honourable gentleman came down to the house, and stated the country to be in imminent danger, which required the exertion of every hand and heart for its defence. It was somewhat extraordinary then, that, after that statement, he should call upon the house to give its consent to strip the country of the militia forces, on which it relied for its defence. From the Lord's bill it appeared, that the militia force which it was thus intended to send to Ireland, was 12,000; but if such additional force was wanted, why not send all the regular troops which were to be found before the constitutional principle was violated? Why not send 2,000 of the guards in town; and instead of 12,000 send only 10,000? It had been asked by a right honourable gentleman, what would have been thought of ministers if they had concealed the offer made by the militia? If ministers could have done what they now propose,

without consulting the house, he would venture to say that they would have heard nothing of the offer. Although they might hold in contempt the advice of the house, they were not quite bold enough to act in violation of the law, which he hoped would still be found too powerful for them.

Mr. Sheridan next made some remarks on the expression of his noble friend, who had said he would not vote a single man for the purpose of subjugating the oppressed people of Ireland; great stress had been laid upon this as being unconstitutional, but surely it was neither unconstitutional nor unparliamentary for a member of this house to say that he could not give his aid to any system of measures, or any acts of the executive government, till he had examined and approved of the grounds on which they were justified? The right honourable gentleman expressed a doubt whether the gentlemen in opposition were at all willing to give their support to extinguish the rebellion in Ireland. "I am aware (said Mr. Sheridan) that the right honourable gentleman is desirous to lead us into slippery ground. I would ask him, whether he means to say, that in every case this house is bound to take part with a king of Ireland, and an Irish house of commons, against the people of Ireland? Will he maintain that proposition generally? This house is not bound to sanction the injustice, and to strengthen the oppression which the legislature of the sister kingdom, however independent, might be pleased to inflict." Mr. Sheridan then went into the grounds of the dispute

between the government and the people of Ireland, and remarked, that under the government of lord Fitzwilliam the people exhibited the most fervent and sincere loyalty; but, after being deprived of the government in which they could confide, and thrown into the hands of a ruler whom they detested, it was not to be wondered at that they should feel emotions of indignation and discontent. "Every man (said he) in this house, too well recollects the subscription set on foot in London to support the industrious manufacturers in Ireland wholly without employment; of this description there were from 30 to 40,000 men in Ireland. Such was the situation of so many individuals; and when charity was wearied out, unable longer to supply their wants, it was not the poison of French principles, but the want of bread that seduced them." But to return to the measure, it had been said by some honourable gentlemen that the service of the militia was voluntary, Mr. Sheridan, on the contrary, contended that it was not. The case of the fencibles was mentioned as in point, but nothing could be more different. The fencibles were raised on certain conditions between the individuals, authorised by ministers; the militia was raised not by contract between individuals, but on a compact of law; and it was vain to talk of a thing being voluntary where no real option was left. "We are now called upon (said he) for our last military stake, the militia; and it is natural to ask, where we are to look for defence? Is the danger, to which the public attention was so forcibly directed,

less now than it was before? Before the trials at Maidstone took place, we were informed by a right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Dundas) that dangers of the utmost magnitude existed; and he called upon men to forget their political divisions, and unite in the great object of national defence. Many of those who had been in the habit of opposing ministers showed a zealous disposition to support the great object of national defence; and in many cases they have been answered by a behaviour highly discreditable to ministers." As an instance, he mentioned the case of his honourable friend (general Tarleton), who manfully offered his services wherever they could be employed. Notwithstanding which offer, they were rejected with contempt. After remarking some instances of the same kind, he concluded with concurring in the amendment.

Mr. Dundas said, that he had no reason to regret that he did not detain the house in making his motion, by endeavouring to explain the reasons for making it; neither should he even now have thought it necessary to say much, but for some personal allusions. With respect to the idea, that this measure was unconstitutional, upon the ground that the militia was established as a check upon a standing army, he would only observe, that it was not upon this ground that the measure was moved, or adopted. Relative to what he had said on a former occasion, respecting calling on all descriptions of people to prepare against the attack of the enemy, he was ready to be examined upon what he then said, and wished it

might be compared with what he now proposed. He admitted at once, that at that time he distinctly stated, in plain language, that the salvation of this country depended entirely on its own exertions; and he would now say, that twelve thousand of the militia ought to be sent to Ireland; and that was the resolution he intended to propose, should the house agree to the address which he had moved. He begged gentlemen to recollect the change which had taken place since the time he made the declaration that this country must make great preparations against the enemy. At the beginning of this year our militia were about 36,000 men, now they were 100,000 men. At that time we had cavalry forces of about 7,000 men, we now had about 20,000: he should be relieved, therefore, from any charge of inconsistency, in having at one time said it was necessary for the people to prepare for the safety of the country, and now to propose to send out of the country part of its force. All he desired gentlemen to allow was, that there was now an existing rebellion in Ireland. And of what nature was that rebellion? The honourable gentleman himself would not venture to tell him that there did not exist a great body of low people, who wished to separate that country from this, through the arms of France. What consistency, then, was there between the observations of the honourable gentlemen and his proposition, "that Ireland should not be a post of France." Need he say, that to give to France, Holland, Flanders, and all the places upon the continent opposite to our coasts, was

not so dangerous to Great Britain, as if they had a post in Ireland. To send troops to Ireland, therefore, to quell the rebellion there, was in other words to send troops to prevent the French from obtaining a post there; and that was in reality defending Great Britain. Gentlemen called for documents that they might know that there was a rebellion in Ireland, but perhaps they rather wanted to know whether it was a justifiable rebellion. Did they mean to wait to settle this point until Ireland should become a province of France? for that might be the effect of their opposition to the success of this measure. Some gentleman had wished to know whether there were not regular forces in this country that might be sent instead of the militia. The militia force, he had already stated, was more than double what it was a short time ago; nor had he any scruple in saying, that if any part could be spared, it was out of the militia forces, because they could be most easily supplied and recruited. Mr. Dundas admitted, that the measure before the house was liable to many inconveniences, and that he felt great pain in being compelled to bring down the message. He admitted the truth of what had been said, viz. that many would go under this measure either from false pride or shame; but he hoped the house would feel with him, that, of all things, the rebellion in Ireland was the greatest inconvenience. With respect to what had been said of general Tarleton, he had said nothing about the propriety of employing him; however he had no doubt, if he was employed, he would

soon forget his politics, and become a very good officer.

He did not recollect that there were any more arguments for him to answer upon this occasion; the simple question was, whether the house would take upon itself the responsibility of letting the rebellion go uncrushed, when it had an opportunity of crushing it?—Those who thought they ought not to allow his Majesty to have that advantage without examining into circumstances, and who chose to take upon themselves the responsibility of risking the fate of Ireland, and eventually of England itself, would give his Majesty advice accordingly.—Thank God, he was not of that opinion!

Mr. Sheridan said a few words in explanation, relative to what he had remarked respecting Ireland becoming a post of France.

Mr. Tierney said, if ever there existed a minister in the country who more than another should mourn for the country, it was the present: he should come to the house clothed in sackcloth and ashes, to find himself obliged, in the fifth year of the war, and after an expenditure of above two hundred millions of money, to bring down to that house such a proposition as the present. He then adverted to the circumstance of there being no official communication to the house of the rebellion, before parliament was called upon to take such an important step; this he considered as a serious omission. He said that the right honourable gentleman could not be at a loss for the form of communication; for the case of communicating the American affair to the house from the throne was

directly in point; and he added, that those proceedings were such as should have been adopted on the present occasion. A week was at that time allowed before the king's message was taken into consideration; but how different was the mode adopted in the present instance? No communication whatever was made to parliament of the existence of the rebellion. If Ireland was so situated, as that the presence of the militia was essential to its preservation, it became necessary for him to watch the interests of England. He should not, he trusted, be suspected of a disposition to separate the interests of the two countries; but, if the interest of the one clashed with that of the other, it became him to recollect that he was a representative of England. If the honourable gentleman should attempt to convince him, that the measures pursued in Ireland originated in the agency of France, he would have great difficulty, as he could not conscientiously believe that France had any share in them. Not having the opportunity of reference to official documents, he could only form his opinion from such information as he was able to collect. For instance, he found that Lord Fitzwilliam was of a different opinion, and that his lordship had not formed his opinion from the consequences of the measures which had been pursued; but that he now referred to letters written three years ago, in which he urged the necessity of concession to the catholics. He (Mr. Tierney) should feel himself as much disposed to give credit to the noble lord, as to the statement of the right ho-

nourable gentleman. Mr. Tierney next read the preamble to the militia act; and observed, that the force was intended not only as a body for the defence, but that it formed a part of the constitution of the country, from which the greatest advantages were derived. Where was a substitute to be found for this body? It was evident, he said, from the act, that the men, even if so disposed, should not be permitted to leave the kingdom, as the tenour of their oath was to serve faithfully in Great Britain. It was obvious, that a militia, embodied for five years, was sufficient for all domestic purposes; and, as there were 3,500 guards, he thought the militia was competent to do their duty. Mr. Tierney then reproached the conduct of administration; and concluded by expressing his determination not to support, by a single man or a single guinea, a government so administered as that of Ireland, until he was satisfied that the rebellion proceeded from French interference operating on the discontented in that country; nor would he send 12,000 of the militia of this country to the assistance of men, whose conduct, he said, had been so scandalously disgraceful.

Mr. Wilberforce could not be satisfied with giving a silent vote on this measure, partly on account of its singularity, and partly because his sentiments and feelings did not exactly coincide with those which any gentleman had expressed in the course of the present debate. The honourable gentleman who had just spoken had strangely and most unwarrantably contended, that the militia-men,

by the engagement which they took on entering into that body, to serve any where in Great Britain, were precluded from serving out of Great Britain, even by their own consent. What sort of an argument was it, that by engaging to do a particular thing, or up to a certain extent, a person precluded himself from doing something more, or beyond that extent if he chose it? He felt it, however, his duty, to declare that he considered the measure as being but too likely to be productive of lasting injury to that most excellent institution the militia. Strong as he felt this objection to be, yet what was to be done? A rebellion to a most alarming extent had broken out in Ireland, and continued to rage, even with increasing violence. If it had grown into a maxim of unquestionable authority, "in war, he who gains time gains every thing;" in the case of an insurrection in a country, circumstanced like Ireland, the maxim was still more clear, and of infinitely more cogent application. Gentlemen argued against the measure, because they wished that a conciliatory, rather than a coercive system, should be tried, and that the effusion of blood should be spared. These were precisely the very considerations, Mr. Wilberforce declared, which urged him most powerfully to support the present measure. The force actually in Ireland, might perhaps be sufficient in the end to reduce the rebels to subjection; but this could only be after a long and severe struggle; and if the house wished to dispirit the rebels, and to induce them to

desist from their efforts, they must strengthen the arms of government by powerful reinforcements, in order to convince the traitors that all farther resistance would be fruitless. Mr. Wilberforce said he was convinced, that the measure was in itself objectionable, yet he must give it his decided support on the ground of necessity, and still more on the principle of its being calculated to spare the effusion of human blood.

Lord George Cavendish said a few words against sending the militia to Ireland, as being entirely unconstitutional.

Sir W. Pulteney agreed with gentlemen on both sides, that this was a question of great importance, and must have a great effect on the militia in future. The rebellion, however, was not owing to jacobins; and he was afraid that sending the militia was now unavoidable; but this was no excuse for those who brought us into the embarrassment.

Mr. Manning was anxious that the measure should be carried into effect with as much attention to constitutional principles as possible. He wished that his majesty should be empowered to offer a bounty to such militia-men as should choose to enter, to fill up the vacancies in skeleton regiments; that the militia-men should have permission so to do; and that they should receive bounty. Thus not a moment's delay would be occasioned in sending troops to Ireland; and thus, having raised 12,000 men constitutionally, it would be easy to fill up the vacancies in the militia from the

supplementary corps. He should, however, vote for the amendment proposed by Mr. Bankes.

Mr. Dundas rose to explain, but was prevented by the speaker.

Mr. Ryder said a few words; after which the house divided on the question for the amendment.

Ayes	-	47
Noes	-	118

Majority 71

The original motion was then put and carried.

When the bill enabling his Majesty to accept the services of 12,000 militia men to be employed in Ireland, was read a second time on the 20th of June, General Tarterton opposed it. He thought, that before this country was stripped of its militia, means should be taken for our own defence, since our situation was as critical as that of Ireland. He entered into a statement of the military force of the kingdom, and concluded, that the force to which the defence of the whole coast of England and Scotland, arsenals, &c. was committed, was only 37,000 men, who had carried firelocks a year. The volunteer corps were not in such a state of discipline as to be effective, and the provisional cavalry was not to be relied on.

Mr. Dundas made a short reply, and contended that the volunteer corps which had come forward to offer their services, had been pronounced by officers of the mili-

tia, to be in such a state as to be effective, if necessity required; and the provisional cavalry was, in general, a corps which, in case of emergency, might prove of the greatest advantage to the country.

Mr. Jekyll said, in obedience to the dictates of his own conscience, and in compliance with the duty which he owed to the people of England, he must make all the stand he was able against a measure which flew in the face of the constitution; for no information had been laid before the house to guide its judgment on the propriety of the motion. And until proper documents were laid before the house, to prove that an unnatural and wicked rebellion raged in Ireland, how could we know but that the people of Ireland had *a right to make this resistance*—(A murmur of disapprobation arose, and Mr secretary Dundas moved that the standing order for excluding strangers be enforced, upon which the speaker ordered the gallery to be cleared.) The debate continued for some time; after which the house divided on the question for the second reading of the bill.

Ayes	-	-	-	43
Noes	-	-	-	11

Majority - - - 32

The bill was afterwards read a third time and passed.

CHAPTER XVI.

Debates on the Slave Trade. Prorogation.

THE great question of the abolition of the Slave Trade was not neglected during this busy and important session; and the advocates of humanity, undismayed by their repeated disappointments, once more endeavoured to obtain the protection of the British Legislature for the oppressed and suffering negroes.

On the 3d of April Mr. Wilberforce addressed the house for the abolition of that abominable species of commerce; a subject on which, he said, so many new and powerful feelings rushed into his mind, as almost to disqualify him for the cool and deliberate discharge of the duty he was now undertaking. It was a matter of solid comfort to him, that whatever were the various feelings which the present occasion called forth within him, the feeling of remorse was not of the number. His conscience did not reproach him with having betrayed or neglected this important business; and it was because he was resolved to continue a stranger to this worst species of accusation, that he was again about to bring forward the question. He begged, therefore, the resolution to be read which had passed in 1792, declaring that the slave trade should cease from and after the first of January, 1796. This being read—The circumstances he said, under which the house came to that determination, were well worthy of remark. All the

charges he had brought against the slave trade were substantiated, and the truth of them acknowledged by his warmest opponents. The slave trade was proved to be the cause of long and extended wars, between nation and nation, which produced innumerable acts of individual depredation. The petty chieftains were rendered the oppressors and ravagers of the very districts of which they were the natural guardians. Mr. Wilberforce then mentioned a most striking fact in proof of his assertion: that two gentlemen being employed by the Sierra Leone company, had penetrated to a considerable distance in-land, where the face of a white man had never been seen. They found the state of society more advanced, by two or three centuries than upon the coast where the natives had intercourse with the most polished nations of Europe for two or three hundred years before. This proved, that our interference tended only to corrupt, darken, and barbarise; and that it must be the ardent wish of these African savages to be left unmolested in their native deserts, and not be cursed by our ruinous intrusion. Mr. Wilberforce remarked, that even they who could not bring themselves to vote for immediate abolition, yet condemned the slave trade in the strongest terms of reprobation. His right honourable friend, with an extraordinary minuteness of research, and detail of calcula-

tion, had established beyond dispute, that the slaves actually in the islands were sufficient in number to ensure the population being maintained without any fresh recruits from Africa. But even they, who contended, that some additions to the population were necessary, could not deny that these had more than been supplied by the multitudes which had been brought from Africa, from the year 1792, to the present period.

It might be alleged, that last year the house of commons had addressed the crown, humbly requesting his majesty to send instructions to the governors of the West-India islands, directing them to concert such measures, with the different legislative assemblies, as, by promoting the population of the islands, might gradually render the slave trade less necessary, and finally lead to its total extinction. But so far was this from being the case, that the very contrary was the truth. The measure adopted last year, without that which he was now bringing forward, would be illusory and unavailing; but associated with abolition, it would be efficient and complete. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had proposed an address to the crown, similar to that which had been adopted last year; the right honourable gentleman differed with Mr. Wilberforce as to the time at which this abolition should take place; but concurred with him in thinking that its duration ought to be limited, Mr. Wilberforce then took a view of the regulations framed by the colonial legislatures with respect to the population of the islands, and also of the

food, religion, and necessary correction; and contended, that no set of regulations would be framed which would be universally applicable. Considering how difficult it would be to attempt to enforce the practice of these legislative provisions, which would go to the interior of every domestic arrangement, could it be supposed that it would be submitted to? For what? For the avowed purpose of accelerating the abolition of the slave trade; an event which the West Indians in general have frankly confessed they consider as in the highest degree injurious to their interests. With regard to any regulations operating in the West Indies for the protection of slaves, gentlemen must bear in mind, that there is a certain *esprit de corps*, which, varying in nature and kind, naturally belonged to every community. In the West Indies, it was a fellow-feeling for the rights and authority of masters: some curious proofs of this were afforded by the papers recently transmitted from the colonial assemblies, and laid on the table of the house. It appears that the committee of the assembly of St. Christopher's, when this *esprit de corps* was in action for the defence of all the planters in general, against charges never urged but against individuals, maintained that all was perfect in their management, yet that assembly frankly declared, that the allowances of food given by masters to their slaves were too small to enable them to go through their work with spirit. Mr. Wilberforce next made some remarks on the criminal courts of justice in the West Indies, and particu-

larly on that of St. Christopher's, which pretended to have taken cognisance of the barbarous treatment of slaves in the same manner as of crimes of a similar nature committed against white men. The act of assembly, which was passed in 1783, expressly declares that "any owner or possessor of any negro, or other slave, who shall wilfully or wantonly cut out the tongue, put out an eye, slit the nose, ear, or lip, &c. &c. shall be fined five hundred pounds, and imprisoned for six months." Mr. Wilberforce then produced an instance which took place in the year 1784, where the penalty was not sanctioned by the courts: for two delinquents being convicted, were only fined, one in 100l., the other in 50l.; and in neither case was there any imprisonment. He next mentioned another case, to show that the court did not take that cognisance of the ill-treatment of slaves to which they pretended, and to prove that negroes did not enjoy the same legal right and protection as the white people. But in addition to this, let it be remembered, that the assemblies, and particularly that of Jamaica, have always plainly acknowledged, that it was their object to go on importing until they should have brought into cultivation all their barren lands, amounting to more than twice the number which are now cultivated.

He then made some observations on the extreme danger of insurrections, and on the new grounds of apprehension which were laid in the emancipating system introduced by the French into their islands: and said, could we be weak enough to believe,

that our islands would remain in their present state in the vicinity of the French islands, in which the slaves were relieved from all the galling marks of inferiority? He said he had been at the trouble to enquire into the number of slave ships taken on their passage from Africa to the West Indies, which, he said, were all carried by the French to some port in their islands, where the slaves were made free, and trained as soldiers. The number was considerable: in the year 1796, there were above three thousand of these; in 1797, above 1700; who, in fact, furnished our enemy with the best instruments for the subjugation of our islands. Mr. Wilberforce then made some observations on the petition which he had that day presented from a body of respectable men (the Quakers), whose unwearied efforts in this great cause did them the highest honour. He concluded by saying, if, in times like these especially, we have any sense of the value of the favour of Heaven, if we have any feeling of justice and humanity, let us no longer hesitate to do that which has been too long delayed, but embrace the opportunity which is afforded us of rescuing a great continent from the destructive ravages to which it has been doomed for centuries by our selfishness and rapacity. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, &c.

Mr. B. Edwards desired that the address which had been presented to his Majesty in 1797, concerning the abolition of the slave trade, might be now read; which being done, he then pro-

ceeded to show that its object was to recommend to the colonies the adoption of such measures as might lead to a gradual abolition of this trade. Those who supported the address, as well as those who wished for an immediate abolition, were equally sincere in their desire that such measures might be adopted as might finally tend to abolish the trade; but they were far from intending that this object was to be accomplished by any sudden violence, such as he might style the present motion; because they prudently saw, that the existence and limited continuance of the trade involved a mass of complicated interests, mortgages, &c. &c. The honourable gentleman who brought forward his motion could not be ignorant of the correspondence which had taken place between the islands and the secretary of state; by which it appeared, that they all, except Barbadoes and Jamaica, had acquiesced in the proposals that had been made to them, and assured that house, that they considered themselves happy by discovering and adopting the means that might lead to a final abolition. — This was evident from the answers of the island of St. Vincent and Tobago to the duke of Portland, which showed they had under consideration the best measures for limiting the causes that increase the trade, and which might gradually lead to its total abolition. The Royal Gazette of Jamaica, which he had just seen, mentioned that similar measures were under consideration, and that a tax of 10*l.* was to be levied for all slaves above a certain age, to prevent the hard-

ships of slavery from being doubled on the old. It had been alleged that the penalty of 500*l.* had not been inflicted on some masters who had been convicted of having mutilated their slaves; — but it was well known, and it was a custom that prevailed in every civilised country, that judges were invested with a discretionary power to mitigate punishment as the nature of circumstances might suggest and require. But the cases alluded to happened before the passing of the act, by virtue of which the penalty of 500*l.* was to be inflicted; and how could the law have been violated before it had received existence? However fines of 50*l.* and 100*l.* had been imposed before the act passed, which proved at least an existing disposition to discountenance and punish the cruelties that were so industriously exaggerated. With respect to the instance of the child whose mouth was said to be cut from ear to ear, it was well known to be an act of insanity, and proved to be such in a court of law. Mr. Edwards next took occasion to mention the conduct of the king of Casson, who, in spite of every entreaty, had a number of prisoners, whom he had taken in battle, ordered into his presence and all their throats to be cut. Instances of this kind might be collected from Mr. M. Parke's Journal, on which Mr. Edwards bestowed the highest encomiums, and from which he inferred that the disposition of the natives, and not the intrigues of the slave traders, was the real cause of the barbarities they exercised. He would ask the honourable gentleman whether

it was better for the Africans to have their throats cut as he described, or to be sent to the West Indies? By bringing in this bill, the honourable gentleman would only teach the negroes that they were treated with injustice; and by this lesson, would pretty plainly tell them to rise upon their masters, and murder them. Mr. Edwards concluded by assuring the honourable gentleman, that if the West India planters were doomed to fall, he should see they should not fall without a struggle.

Mr. Wilberforce said a few words in explanation, and observed that he had ample proofs in his possession with respect to the facts which he had adduced relative to the mutilating of the slaves. The honourable gentleman had insisted that the cases of cruelty which he had mentioned had not taken place after the act had passed, but long before the passing of it; in contradiction to which Mr. Wilberforce read the records of the council, and the words of the act itself, which fully established the fact. With respect to the master of a child cutting its mouth from ear to ear, it was equally easy to be substantiated; and as to the report of the master being deranged, no allegation of insanity had ever been brought against him; and even the jury who sat on his trial, proved that no such plea was ever set up in his defence.

Mr. B. Edwards acknowledged he had made a slight mistake as to the precise date of the act; but with respect to the master of the negro child, who he said was insane, it was notorious to all the country.

Mr. Canning said, if there ever hung any doubt or hesitation upon his mind with regard to the propriety of the vote which he should give on the present question, that doubt was completely done away by the speech of Mr. B. Edwards. The honourable gentleman had laid down two propositions which he Mr. Canning was very anxious should be minutely attended to; for, if there were any who entertained a doubt respecting the propriety of an immediate abolition of the slave trade, such would do well to consider, whether by acceding to these propositions, they were not going to vote a complete perpetuity of that trade? These propositions held out to us, that as long as there was a market for slaves, there would be found buyers; and, that as long as Africa would furnish negroes, there would not be wanting other countries to purchase them. The specimens of cruelty to which the miserable Africans were exposed were, seemingly, in the opinion of the honourable gentleman, some apology for the continuance of the slave trade; and under this persuasion he put the question, whether they would not prefer being sent to the West Indies, to having their throats cut at home? For his part, were the question put to him—whether he would finish his being in his native land, or be sent in slavery to the West Indies, where he might, at the cruel caprice of a tyrant master, be ignominiously maimed and miserably mangled? much rather he would say, “May I perish at home! than yield up my liberty and expose my person to such cruel and outrageous indignities.” The honourable gen-

He had proceeded to urge the necessity of continuing the slave trade as long as there remained uncultivated lands in our West India islands, and the impropriety of discussing the question of the abolition of the slave trade until this object had been accomplished. Mr. Canning said he could not speak from local knowledge; but he understood, from good authority, that a third of the lands in the islands still remained uncultivated. On this he would only observe, that those who did not distinctly disclaim this ground for supporting the farther continuance of this trade, could never persuade him that they had been at all sincere in their wishes for its abolition.

Mr. Thornton rose and made some remarks upon Mr. Parke's Journal, from which Mr. Edwards had collected his information. He allowed Mr. Parke to be a gentleman of probity; but as Mr. Parke's route was by water, for many hundred miles up the great river Gambia, he had not perhaps been in a situation to make extensive observations and inquiries near the sea-coast, concerning the slave trade. Certain, however, it was, that no part of Mr. Parke's information could invalidate the positive evidence that had come from other quarters. Mr. Thornton then read from governor Macaulay's Journal some extracts concerning the mode of procuring slaves in the Mandingo country, (a part in which Mr. Edwards seemed to suppose that no enormities were practised,) which proved that kidnapping was frequent; and, that it was agreed upon between the slave traders and the kidnappers,

that none of the natives round should be admitted to a sight of the slaves, who were usually conveyed away by the craft in the night. Mr. Thornton proceeded to describe the sources of the slave trade in Africa, which he said were four, viz, wars, crimes, debts, and kidnapping. At Sierra Leone, there were abundant proofs, that wars were both fomented and prolonged by this traffic. It had been said by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards), that the abolition of the slave trade would cause many of the Africans to be butchered, because there would be no market for the prisoners of war; on the contrary, in that country it appeared that the slave trade was chargeable, not only with the wars themselves, but with the murder of such prisoners as were unfit for sale. With regard to slaves sold for alleged crimes, as far as he had learnt, of slaves sold from Sierra Leone, not one conviction was supported even by the semblance of justice. The pretended crimes were generally witchcraft and adultery. Somebody or other was accused of witchcraft on the death of almost every great man. The person accused was compelled to drink a poisonous draught, called red water; if he died his relations were frequently seized and sold as slaves; if the wretch survived, he himself was sold for a slave—and there were not wanting instances of English slave-traders encouraging this iniquitous kind of superstition. Mr. Thornton next made some remarks on the practice of seizing and selling debtors, &c. which he said necessarily led to kidnapping; since when any man was threat-

ened or actually seized for debt, he or his connexions were under the strongest temptation to go and kidnap some other person, in order to redeem him or those who were so threatened or seized. Mr. Thorntorn next touched on the various obstacles to civilization which attended the slave trade; and concluded by making some observations on the duty of the British legislature to abolish such a traffic as he had described on the principles of morality, justice, and sound policy.

Mr. Sewell said a few words against the motion, and observed that it would unsettle the legal tenures, by which the proprietors of West India estates held their possessions. He would ask, was the house prepared to take such a step without, at the same time, offering them adequate compensation? He objected also to the motion, as it went to counteract the address of last session, in which his Majesty was requested to recommend to the colonies to adopt such measures as seemed necessary to meliorate the condition of the slaves.

Colonel Gascoigne spoke against the motion, and said it called upon the house to rescind its former resolution, which was neither consistent nor prudent.

Mr. Buxton supported the motion, and said it could not be thought that the negroes in our colonies could be long retained in a state of slavery, when, at the same time, they saw those in our enemies' colonies emancipated.

Mr. Hobhouse remarked, that in the correspondence with the colonial assemblies, which had been laid before the house, he could not see any thing like a

serious disposition to meet the wishes of the house. The governors of two of the islands had remained silent, and in some others no measures had been taken, so that he thought little was to be expected from that quarter. Though all agreed that the traffic of slaves was cruel, yet he was sorry to see that this trade had lately been on the increase; and here he could not but advert to the encouragement given by his Majesty's proclamation, to export slaves from our islands to the Spanish colonies, even though in a state of war with them.

The chancellor of the exchequer said he could not let this opportunity pass of rectifying the misunderstanding which had gone abroad upon the subject, to which the honourable gentleman alluded in the conclusion of his speech. The fact was, that a free port being established in one of the West India islands, without any provision at all relative to negro slaves, it so happened that reference was made to an act of parliament, (and he was sorry to say such a practice should have received the sanction of the legislature), in which slaves were enumerated among a variety of articles of commerce. A proper representation having been made, instructions were immediately sent out, directing that slaves should not be included as articles of commerce. This was the simple state of the case.

The chancellor then contended for the immediate abolition of the slave trade, in order to secure the safety of the West India islands. Some had contended he said for its farther continuance upon the

ground, that it was necessary for the interests of the islands : this at best was but doubtful; however, the balance seemed to incline the other way; and now the necessity of the immediate abolition was pressed for the salvation of those very islands, which it was argued such a measure would destroy. The contemplation of future advantages sometimes makes men blind to present dangers : for some distant improvements, the gentlemen on the other side overlooked their real interests ; and to favour the false calculation on which this principle proceeded, they would have us not only overlook that very interest which, whether they see it or not, it was our business to guard. We were told to postpone the consideration of the abolition till some future period ; but we hear of no specific time fixed at which the subject may be resumed. The honourable gentleman (Mr. B. Edwards) contended that all the waste land in the West India islands must previously be cultivated. Upon this point it was impossible to comment in more appropriate language than that which had been used by his honourable friend (Mr. Canning). From his not having documents before him, there was one point which he did not explain to the house so fully as he (Mr. Pitt) could wish. It appeared from a statement which he held in his hand, that the quantity of uncultivated land in the island of Jamaica was about two-thirds more than that already in cultivation. It appeared also that for this 250,000 negroes were required. To suffice for the cultivation of other parts, the complete number

of 600,000 more at the same time would be necessary. To procure this supply then, it would be necessary to import not merely this number, but to import, with all the frightful waste of mortality with which this importation is attended, till the full number should be completed. From a comparison of the importation necessary to make out 250,000 employed in the present cultivation of this island, and taking into view the increased ratio of mortality, in proportion to the number required, in order to keep 600,000 negroes living at the same time, an importation of between 11 and 12,000 was necessary. We know that in the last hundred years the cultivation had been going on, till the number of negroes amounted in the island of Jamaica to 250,000. Upon the calculation, that with 600,000 negroes a corresponding length of time would be necessary for the cultivation of the remaining two-thirds supposed capable of cultivation, the period of the final abolition, upon the honourable gentleman's plan, would be protracted for no less than 240 years. If this was to be the rule by which the abolition of this horrible traffic was to be determined, he could not but understand it as a declaration that it was to be perpetual. It had been said, that as this traffic was encouraged by the legislature, the abolition would be unjust towards those who had acted upon the faith of the existing laws.—It was well answered, that the legislature often bestowed encouragement upon branches of commerce, which, in different circumstances it was prudent to withdraw. After

some farther pointed remarks, he contended that no partial inconvenience ought to weigh against the undisputed principle of justice, and against the safety of the islands themselves.

Sir W. Young spoke against the motion, and said gentlemen were not aware how difficult the situation was of the colonial assemblies with regard to the subject referred to their regulation. It was the prevalent opinion in the islands, that the emancipation of the negroes, and the abolition of the slave trade, would go together. He wished the house to reflect on the calamities that might happen, such as war, conflagration, disease, &c. to destroy the population of negroes belonging to an estate, without any remedy, if fresh importations were prohibited; and thus a fatal blow might be given to the property of the West India planters, whilst that gradual system of meliorating their condition, which was pursuing in the islands by the colonial assemblies, would have quite a different effect. He said he had been told by Mr. Cooper, who was a prisoner at Guadeloupe, that when the negroes were emancipated, and told they must be soldiers, and give their labour to the state, many of them refused emancipation on such conditions. He concluded by saying, that he thought the British legislature ought to wait a few years, in order to see whether the measures now adopting in the West India islands produced the desired effect.

Mr. W. Smith said, that the West India planters had sufficient warning of the abolition of the

slave trade, from the year 1792 to the 1st of January, 1796, when it was determined by a majority that a gradual abolition should begin. Much stress had been laid, he said, upon the arguments of its being the interest of the planter to render the condition of the slaves as comfortable as possible, and two colonial gentlemen had deposed to that effect; however, this was contradicted by the resolutions of the assembly of St. Christopher's; by which it appeared, that too little attention was paid either to the food or the clothing of these unhappy creatures. He contended that the shocking accounts given of those parts of Africa, in which the traffic prevailed, were strictly true, and were not even contradicted by the traveller, Mr. Parke. Therefore he thought it was incumbent on the house to do its duty by abolishing the trade, and not to content itself with paltry meliorations, by countenancing a system too execrable for the powers of human language to describe.

Mr. Ellis thought there was too much precipitation in bringing on the question. Gentlemen should have waited until the legislatures of the islands assembled, when their intentions respecting the business could be ascertained.

Mr. Fox (who attended for this evening at the solicitation of the friends of abolition) rose and said, after the repeated discussions which this subject had undergone, he did not wish to detain the house long with a tedious inquiry into the principles by which the question ought to be decided. The gentlemen who were against the motion are extremely anxious

to have it understood that there was but one opinion of the injustice and immorality of the slave trade; the only difference was, what is the best mode to abandon it? To me (said Mr. Fox) it is a matter of shame and of lamentation that the country should have so degenerated from every sense of virtue, should be so sunk in hypocrisy, that however convinced of the enormity of the wickedness, we have not yet abandoned that course which we so unanimously condemn. The British Parliament has been acquainted with the guilt and the reproach with which the nation has been loaded; not two opinions exist upon the subject; and yet not a single step has been taken, till last year, to remove the cause. Those gentlemen who oppose the motion say, we are told that the savage nations go to war with each other; and, that as their prisoners are brought to market, it would be inhumanity not to purchase; and, as the mischief is done, why should not we derive some advantage from it? If a passenger is to be robbed, why may not we be the first to plunder him? Such are the arguments by which one of the greatest wickednesses that ever disgraced a nation is palliated. We are asked, is it not better to send them to the West Indies, than to leave them in Africa to have their throats cut? Interest, they say, is sufficient to induce kindness. We know (continues Mr. Fox) that such is the nature of man, that the idea of possessing an unlimited authority, so far from inspiring tenderness, produces contempt of the object as worthless. An honourable gentleman tells us,

that we ought not to be precipitate, that we ought not to be violent, and that we ought to prefer measures of conciliation to measures of severity. Gracious God! what severity are we about to commit? Are we to suspend the trade for two or three years, till you see whether an act of parliament be necessary to abolish it, or will you trust to the regulations in the West Indies? Mr. Fox said he listened with great attention to what fell from the minister in the debate; and contended that it was impossible to answer the arguments he had urged in favour of the motion. "He told you (said Mr. Fox) the safety of the West India islands depended on your adoption of the measure." He (Mr. Fox) was not often in the habit of paying implicit deference to his assertions; but on this occasion he could have no doubt of the truth of what he said. After passing several encomiums on the chancellor of the exchequer for his eloquence in support of the motion, he proceeded by saying, what should he think of those who had acknowledged the injustice and inhumanity of this trade, but who nevertheless would vote against the motion, rather than make a sacrifice of their interests? Mr. Fox remarked, that if he asked those gentlemen who were against the motion, when they would abolish the slave trade? they would answer, when the islands are cultivated. None of these gentlemen agreed in any thing like a definitive answer; but each had an answer of his own, and each tending to the same point, viz. to oppose the abolition of the slave

trade for ever. What is the nature of the bill proposed to be brought in? Why, in its nature it must be a measure calculated to give them notice when the trade shall be abolished: for the motion is, "That you do now resolve yourselves into a committee to consider of a motion, that the slave trade be abolished at a time to be limited." What time do these gentlemen require? Why, till all these objections to the abolition be done away. Mr. Fox observed, if notice be the object, this motion was peculiarly adapted to gain that object; and should the house give leave to bring in the proposed bill, he should, when the blank came to be filled up in the committee, most certainly vote for the direct and immediate abolition of this trade; being mindful of this ground, that the house was bound to abolish a trade, which they had declared to be a trade of injustice and immorality; being mindful also that the minister had declared that the safety of the islands depended upon it. Mr. Fox said he had now delivered his opinion upon this subject, though he was not sanguine in his hopes of success. With regard to what had been said to-night, viz. that individuals might have been cruel, and that we ought not to judge of the slave trade from the possibility of some persons having misconducted themselves in it—if man had not been cruel, slavery would never have been complained of in this world; indeed if man were not cruel, slavery would not exist. The secretary at war said, he should not have been induced to trouble the house this night, had

it not been for some of the observations of the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down. He agreed with him, however, in some of his opinions, although he could not agree with him in the reasons which he assigned for them. He observed, that he had not the least hesitation in declaring, that if the question were now, whether the slave trade should be immediately abolished, or be continued until all the lands in the West Indies should be cultivated? his alternative would be that of voting for the abolition; but, whether he should vote for the motion now before the house, or leave it to the legislatures of the islands? to whom by the last address of the house it seemed to have been entrusted, was a different question; and he conceived that leaving it to their care, was the best mode that could be adopted. Much had been said upon the interior situation of Africa, and the horrors of the slave trade, and the depravity which must necessarily attend it; these were points which admitted of no dispute: but the right honourable gentleman who spoke last asked a very important question: "Are you, after having acknowledged the injustice and inhumanity of the trade, to agree to its continuance?" which he followed up by asking,—“Are you to say, I will rob, because another man will rob?” Whatever may be the soundness of the right honourable gentleman's judgment, the instance did not appear applicable to the measure before the house. He allowed that inasmuch as example operated, each person con-

cerned in the trade must incur some censure.

The right honourable gentleman who spoke last stated, that this house, by continuing the slave trade, would be guilty of a breach of duty. Whether it would be a breach of duty, or not, he would take it upon him to say was the whole question. The point then would be, whether by abolishing the trade now, we were likely to create a greater evil than that which we would willingly remove? because our interest is not any consideration at all with us, except in a comparative sense; and that includes not only the safety of the whole of our islands, but also the happiness of the very people who now endure the hardships of slavery in the West Indies. Gentlemen may ask, why do you not fix a period beyond which you will not allow the traffic to continue? He might be told that he was acting inconsistently with his former principles, because he agreed to the address, considering it as a notice to the planters to diminish the importation of negroes; to which he should answer, that if you consider the immediate abolition of the trade as a punishment upon those who were interested in its continuance, the reasoning is correct; but if otherwise, the reasoning is inconclusive. Those who wish for the abolition of the slave trade, may have very good wishes, but he did not know that their wishes would have the effect which they expected. If the planters go on in a system of ameliorating the condition of the negroes, that would of itself have a good effect. This

was the view he had of the question; which he thought it his duty to state to the house, although he should have forborne but for the warmth of the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, whose erroneous reasoning in some parts of his speech he could as easily excuse on some occasions, as he could admire the force of his arguments on others.

Mr. Barham spoke against the motion: he thought such motions had a tendency to spur on, instead of to discourage, the traffic. He said he was not a very considerable proprietor; but as far as he was interested, he was ready to forego any share of compensation for himself: but neither himself nor any other person had a right to give away the property of others. Much had been urged to that house about abolishing the trade; but he wished gentlemen to put to themselves one question—The question was, whether the House of Commons had the power to put an end to the slave trade without the consent of the colonial assemblies?

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply relative to compensation, which he said related solely to lands, under certain circumstances, which were derived from the crown, in those islands, for valuable considerations. In those cases, and where the conditions stipulated for were faithfully performed by the grantees—he thought it fair that certain proportionate compensation should be allowed.

The question then being loudly called for, the house divided, when there appeared—For the motion,

83 — Against it, 87 — Majority, 4.

Several fruitless attempts were afterwards made by the abolitionists to introduce clauses in a bill which was brought in to regulate the carrying of slaves. The merchants of Liverpool petitioned to be heard by counsel against the clauses: and on two occasions the house was *counted out* during the discussion. After the last adjournment, the bill itself was postponed.

No other debate of importance

occupied the attention of parliament, and on the 29th of June this laborious session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed in strong terms his reliance upon the firmness and constancy of every class of his subjects, and after noticing the financial measures which had been adopted, and adverting with hope to a termination of the disasters and dangers by which Ireland was beset, prorogued the Parliament to the 8th of August.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

3d. **Y**ESTERDAY a Common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the election of a Chamberlain for the city of London, in the room of the late Mr. Alderman Wilkes, which was very fully attended. The candidates were Sir Watkin Lewes, who was proposed by Matthew Wilson, Esq. and seconded by Mr. Griffiths, and Mr. Alderman Clarke, who was proposed by Alderman Skinner. Upon the shew of hands a very considerable majority appeared in favour of Alderman Clarke, who was accordingly returned by the Lord Mayor; but a poll was demanded by the friends of Sir Watkin Lewes, which continued till near two o'clock, when Sir Watkin finding the numbers much against him, declined the contest. On closing the books the numbers were,

For Mr. Alderman Clarke 393

For Sir Watkin Lewes 48

Majority 345

The beautiful Mrs. Thornhill, well known in the fashionable world, was last week taken suddenly ill while at supper at a gay party at Bath, and notwithstanding

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ing immediate medical assistance was procured, died in the course of two hours.

A most daring robbery was effected this evening about eight o'clock, by three villains, who under pretence of delivering a letter, at the house of Mrs. Taylor, in Norton-street, Portland-place, rushed in, bound her and the maid-servant back to back in the kitchen, rifled their pockets, took away the plate-chest, and several valuable articles of furniture, valued at 300*l.* and got off undiscovered.

The Carteret packet, from New York, sailed on the 9th 6th ult. On the 30th, at noon, she was chased by a ship which gained upon her very fast. At two P. M. she was within a mile, when the Carteret hoisted her colours, and fired a gun to leeward, which the chasing ship answered. Her colours, however, were observed to be more of a crimson than the English generally are, and her manœuvres, and the manner in which she was worked, convinced every one on board the packet that she was an enemy. A squall coming on, carried away some of the top-halliards, &c. of the packet, but she kept her top-sails, &c. secure. The same squall took the

* A

chasing vessel; she heeled extremely, and the people on board took in their main-top-gallant mast and spanker, but too late, for she upset and went down almost instantaneously. She was full of men, many of whom appeared on her broadside for a moment, but were carried down by the vortex occasioned by the sinking of the ship. The Carteret shortened sail and put about in the hope of saving some of the unfortunate sufferers, but in vain, as not a spar, nor a hat, nor a vestige remained upon the water.

The fate of the Prince Frederick extra ship from Bengal, is now ascertained beyond the probability of a doubt, by the arrival of Mr. Thears, an assistant surgeon, who partook of all the distresses experienced by her crew previous to her sinking off Teneriffe. For above ten preceding days, the ship's company had only the scanty allowance of a bottle of beer per day to three men. All hands during that time had been kept to the pumps, which at length were completely choked by the indigo, which oozed through the sides. From the cargo bulging in almost every direction, it was generally imagined the ribs of the vessel would be beaten to pieces; and, no hopes of succour remaining, the crew with that customary idiotism, which desperation in these cases so often produces, rifled every article between decks, broke open the officer's chests, and pierced the casks of Madeira. In this state of disorder, the crew being for the most part in a state of intoxication, the Captain and officers on the ninth day of their distress, observed two large ves-

sels at a considerable distance; guns were fired, when at length one of the ships blew up; the other came within two miles of the delighted beholders, and then changed her course. The following morning another ship came within nearly the same distance, and as suddenly took another track: to her succeeded a French frigate, the Insurgent, to which the Prince Frederic of course struck: all but two of the crew were helped on board, one of whom fell overboard, and the other, refusing all assistance, swore he would sink with the ship; and in less than ten minutes, the Prince Frederic, one of the richest vessels ever freighted from the East, sunk with her valuable cargo in the deep. The Insurgent landed her prisoners at Port L'Orient, whence Mr. Thears arrived on Sunday last.

A letter from Edinburgh 8th gives the following curious particulars relative to Roderic Milesius M'Cullin, who having been found guilty of forgery and condemned to be hanged, remained for some time in confinement in that city, and conducted himself, until very recently, in a manner highly becoming his unfortunate situation. One day last week, however, at seven o'clock in the evening, he knocked with his fetters upon the floor of the room, his usual signal for the jailor to come to him. The jailor accordingly went to him, when the prisoner gave him a letter to read, and when he saw him engaged in its perusal, he suddenly leaped from the couch, his irons having been previously filed through, and seized the jailor by the throat; and immediately two

fellows, prisoners at large in the jail, rushed in to assist in overpowering the jailor, whom they violently thrust into a corner of the room. M'Cullin with one hand forced a napkin into his mouth, and with the other attempted to cut his throat, in which he fortunately failed, but inflicted a deep wound in the cheek. The jailor, getting hold of the knife, wrested it from the prisoner, and used it in his own defence, inflicting several wounds on his assailants. By this time the noise of the scuffle and the jailor's outcries gave an alarm, and assistance was procured, the jailor relieved, and the prisoners secured. A surgeon was immediately sent for, who attended to the wounded persons, and M'Cullin was again put in irons, and two centinels placed over him. On the following evening he took a large quantity of laudanum, which he had secretly procured, but having been observed, a physician was sent for, who ordered him a strong emetic, which he refusing to take, it was forced down his throat, and in a very short time he threw up the poison. He has since undergone the sentence of the law and conducted himself with decency and propriety to the last. He was a very young man of polished manners and liberal education. His understanding and talents were far above mediocrity, and his conversation and behaviour altogether were those of a person accustomed to the best society. The name by which he went, he acknowledged was not that of his family, which he declared he never would reveal, on account of

the unhappy circumstances attending his fate.

This week, as Lord Berwick's workmen were employed in digging his Lordship's new piece of water, between Ternbridge and the river Severn, in a ploughed field, but at a very little more than plough depth, beneath the surface of the earth, they came to an enclosure of large stones, within which were ranged three large glass urns of very elegant workmanship, one large earthen urn, and two smaller ones of red earth. Each of the urns has one handle, and those of the glass urns are curiously ribbed. The glass urns are about twelve inches in height and ten in diameter. The large earthen urn is so much broken that its dimensions cannot be exactly ascertained: but on its handle are stamped the letters S. P. A. H. which are supposed to be the workman's mark. The small urns are about nine inches high. Within the glass urns were the remains of burnt bones and fine mould; and in each a fine glass lachrymatory, consisting of the same materials as the urns, which are of a beautiful light pea-green. Near one of them was part of a jaw-bone with a grinder quite perfect therein. An earthen lamp and a few Roman coins of the lower empire, of no value, were discovered in the same place. The whole was covered with large flat stones whereon was laid a quantity of coarse rock-stone; from which extraordinary care to preserve these remains, as well as from the fine colour and quality of the glass, it is presumed to have been the burial place of some fa-

mily of distinction resident in the neighbouring colony of Uricomium. One of the glass urns, and part of another, the fragments of the large urn, one of the small ones, one of the lachrymatories, the lamp, and coins, are the only parts of this most curious discovery, which have been rescued from the spades of the workmen. These are at present at the Talbot inn, in Archam, but it is intended to place them in the library at Attingham.

Passports have been sent off by the Commissioners for French prisoners, for a French agent to come to this country, to superintend and have the care of provisioning the French prisoners. It is now agreed upon between the two countries, that the prisoners of each shall be maintained at the cost of their respective governments, the markets of both being open to the agent residing therein. The prisoners are likewise to be kept in two or three places of general rendezvous, in place of being scattered over the country as heretofore. England will save near half a million a year by this arrangement.

11th. A letter from Dublin states, that Mr. Justice Swan, who has, for some time past, been diligently seeking for information respecting the enormous forgeries of bank-notes which have been detected lately in that city, having received intelligence of a very extensive manufactory of that kind carrying on in Richmond, on Tuesday last went thither to a house called Balloon-lodge, kept by a Frenchman of the name of Ferdinand Morong,

a jeweller, whom he apprehended, together with an accomplice, an engraver, who lately lived in Fishamble-street. Mr. Swan's information was so correct that he immediately went to a loose tile in the floor of the green-house, which being removed, discovered a hole, about a yard deep, in which was a large square wooden trunk, containing a quantity of paper the exact size of bank-notes, with the water mark, some printed in copper-plate, and, in fact, in all the various stages of progression from the blank-paper to the perfect bank-note. Under a loose board in the drawing-room was found a most curious and ingenious frame for stamping the water-mark, and in an adjoining closet was a rolling-press, on which were three copper-plates for one guinea, one guinea and a half, and five guinea bank-notes, so accurately done as to deceive those who are best acquainted with them, without the minutest and closest examination. Mr. Morong has a very elegant woman for his wife, and five lovely children. His house at Richmond was fitted up in a superior style, and handsomely furnished with pleasure-garden, green-house, and every comfortable convenience. It is said that these notes used to be bought at half price, and circulated among the unwary. One of these accustomed utterers will be the principal evidence on the trial.

This day, George Reeves was tried at the Old Bailey for forging a receipt for scrip, and uttering the same, well knowing it to be forged, with intent to defraud William Ashforth. The prisoner was a stock-broker, and borrowed

3 or 4000*l.* of the prosecutor, for which he deposited receipts for the first payment of the loan raised in 1796, to the value of 30,000*l.* the conditions of which loan were, that if the subscribers did not pay their subsequent payments on the appointed days, what had been paid was to be forfeited to the public: and, from its falling to a very considerable discount, a great number of the first payments were forfeited. Mr. Ashforth wishing some better security, the prisoner went with him to the bank, and, taking the papers, left them, some months after the day for the second payment was past, for near two hours in the Rotunda: on his coming back, he returned six of the receipts to the prosecutor, saying, that he had got them filled up to the time, and that they were for 7000*l.* In the beginning of October, Mr. Ashforth employed the prisoner as his broker to get his money changed into the Imperial Loan, and he pretended he had done so; of course, at the latter end of that month he applied to him for the interest, when he pretended the principal for whom he acted was not ready: but to satisfy Mr. Ashforth, he gave him another script receipt for 600*l.* together with a paper, specifying the conditions of the loan. October 30, the prisoner was taken into custody, and a great number of these script receipts being found in his possession, Mr. Ashforth, among others for whom he had done business, was applied to, and, upon his producing the papers, all the receipts for the second payment, signed C. O'Leary, were found to be forged. In his defence he said,

he had purchased them in the way of his profession, that he was unable to say from whom, it not being the custom in the Alley to make minutes of that kind, (which fact he called several gentlemen to corroborate); and he trusted that his continuing publicly in business till the minute in which he was apprehended, would be considered a sufficient proof that he had not the smallest idea they were forged. Several witnesses gave the prisoner, an excellent character, after which the learned judge summed up the evidence with the utmost precision and candour. The jury, after retiring for thirteen minutes, brought in a verdict of—*Guilty.*

On the morning of the 13th 11th inst. the *Cerberus*, of 32 guns, Capt. Drew, arrived in Cawsand Bay, from Cork, having under her convoy the *Reynard*, 20 guns, and the *Epervoir*, 16 guns, French privateers, which she had captured in November last. During the night of the 10th, and morning of the 11th, the wind blew from the southward with great violence, attended by hard rains, and causing a very heavy sea. This state of weather continued till about half past one o'clock P.M. when the wind abated considerably, and veered a little to the westward of the south. All the morning, till that time, the *Reynard* was in great danger of driving on the rocks in Firestone-bay, but she fortunately escaped, and is now safe in Hamoaze. As soon as the gale abated a little, Capt. Drew, of the *Cerberus*, Mr. James Drew, acting-lieutenant of the same ship, and nephew to Captain Drew; Captain

Pulling, late of the *Penguin*, of 18 guns, now on the Cork station; Mr. Poore, and Mr. Dailey, midshipmen, Capt. Drew's cockswain, and a black servant belonging to Captain Pulling; together with a boat's crew of six sailors, left Cawsand-bay in the barge of the *Cerberus*, and steered for Hamoaze, Captain Drew having letters from Admiral Kingsmill, at Cork, to the Port-admiral at Plymouth: they made their passage very safely, though the sea ran very hollow, till they came abreast of Redding-point, and at the opening of Hamoaze. But about two o'clock P. M. as they were passing the bridge, a very narrow channel, situate between Mount Edgecumbe and the island of St. Nicholas, they found, notwithstanding the wind had much abated, that the swell of the sea was there very heavy, occasioned by the strong ebb-tide of the harbour running counter to the southerly wind and sea, the ground beneath being very rocky, and the water shoal. When they got abreast, nearly off St. Nicholas, a heavy sea broke into the boat, which rendered her situation very dangerous. Captain Drew now became alarmed, and pulled off his coat to be prepared for the worst, at the same time advising all hands in the boat to consider of the best means of saving their lives, in case any still more imminent danger should arise. His fears were soon realized; for the sea which first struck the boat was instantly followed by two others, by which she foundered, and, dreadful to relate, every person on board her, except two of the sailors, perished. Not being able to swim, each of them

had secured an oar, and on these they were driven to the rocks at Mount Edgecumbe, by which means their lives were providentially preserved. Captain Drew was observed by these men for some time combating the waves, and endeavouring to reach the shore, but his strength being exhausted, he sunk in their sight: his coat has been since picked up, and the letters to the Port Admiral found in its pockets. Captain Pulling had been recently promoted to the rank of Post-captain, and took passage in the *Cerberus*, from Cork, to join his Majesty's ship *Hindustan*, of 54 guns, now fitting up in Plymouth harbour for a storeship, to the command of which he had just been appointed by the Lords of the Admiralty. A short time since, he married a daughter of Admiral Kingsmill. Captain Drew was unmarried, but had many very near relations at Saltash, about four miles from the spot where he lost his life.

In the Council Chamber of the Hall, in the Market-place at Norwich, is erected the following device in memorial of the glorious actions of the 14th of February, 1797: an anchor, to the ring of which is suspended a yard and sail, supposed to be torn in action, on which is inscribed, "the sword of the Spanish Admiral, Don Xavier Winthuysen, who died of the wounds he received in an engagement with the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Earl St. Vincent, the 14th of February, 1797, which ended in the most brilliant victory ever gained by this country over the enemy at sea; wherein the heroic valour and cool determined courage of Rear-Ad-

miral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. had ample scope for their display. He, being a native of Norfolk, honoured the city, by presenting this sword, surrendered to him in that action." From the flukes of the anchor the sword is suspended; underneath is the coat of arms of Sir H. Nelson, which was given to him by the King. The crest is the stern of a man of war, and the supporters a sailor, bearing a British lion trampling on the Spanish colours. The motto, "Faith and Works." The whole is neatly executed by Mr. Windham, of Norwich.

16th. On Sunday morning, a duel was fought in Hyde Park, between the Earl of Lonsdale and Sir Frederic Vane, Bart. in which the latter was wounded, this is the second time they have met on the same quarrel.

Yesterday, John Perring, Esq. of Broad-street, merchant, was elected Alderman of Broad-street ward, in the room of Richard Clarke, Esq. resigned.

A young woman, of the name of Carver, house-maid to Sir Richard Pearson, of Greenwich Hospital, proves to be the daughter of the late Captain Carver, of great transatlantic celebrity, who acquired a vast tract of country in the back settlements of America: this the Indians have faithfully guaranteed, and preserved for his legal representative, who is, at length, indisputably discovered in the fortunate young woman above-mentioned. This territory, in times of peace, is estimated at the value of 100,000*l.* sterling.

The following particulars of the mutiny on board his Majesty's fri-

gate *Hermione*, Capt. Pigot, are taken from the American papers:

When about three days out from Capé Nicola Mole, on a cruise, part of the crew were engaged handing the mizen topsail; the Captain speaking sharp to them, two of the men fell from the yards; when the others came down they were reprimanded in severe terms by the Captain, and several of them threatened with punishment: this occasioned much discontent, which continued until the next evening, when the mutiny broke out by the crew, throwing double-headed shot, &c. about the ship, and other disorderly conduct. The First Lieutenant went down to enquire what they wanted, and was soon wounded in the arm by a tomahawk; he retreated, and upon again advancing was knocked down, his throat cut, and thrown overboard. After which the sailors proceeded to the cabin in search of the Captain, who had locked himself in, but was soon dragged out, and after a vain attempt to defend himself, in which he wounded two or three with his sword, he shared the fate of his unfortunate Lieutenant; they then seized upon and murdered every officer in the ship, except a master's mate, and two midshipmen. They then directed their course to La Guira, where they arrived under Spanish colours, and delivered the ship up to the Spanish governor there, pretending that they had turned their officers adrift in the jolly-boat.

The mutiny was headed by William Farmer, master's mate. The captain, nine officers, and a lieutenant of marines, were mur-

dered and thrown overboard. The following is a list of them: Captain Pigot, Lieutenants Spriggs, Douglas, and Fanshaw; Mr. Percy, purser; Dr. Sansom; Manning, captain's clerk; Mr. Smith, midshipman; Mr. Martin, boat-swain; and a lieutenant of marines. On the ship's arrival at La Guira, the governor gave each man 25 dollars. She was afterwards fitted out, and is now cruising, and William Farmer is second captain, with a great number of her old crew, the principal part of which were Frenchmen, and they assign as cause for the mutiny, the great severity of Captain Pigot, who was constantly flogging the men. The lieutenant of marines, though sick in his cabin, was taken out and thrown overboard; the other officers were cut to pieces.

25th. Yesterday, being the anniversary of the birthday of Mr. Fox, a large assemblage of nobility, gentry, and others, to the amount of near two thousand, met at the Crown and Anchor for its celebration. The Duke of Norfolk was in the chair; the Duke of Bedford, Earls Lauderdale and Oxford, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Horne Tooke, were present; together with all those who have heretofore thought that Mr. Fox had not sufficiently explained his sentiments with regard to parliamentary reform. Captain Morris produced three new songs on the occasion. Mr. Howell, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Dignum, and several other gentlemen in the different rooms, sung songs applicable to the fête. After the dinner was removed, his Grace the Duke of Norfolk made a speech to the com-

pany assembled in the great room in nearly the following terms:

"We are met, my friends, in times of unparalleled difficulty to celebrate the birth of a man most dear to every sincere lover of freedom. I shall only recall to your memory, that, not twenty years ago, the illustrious George Washington had not more than two thousand men to rally around him in defence of the liberty of his country. America is now free. This day full two thousand men are assembled in this single place. To yourselves I leave the application. I propose to you the health of Charles James Fox." The toast was drank with the greatest fervour and enthusiasm. The noble duke then gave;

The rights of the people.

A speedy and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament.

The genuine principles of the British Constitution.

The people of Ireland; and may they be speedily restored to the blessings of law and liberty!

The chairman's health being then drank with three times three, and unbounded applause, the noble duke warmly returned his thanks, and then added, "Gentlemen, give me leave to drink your health, and before I seat myself to call upon you also to drink the health of our Sovereign:

The Majesty of the People."

This was followed by the most rapturous applause. Mr. Tooke said, he had approved of the conduct of Mr. Fox ever since that respectable character had declared himself the advocate of parliamentary reform. There, all their differences were at an end.

The seditious and daring tendency of these toasts have not passed unnoticed. In consequence of them the Duke of Norfolk has been dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and his regiment in the militia.

29th. The following advertisement which is copied verbatim from a New York paper of September the 7th, we recommend to the notice of those who oppose the abolition of the Slave Trade.

FOR SALE. "A healthy negro wench, sixteen years of age; she is capable of the *hardest work*, and will be sold cheap for cash; or would be exchanged for a *fashionable riding chair*, or for merchandize, as the owner is about to leave the State. Apply at No. 2, Cedar-street, from eight to nine A. M. or from three to four P. M."

31st. A letter, dated Jan. 1, 1798, from Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, gives an undoubted account of the loss of his Majesty's frigate *La Tribune*, 44 guns, Captain S. Barker, and the following particulars of this most melancholy circumstance may be implicitly depended upon. *La Tribune* was captured by Captain Williams, of the *Unicorn*, she was considered one of the finest frigates in the service. She sailed from Torbay as convoy with the *Quebec* and Newfoundland fleets, which she was separated from on October the 10th, lat. 46. 16. long. 32. 11. A few days after she approached Halifax harbour, and the wind blowing very strong, Captain Barker proposed lying to for a pilot, but the master having been frequently there before

thought it unnecessary, as the wind was fair. About twelve mid-day the ship drew so near the Trum Cap shoals, that the master became alarmed, but before Captain Barker could return to the deck, which he had quitted for a few minutes, the ship struck. Signals of distress were immediately made and answered from the shore and the ships in the harbour; numerous boats put out to her assistance, but notwithstanding every effort, the wind blowing directly contrary, very few succeeded in reaching the vessel. Having been lightened by every possible sacrifice, she began to heave at half past eight in the evening, and at nine got off the shoals, with her rudder lost, and seven foot water in the hold. All hands instantly fell to the pumps, but the violent gale from the S. E. kept encreasing, and by ten o'clock the water gaining fast on the ship, little hope remained. At this time, Lieutenants Campbell and North took to one of the boats. Dunlap, one of the survivors, speaks of the horror of the scene as beyond every power of description. When the vessel began to sink he ascended the shrouds, and saw Capt. Barker standing on the quarter-deck, immediately after he heard him call to the jolly boat, which had been previously let down with men in her, but the ship took a lurch and sunk to the bottom, after which neither the captain nor any other of the officers were to be seen. Dunlap, who had gained the foretop, now looked around him, and saw the waves covered by the struggling bodies of men, women, and children; many of the former clung to the shrouds and

different parts of the wreck which remained above water; but from the great length of the night, and the extreme severity of the storm, nature became exhausted; the cries and groans of the unhappy sufferers continued several hours, but when morning appeared their number was reduced to eight. The first exertion made for their relief was by a boy of thirteen years old, from Herring Cove, who ventured off in a small skiff by himself, about eleven o'clock the next day; and this truly heroic young lad, with great exertions and extreme risk to himself, ventured to approach the wreck, and backed in his little boat so near to the fore-top as to take in two of the men which was all it would hold; and here a trait of generous magnanimity occurred, which deserves to be held in perpetual remembrance. Dunlap, and another, named Munroe, had, through this dreadful night, providentially preserved their strength and spirits beyond their unfortunate companions, and had endeavoured to cheer and encourage them as they found their spirits sinking; they were now both of them near enough to step into the boat and put an end to all their sufferings, but two of their companions, though alive, were unable to help themselves; they lay exhausted on the top, and seemed to wish to remain undisturbed and perish as they lay. But these generous fellows lifted them up, and by the greatest exertions got them into the boat, and the young hero rowed them triumphantly into the cove, and got them conveyed to a comfortable habitation. After shaming by his exertions older persons who had

larger boats, he put off again in his little skiff, but the wind having freshened he could not with all his efforts again approach the wreck. His example, however, was soon followed by the men in La'Tribune's jolly boat, (which had reached the shore in safety with four persons) and by some of the boats of the cove, and by their joint exertions the eight survivors were preserved, who, with the four men who escaped in the jolly-boat, make all that remain of this fine ship's company. An instance occurred which although it may seem too ludicrous after the distressing events we have been narrating, is yet so descriptive of that cool thoughtlessness of danger, which so often distinguishes a British sailor, that it would be unpardonable to omit it. Daniel Munroe had, as well as Dunlap, got into the fore-top. After a while he disappeared and his companions concluded he had been washed away with many others; after an absence of above two hours he suddenly popped his head up the lubber-hole, to the surprise of Dunlap, who inquired where he had been; he said he had been cruizing about in search of a better birth; and it appeared that after swimming round the wreck for some time, he had returned to the fore-shrouds and crawled in on the cat-harpins, where he had actually been sleeping more than an hour, by which he said he was, and appeared to be considerably refreshed.

A most tremendous and destructive fire broke out yesterday evening in the extensive cotton manufactory, belonging to Messrs. Wood and Brumell, situate on the west side of English-street, Car-

lisle, which, in the space of three hours, consumed the whole of the buildings and stock; a few bales of cotton, and some broken pieces of machinery, being all that escaped its ravages. Amongst other things to be deplored in this great calamity is the circumstance of between two and three hundred people being thereby thrown out of all employment.

On the 13th inst. died at English Harbour, Antigua, Charles Peterson, Esq. first lieutenant of his Majesty's ship *Perdrix*. This event was caused by a dispute between the deceased and Lord Camelford, upon the right of commanding at English Harbour. Lord C. commanded his Majesty's sloop of war, the *Favourite*, by virtue of a warrant or order from Admiral Harvey; and Mr. Peterson (though an older officer than Lord Camelford), had lately served on board that ship under his command; but having been removed to the *Perdrix*, and his lordship not having a commission as master and commander, Mr. Peterson, being then at English Harbour, supposed himself to be the commanding officer, and under that idea, issued some orders to Lord Camelford, which were answered by other orders to himself from his lordship. Upon Mr. Peterson's refusal to obey these orders, a lieutenant, with a party of marines, were sent to put him under arrest, when he prepared for resistance, and ordered the crew of the *Perdrix* to arm in his defence. But before any conflict took place, Lord Camelford himself arrived, went up to Mr. Peterson, demanded if he would obey his or-

ders or not, and upon his refusal, shot him dead upon the spot. An inquest was taken by the coroner the next day; but the jury not willing to take upon themselves the determination of the question upon whom the command of English Harbour had devolved, found only, "that the deceased had been shot, by Lord Camelford, in consequence of a mutiny." A court-martial has since been held, on board his Majesty's ship, the *Invincible*, which having heard the whole of the evidence adduced on the occasion, and what the prisoner had to say in his defence, was unanimously of opinion, that "the very extraordinary and manifest disobedience of Lieutenant Peterson, both before, and at the instant of his death, to the lawful orders of Lord Camelford, the superior officer at English Harbour at that time, and the violent measures taken by Lieutenant Peterson to resist the same, by arming the ship's company of the *Perdrix*, were acts of mutiny, highly injurious to the discipline of his Majesty's navy. The Court therefore do adjudge the Right Honorable Lord Camelford to be honorably acquitted; and he is hereby honorably acquitted accordingly."

DIED—Aged 52, the Viscount D'Anteroche, a French nobleman, of high distinction. He was buried on the 9th inst. in St. Pancras Church, attended by many foreigners of high rank. On his coffin-plate was the following inscription: "Claire Viscompte D'Anteroche; Chevalier de l'Ordre Royale et Militaire de St. Louis, Lieutenant des Marechaux de France, au service du Roi de

France. *Habitant son Chateau de la Dubertie, près Cautien en Limousin.*"

At Oxford, in his 74th year, the Rev. Timothy Neve, D. D. Rector of Geddington, County of Oxford, Prebendary of Worcester and Margaret Professor of Divinity at the University of Oxford; Author of "*Animadversions on Philips's Life of Cardinal Pole*;" "*Eight Sermons preached at the Bampton Lecture, 1781*;" A Sermon "*on the Comparative Blessings of Christianity*," and Six Letters in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* vol. 2. part i. p. 417-435.

At Barcaldine, in Scotland, aged 108, John M'Gregor. He ended his days on the anniversary of his birth, Christmas-day, O. S. He was at the battle of Sheriffmair, and afterwards served in the Scots brigade in Holland. He had been in the service of the family of Barcaldine upwards of 50 years. He retained the use of his limbs and faculties till the last day of his life.

FEBRUARY.

5th. In the late mutiny at the Cape, the ships lay so near to the batteries, that the red hot shot must have completely destroyed them if the mutineers had not submitted. The council of war had seriously resolved, that if once the batteries had orders to fire, no after submission should be accepted. The most refractory ships had sent their officers on shore. All the batteries were manned, and more than a hundred pieces of cannon pointed at

the flag ship, the *Tremendous*, which was at anchor before the Amsterdam batteries, the furnaces were heated, and red hot balls were ready to pour into and sink her, in the case the mutineers should refuse to deliver up the ringleaders, with the delegates, and return to obedience. A proclamation was issued at 7 A. M. and only two hours allowed for the mutineers to consider whether they would return to their duty or not. When they found that it was positively determined to sink the ship in case of a refusal, the signal of submission was hoisted ten minutes before nine by the *Tremendous*, which was immediately followed by the other ships. The *Sceptre*, 64 guns, Captain Edwards; and the *Crescent*, 36 guns, Captain Springer, were the worst ships. The *Raisonnable*, 64 guns, Captain Boyle, and the *Sphinx*, 24 guns, Captain Alexander, scarcely joined in the mutiny; they only hoisted the red flag; no delegates were appointed, nor an officer sent out of either ship, but their officers restored order before the proclamation was sent out. The ships companies, of their own accord, gave up their delegates; there were altogether thirty to be tried, of whom several had suffered at the yard-arm when our advices left the place.

The *Jupiter*, 50 guns, Captain Lowsack, was the only ship that took no kind of share in the mutiny; a circumstance which reflects the highest honor both on the officers and seamen.

His Majesty, the King of Prussia, has recently issued the following military order:

" I learn, with much displeasure, that officers of the army, particularly young gentlemen, affect to value themselves on their privileges which they imagine elevate them above civil life. I shall endeavour to maintain due respect for a soldier, in every thing that may relate to his essential advantage; that is to say, in every thing connected with the business of war, during which it is his duty to defend his fellow citizens at the risk of his life. But no soldier whatever, be his rank what it may, shall be permitted to ill treat the people. It is they, and not I, who support the army. The military are paid by them. The troops are merely entrusted to my command. Imprisonment, cashiering, and death, are the punishments which await those who shall be guilty of so criminal an excess.

" FREDERIC WILLIAM."

A lamentable accident happened a few days since at Bath. An elderly gentlewoman, returning from Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, and being as it is supposed, absorbed in her reflections, walked over the precipice, which is at some distance in front of the building, and fell into a mud-pool below. Being discovered by some chairman, she was taken first to a surgeon's, and afterwards, her person being unknown, to the casualty hospital, where she died of the injuries she had received, on

the following morning. It was after some time discovered that this unfortunate sufferer was Miss Mackworth, sister to Sir Herbert Mackworth, Bart.

Hustings having been erected in the square of 9th. the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of accommodating such merchants, bankers, and principal tradesmen of the city of London, as wished to meet for the promotion of the voluntary contributions, now going forward, for the defence of the country, a very large and respectable meeting took place in consequence this morning. Alderman Curtis, Mr. Bosanquet, and several other gentlemen, spoke upon the subject of the present state of the country, strongly setting forth the necessity of opposing vigorous exertions to the inveterate hostility of an implacable foe, of patriotically supporting, by every sacrifice in our power, the Executive government in its defence of all that is most dear to us as Britons and as freemen. These speeches were received with universal applause, and four books were opened in which a great number of names were immediately subscribed. Mr. Boyd put his name down for 3000*l.* and the other subscriptions were proportionably liberal. Previous to meeting, the committee, who were appointed to conduct the business of the day, met at the Mansion House, where upwards of 20,000*l.* was subscribed.

The principal Contributors up to the present moment have been—

His Majesty, from the Privy Purse	-	-	-	£20,000
Her Majesty	-	-	-	5,000
The Duke of York	-	-	-	5,000
The Duke of Portland	-	-	-	5,000 A.

The Duke of Buccleugh	6,000
The Duke of Queensbury	5,000
The Lord Chancellor	6,000 A.
The Marquis of Buckingham, being the annual profit of his Tellership of the Exchequer	10,000 A.
Marquis of Stafford	4,000
Earl Camden, from the profits of his Tellership of the Exchequer	7,000 A.
Earl of Carlisle	4,000
Lord Romney	2,000 A.
Lord Kenyon	2,000
Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry	1,000
Cabinet ministers, each	2,000
Sir Pepper Arden	14,000
Admiral Colpoys	1,000
Mr. Peale's House at Manchester	20,000
Two other Manchester Houses, each	7,500

Together with vast numbers of smaller subscriptions. The sum total of the contributions, already received, amounts, at this early period, to near one million of money.

10th. Sentence of death has been passed by the Recorder, at the Old Bailey, upon William Graves, Charles Frewin, George Bowers, and Thomas Hunter, for burglary. Hezekiah Swaine, for horse-stealing; and Peter Declerk, for uttering a bank note, knowing it to be forged. Ten men and one woman were sentenced to be transported for seven years, and one man for fourteen years.

18th. A most gallant and praiseworthy defence has been made against the rebels in Ireland, by George Henry Bell, Esq. of Lissen Hall, near Swords. The house was surrounded, at two o'clock in the morning, by a numerous body of armed men, who began their operations by dashing the back door to pieces with sledges, and firing shots into the windows. Mr. Bell, however, having a number of arms ready loaded, kept up a

constant fire on the ruffians, assisted only by two men-servants, and Master Irvine, his brother-in-law, a boy only thirteen years of age. By incessant firing for an hour and twenty minutes, they were repelled without a man entering the house. Mrs. Bell took an active part in the defence, by priming and loading the pieces as fast as they were discharged, with the utmost coolness and intrepidity.

This day the unfortunate Louis XVIII. left 11th. Blackenburg for Mittau, in Courland, where he is to reside in future. If any thing can alleviate the bitter feelings of this ill-fated monarch, the princely conduct of the Emperor of Russia towards him must surely have that effect. His Imperial Majesty transmitted to him 100,000 rubles in gold, (about 20,000*l.* sterling); two Russian lords of the bed-chamber were sent to attend him on his

journey, and two commissaries are charged with supplying with provisions, &c. the hundred Lifeguards who compose his escort. His Majesty took with him, in his carriage, the Dukes of Avaray and de Villoquier, and the Count de la Chapelle. The other persons of rank, attached to his person, have taken the same road, or at least have been obliged to quit the Duchy of Brunswick. This sacrifice which the Duke of Brunswick has been compelled to make to existing circumstances, from considerations of great moment, will, perhaps, be the means of French emigrants, of inferior rank, obtaining a tacit permission to remain in the Brunswick dominions. But it is not alone to the titular King of France that the Emperor of Russia extends his munificence; the Prince de Condé has lived at St. Petersburg for some time, in a style that reflects the highest honor on his imperial benefactor. He found, on his arrival, a palace near this city superbly fitted up for his reception; pages in his uniform, footmen in his livery, a stud of horses, with six beautiful Arabians for his own carriage, and in short, a complete establishment, in every respect, as nearly as possible, similar to what his own was at Chantilly. He was received with royal honors, a state dinner and ball were given on the occasion, at court, and he has had a town residence fitted up for him on a much grander and more magnificent scale than Carlton House, with "Hotel de Condé," inscribed over the gallery to the court-yard, in the French style. His royal highness's whole army have entered into the

Russian service. Soon after his arrival, the public were gratified by the grand spectacle of the Prince receiving, from the hands of the Emperor, the Russian colours in exchange for the French, on the parade before the palace. He is likewise created Grand Master of the Order of Malta, established in Russia.

Letters from most respectable sources in Venice, speak in the most lamentable terms of the fate of that unhappy city, where the French were received, in virtue of a solemn contract, in a time of profound peace. These merciless visitors quitted their unfortunate entertainers on the 19th ult. after having drained them to their last livre. Previous to their departure, from that ancient and beautiful city, the French army ransacked every dwelling of any importance, purposely destroying the valuables which they could not carry away; 7000 cannon at the arsenal were either sunk or spiked; the Bicentoro was burned in the great square with all its ornaments; public and private libraries were stripped of every valuable book or curious manuscript which could be taken away; all pictures from churches, palaces, and private houses, are gone. They have even borne off with them the four famous horses on St. Mark's; and literally were trying to remove the large statues in the Piazzetta the night before their departure, but the national guard hindered them, and said there was no time. The beautiful staircase, however, so richly inlaid, did not escape, but being irremovable they used every species of violence to crush

and destroy it, and the fine gallees stationed off the Piazzetta, with several feluccas upon duty, were sunk before the eyes of the Venetians with a perfidious triumph worthy only of utter barbarians. Thus has fared Venice, the "Queen of the sea," and such will be the fate of all who trust to republican faith and republican honour!

14th. A cause of a singular nature came on this day in the Court of Common Pleas, before Chief-justice Sir J. Eyre, in which a Mr. Simpson was plaintiff and Mr. Taylor, the proprietor of the Opera-house, defendant. The complaint was that Mrs. Maria Johnson, to whom Mr. Simpson had lent his silver opera ticket, had been refused admission, upon presenting it at the pit door of that theatre, and the defence set up was, not that there was any thing wrong either in the ticket or in its transfer to another person, but that in this instance the person by whom it was presented was publicly and notoriously known as a most exceptionable character, and unfit to be admitted under any pretext whatever. The lady in question, who was of a very stylish and fashionable appearance, with very little *mauvaise honte* either in her manner or countenance, underwent a very strict cross examination by Mr. Serjeant Adair, on the part of the defendant. She confessed that she had kept a large house in Jermyn-street, for twenty years; that she was in the habit of letting it out to ladies, and to a curiously-worded question of the learned Serjeant's, she admitted, that these ladies were very generally *admired* and considered *handsome*; she also acknowledged that

she likewise received single gentlemen, the lovers and admirers of these *handsome* ladies, but beyond these admissions no ingenuity could induce her to advance, and upon her appealing to his lordship, he held her not bound to answer any questions tending to self-crimination. Mr. Serjeant Adair, in a masterly speech, then put it both to the judge and jury, whether the defendant, instead of incurring any culpability, did not, in fact, merit public thanks and commendation in thus refusing to admit a shameless and notorious woman into a meeting composed, generally speaking, of the highest orders of society. He concluded by saying, that he left the case of his client with perfect confidence in the hands of his lordship and the jury, secure, as he trusted of a verdict being awarded in consonance with good taste and pure morality. The Chief Justice paid some handsome compliments to Mr. Taylor, and declared it to be his opinion, that the action was not maintainable in point of law. He had felt, he said, the highest indignation at the conduct of the plaintiff from the beginning, but had waited patiently during the whole of the evidence in order to discover whether, upon any legal plea, the plaintiff might have the smallest claim to a verdict, in which case it would have been his unpleasant duty to direct the jury accordingly, in direct opposition to his own feelings and opinions; but he was rejoiced to find no legal grounds whatever to support so disgraceful a case, as the evidence had clearly proved the sole objection to be the character of the woman who presented the ticket,

without any attempt to infringe the plaintiff's rights. In all cases of this nature his lordship observed, a condition was necessarily attached to the ticket, which, having been sold in the first instance to a person of respectability; it was tacitly supposed that the privilege annexed to it should not be abused by lending or letting it to persons, who, either from their appearance in point of dress or immoral notoriety, were improper to be admitted into a theatre where any offence against public morals should be as carefully guarded against as any opposition to public taste in the pieces submitted for representation. The jury immediately found a verdict for the defendant with costs of suit.

16th. About two in the morning, the house of Mr. Thomas Harris, of Purleigh, in the county of Essex, was discovered to be on fire by one of the men and an apprentice, who alarmed the family; but not in sufficient time for more than the elder daughter to escape, who saved herself by leaping from a window; Mr. Harris was absent on a journey, and, dreadful to relate, the whole of the rest of his family, consisting of Mrs. Harris, two sons, and two daughters, perished in the flames. Their bodies were dug out on the following day not much disfigured.

Lord Camelford has returned to Antigua and resumed the command of his ship, since the sentence of acquittal from the court-martial. Lieutenant Peterson was a native of Nevis, of a very respectable family, and two of his brothers are now employed in collecting evidence for the purpose

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of seeing what can be done against his lordship in a civil court of justice. Lord Camelford appears to be a new character in his class. His person is very similar to that of the late Lord George Gordon, when he was of the same age, and he resembles him in some of his eccentricities. He provides a good table of fresh meat every day for the sick on board his ship; but is very severe on any breach of duty, and a man is seldom tied up but he gets six or seven dozen lashes, which is a much more severe punishment in a West Indian climate than in this country. Although his lordship is a master and commander, he does not set an expensive example by wearing extravagant clothes. His dress is, indeed, extremely remarkable. All the hair is shaved close from his head, but he does not wear any wig: his hat is immensely large, cocked, and from its tarnished gold lace and antique appearance, looks as if it had first seen service in the days of Sir Walter Raleigh. He is dressed in a lieutenant's plain coat, without shoulder-knots, the buttons of which are as green with verdigrease as the ship's bottom, and all the rest of his apparel is correspondingly mean and shabby.

Edmund Lovel, servant to Miss Davis, of Lower Grosvenor-street, was tried this 17th. day at the Old Bailey, on a charge of having forged and altered two bank-notes, and having uttered one of them, knowing the same to be forged.

James Linders, a young lad, whose mother keeps a shop of haberdashery, &c. in Oxford-street, said, that the prisoner came

* B

to the shop on the 20th of January, and bought some stockings and other articles to the amount of 13s. for the payment of which he offered a 2*l.* bank note. Not having silver enough to give him change, the witness went to a neighbour's to get cash for the note, when perceiving the person who was giving him change about to write his mother's name on the back of the note, he begged him not to do so lest it should not be a good one, saying, that the person from whom he had it was a chance customer, a total stranger to his mother and himself, and was then waiting in their shop for the change. Upon this the man examined the note more closely, and perceiving it to be of suspicious appearance from having been cut and patched, he proposed to the witness to go for a constable, and have the person taken up; he did so, and returning to the shop in about a quarter of an hour found the prisoner still there, when he gave him in charge to the constable, who took him to the watch-house, where the other note, purporting to be for 10*l.* was found upon him.

A clerk of the bank, whose office it is to sign notes under ten pounds, swore that the two pound note had originally been a one pound, and the ten a two pound note; which was corroborated by the engraver belonging to the Bank.

The Solicitor of the Bank deposed, that he went to the house of Miss Davie, in Grosvenor-street, and found in a drawer which had always been used by the prisoner, a book, containing German-text, which were the same

with those characters which marked the value of a note; a small bottle of gum; a cup, containing a black composition; a cake of blue; and a cutting instrument. The person who printed notes for the Bank said the composition, when rubbed on paper, resembled, in colour, the marks upon a note. On being cross-examined, he said, this composition was the same as people sometimes used for drawing.

A servant belonging to Miss Davie gave the prisoner an excellent character; he was an ingenious man, and used to draw pictures, which he frequently shewed to the servants.

Miss Francis Davie also spoke highly to the character of the prisoner, who had been brought up in her brother, Sir John Davie's family, from seven years old. Witness frequently drew; had given the prisoner pencils, and the gum-bottle found in his drawer was very like one which she had used.

The prisoner, in his defence, stated, that he had found the bank-notes in question sometime since in the street, in an open letter, and had been to a public-house every day since to look in the newspapers to see if they were advertised.

The letter he spoke of was produced, having been found at Miss Davie's; it had some dirt upon it, and was merely a blank cover, with a French name on the outside.

The mistress of the public-house proved his daily visits to read the paper, and two of his fellow-servants swore they had seen him using the cutting-instru-

ment in shaping the corners of a tea-chest.

Mr. Baron Thompson read over the whole of the evidence to the jury, and commented upon its several bearings with great candour and perspicuity. After consulting a few minutes, the jury brought in their verdict — *Not guilty*.

20th. The major and officers of the 1st regiment of the West York militia have sent an address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respectfully entreating him to accept the command of the regiment, vacated by the recent dismissal of the Duke of Norfolk, to which his Royal Highness has returned a very handsome answer, declining, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, but in the most flattering terms, a proposition which his Royal Highness expresses himself convinced was suggested by a well-meant zeal and sense of duty and loyalty to his Majesty and the constitution, and a very kind partiality to the Prince of Wales.

Since the reception of the Prince's answer the regiment have requested Lord Fitzwilliam, who succeeded the Duke of Norfolk as Lord-Lieutenant of Yorkshire, to appoint himself as their commander, which having been declined by his lordship on the plea of his total ignorance of all military duty; they then suggested to his lordship the appointment either of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, their lieutenant-colonel, who had recently resigned, or should any objection arise from the resignation of that gentleman, of Major Milner, a most exemplary and meritorious officer, un-

der whom they should be happy to serve. Lord Fitzwilliam did not return any positive answer, and the point still remains undecided.

Our readers may perhaps recollect the public meeting called under the auspices of the Corresponding Society on the 31st of July last, in a field near Pancras, at which Sir W. Addington took into custody a young barrister of the name of Fergusson, who chose to appear there in a very conspicuous situation. For this Mr. Fergusson brought an action against Sir William, which has been tried in the Court of King's Bench. Mr. F. conducted his own cause; and, after a very long speech, brought forward, in an irregular manner, some evidence of the transactions of the day, previous to producing a copy of the notice served on Sir William, of Mr. F.'s intention to commence the action. This irregularity was slightly objected to; but when the notice came to be produced, which had been prepared by the young barrister himself, it appeared that it was *informal*, and he was *non-suited*.—Mr. Fergusson laid his damages at five thousand pounds.

This evening, a fire broke out in the village of Great Chishall, Essex, near Barkway, occasioned by putting on a blower to a fire of shavings in a new house, which spread through the place with such rapidity, that upwards of a hundred houses (almost the whole of the village), were consumed, and the inside of the church damaged. The loss is estimated at above ten thousand pounds, and between fifty and sixty families of the poorer sufferers are reduced to the miserable

necessity of seeking refuge in barns and other outhouses.

Some labourers digging for limestone on the summit of a cliff, near Penarth Point, Glamorganshire, have discovered the remains of four human bodies, lying about five feet beneath the surface of the earth: two large stones were placed edgeways, one on each side; and a third on the top, forming something like a coffin. How long they may have lain there it is impossible to conjecture; several teeth were perfect, but the bones mouldering into dust. The appearance of four skulls certifies that there were four bodies placed, as it were, in one coffin. In the course of the two following days three more bodies were found near the same spot. By the direction of Thomas Brydges, Esq. of Rymmies Cottage, the bodies have been all carefully collected, deposited in a wooden case, and decently interred in the churchyard at Penarth.

On Monday, the crim. con. cause of Ricketts *versus* Taylor, came on in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Kenyon. It was conducted, on the part of the plaintiff, by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Garrow, and Mr. Jervis; and on behalf of the defendant, by Mr. Dallas and Mr. Gibbs.

Mr. Ricketts is a nephew of Lord St. Vincent, and as that nobleman has no issue, it is not at all improbable that some of his children may be his lordship's heirs. He was married in 1790, to his present lady, who was the Hon. Miss Twissleton, daughter to Lord Say and Sele. She was then only fifteen, and had received a religious and virtuous educa-

tion, and they lived together in the most perfect harmony and happiness till she was seduced by Mr. Taylor, who is one of the members in parliament for the city of Wells.

The marriage, &c. was proved by proper witnesses, and their domestic happiness and unanimity spoken to in the strongest terms by the brother of Mrs. Ricketts, by Lord Northesk, who had married one of her sisters, Mr. George Ricketts, uncle to the plaintiff, Dr. Croft, who attended the lady in all her confinements, and several other witnesses of the highest respectability. The witnesses to prove the adultery were Ann Brownsmith, housekeeper to Lady Say and Sele, and Samuel Crook, a taylor, who resides opposite to the house of the defendant, whether he had seen Mrs. Ricketts several times repair with much appearance of caution and secrecy, during the month of May last, when it seems that Mr. Ricketts was absent from her on business.

Mr. Dallas made a very eloquent speech more in extenuation than defence of Mr. Taylor, whom he described as a young and thoughtless man not at all acquainted with the plaintiff, and consequently no violator of friendship, confidence, or hospitality.

Lord Kenyon addressed the gentlemen of the jury in a most solemn and impressive manner; after lamenting the frequency of that species of crime upon which they were now called to give judgment, he proceeded to comment upon the case and the evidence produced in its support. No attempt had been made to prove

any thing like neglect or unkindness on the part of this unfortunate husband, but, on the contrary, a host of irreproachable and uncontradicted testimony had established his character for affection and tenderness towards the wretched woman who had thus deceived him. Several children had been the fruits of this union: children, upon some of whom the father could not in future look upon without suspicion, and to whom the name of their mother will ever affix a stigma and disgrace. The defendant was a gay young man of five-and-twenty, to all appearance too thoroughly initiated in the profligacies of a fashionable and dissipated life to be able to rest any plea upon the artifice or seduction of his partner in guilt, who is two years his junior, and had conducted herself with undeviating propriety and decorum until she unfortunately formed his acquaintance. In support of this observation the jury would recollect that the evidence of Samuel Crook proved the defendant to be in the habit of receiving visits of a similar nature to those of Mrs. Ricketts, from another young female, the daughter of a respectable tradesman, of whose seduction he must have been guilty. His lordship now called upon the jury—not to make reparation to the plaintiff, by their verdict; for the injury which he had received did not admit of such a possibility; but by their verdict to inflict some punishment, inadequate though it must be, upon this deliberate destroyer of domestic happiness; this daring violator of the laws of God and man!—

The jury retired for a short time, and returned with a *Verdict for the Plaintiff—Damages five thousand pounds.*

A very extraordinary 27th. circumstance has transpired respecting the General Elliot East-Indiaman. This ship not having been taken up last season, was sent on a voyage to Jamaica. She was on her passage home, and was on Saturday last discovered off Yarmouth by some boats belonging to the Veteran 64, and the Astrea frigate. Upon their boarding her, it was discovered that she had been deserted by all her crew, and was drifting about at the mercy of the winds and waves. She is worth 100,000*l.* and is supposed to have been driven through the Downs in the late heavy gales, and to have struck on the Lock Sands, as, on examining her, she appears to have been aground, and had lost her rudder. It is thought that she must thus have been quitted by her crew, who it was at first feared had all been lost, but the supercargo and some other officers arrived in town yesterday, and it is said that they were all taken up and saved by a Danish vessel. Their manner of leaving her because she made a few feet water is considered very strange and culpable conduct. The boats' crews who took possession of her are entitled to a salvage, which will amount to 10,000*l.*

This day came on to be 28th. heard before Sir William Scott, a cause that much attracted the attention of the Court, inasmuch as it was connected with the new law of divorce in France.

This suit was instituted by Mr. Woodmason against his wife, to obtain a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, on a charge of an adulterous intercourse with a person of the name of Freeborn. The plaintiff and his wife were both natives of France, but left their country at an early period of life, and came to England. In 1771, the plaintiff paid his addresses to the defendant, and they soon after married. This marriage was proved by a witness who had been present at the ceremony, and also by the admission of the defendant herself. Mr. Woodmason was much older than his wife. For some time after their marriage they resided at Battersea, and thence removed to Leadenhall-street. In 1789, the defendant left England, and went, accompanied by a relation, to Paris, where she resided with her father and mother for some years, during all which period she had a separate maintenance allowed her by the plaintiff, who continued to reside in London. In 1795, she returned to London for the purpose of procuring from the plaintiff an additional allowance. On this occasion she continued seven weeks in London, but did not for any part of that time cohabit with the plaintiff. She then returned to Paris, and in a short time afterwards sent a letter to a relation in England, stating, among other things, that she was going to be divorced from her husband by the French law, and to marry a Mr. Freeborn. Proceedings for a decree of divorce were soon after had in the Marriage Court, in Paris, and a sentence of separation

pronounced accordingly. Evidence was also adduced to prove that the defendant and Mr. Freeborn cohabited together, and that in consequence of the above sentence she always acknowledged him to be her husband. After the civilians were heard on both sides, the learned judge observed, that the evidence adduced in this case had satisfactorily proved that Mrs. Woodmason had lived in France on the footing of a matrimonial connection with Mr. Freeborn, and that a divorce between herself and Mr. Woodmason had actually taken place by the existing laws of that country. Under these circumstances, Sir William Scott was clearly of opinion that the plaintiff had established a case which entitled him to a sentence of divorce from bed and board, which the learned judge accordingly pronounced in the usual form.

DIED.—On the 12th, at St. Petersburg, of apoplexy, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, late King of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania. He had for several days complained of a head-ache; but was relieved by medicine, and on the 11th found himself much better, when he was suddenly seized with a violent pain in his head, and great feebleness and illness. His attending physician, Privy Counsellor Bockler, and his Chaplain Jurewicz, hastened to his assistance; he was conveyed to bed, and notwithstanding every effort and attention, breathed his last about eight o'clock in the morning. He was born Jan. 17, 1732. (See Appendix to the Chronicle.)

MARCH.

1st. This being St. David's day, the honourable society of Ancient Britons, preceded by their president, Lord Gwidir, went to St. James's church, attended by the children of the Welsh Charity, where a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bristol, from the First Epistle General of St. Peter, xi. 27. The prayers were read in the ancient British language, by the Rev. T. Alban, chaplain to the society. In the course of the service, Te Deum Jubilate, and an Anthem, were sung by a society of gentlemen belonging to Portland chapel. The Prince of Wales's annual donation of one hundred guineas was given, and the stewards made a liberal subscription at the church.

This day, Arthur O'Connor, Esq. John Binns, William Alley, John Favey, alias Colonel Morris, alias Capt. Jones, &c. and Patrick Leary, entered town from Margate, in four postchaises, and a post-coach, in the custody of two Bow-street officers, and escorted by a party of light-dragoons. In the evening they underwent a private examination before Mr. King, the under secretary of state, and Mr. Ford. It appears that these persons are suspected of holding a treasonable correspondence with the French government. O'Connor is proprietor of a newspaper, and Binns, a well-known and conspicuous member of the Corresponding Society. It is stated, that they quitted town on Sunday last, in a Whitstable hoy, but imagining that they were regarded with suspicion at

that place, they hired a cart to convey their luggage, which they accompanied themselves on foot across the country to Margate, where they arrived on Tuesday evening, and put up at a small public-house, called the King's-head, where Favey introduced himself as Colonel Morris, and the others passed for his servants. Here they engaged with a fisherman to take them to the nearest French port, offering him one hundred and fifty guineas for that purpose, and to leave three hundred guineas more as a security in case the boat should be taken by the enemy. But the fisherman refusing to embark so late in the evening, they were detained that night, and early the next morning Fugion and Revett, the Bow-street officers, who had heard of their route at Gravesend, came to the house, and having four of the light dragoons to assist them, took them into custody, and secured all their baggage, which entirely filled one post-chaise. It consisted of a number of small trunks, boxes, and parcels, packed extremely close, and very heavy, supposed to be ready for the purpose of sinking in case of necessity. Some fire-arms, cutlasses, and between seventy and eighty guineas were found in the personal possession of the prisoners. From Favey, or as he called himself, Colonel Morris, the officers took a very sharp dirk or dagger; on Binns were found a pair of loaded pistols, and in the pocket of a coat supposed to belong to the former, was found a treasonable document in the shape of an address from a Secret Committee in Ireland to the Executive Direc-

tory of France. Of this, however they one and all disclaimed any knowledge, and were careful not to own any part of the baggage but such things as they were sure would not criminate them. The parcels have not yet been examined, but several of them evidently contain papers. All the prisoners, with the exception of Favey, declined answering any queries during their examination, and he merely said that he went to Margate for the benefit of the sea air, where he intended taking his passage to Ireland in some trading vessel. They were all committed for further examination, and each lodged in separate confinement.

5th. On Wednesday last, while James Forrest, of Hartfield, in the parish of Cambusnethan, North Britain, was crossing a lock on the ice, in the neighbourhood of Hatfield, the ice gave way and he fell in, but supported himself for some time from sinking by stretching out his arms. Alarmed by his cries, several persons employed in carrying out dung at a little distance, ran to his assistance; when the ice again gave way, and in attempting to save each other, no less than four of the number, besides Forrest himself, were unfortunately drowned. What renders this accident the more distressing is, that three of the sufferers are a man, his wife, and daughter, who had four other children, now left to bewail their loss, one of whom had nearly shared the fate of his unhappy relatives.

8th. Messrs. O'Connor, Binns, Favey, and Allen, were yesterday, at eleven o'clock, brought

before the Privy Council for examination. Warrants were on Monday night issued for the apprehension of several persons who were thought to be implicated with the above-mentioned prisoners, and a Mr. B. of Charterhouse-square; a Mr. Burnham, of Hampstead, and a Mr. Evans, of Ploughcourt, Fetter-lane, were taken into custody. The officers went to the house of Mr. Evans yesterday morning, who appears to be the Secretary to the Corresponding Society, and at whose house they generally held their meetings. The prisoners, Favey, Binns, and Allen, also lodged there; the two latter in the apartments of a Mr. and Mrs. Smith, who were examined to prove their having lodged in the apartments which they occupied of Mrs. Evans. This house having been searched, several letters were found, directed to Favey, alias Colonel Morris, who then went by the name of Jones, but, during his absence from England, while in Ireland, to which place he accompanied the brother of Binns, he assumed the title of Captain, and afterwards that of Colonel. The papers seized were examined, and the meeting adjourned till seven in the evening. On the council assembling again, Mr. B.'s papers, of Charter-house-square, were examined, and himself called in; but nothing appearing against this gentleman his papers were returned to him and he was discharged. At eight this morning, O'Connor, Binns, Favey, and Allen, were conveyed, under the care of his Majesty's messengers and several police officers, to the Tower, where they were received

by four wardens and a serjeant's guard, and placed in separate apartments. Leary, the servant of Mr. O'Connor, was at the same time sent to the House of Correction, in Cold-bath-fields, under the care of Mr. East. Mr. Arthur O'Connor appeared much dejected, and scarcely spoke while he was being conveyed to the state prison. He is nephew to Lord Longueville, and heir to his lordship's vast estates in Ireland. The boxes in which the papers were deposited are mahogany, and of a singular construction, having at the sides and bottom several concealed drawers; in other respects they resembled medicine-chests; and the locks were of such excellence, that no key or pick-lock could be found to open them, and the boxes were nearly broken to pieces, in order to get at their contents.

Mr. Viotti, the celebrated performer on the violin, has been obliged to leave the country by an order from the Secretary of State's Office, notwithstanding very powerful interest was made to obtain permission for him to remain in England: before he left London he advertised a declaration, in which he asserts upon his oath to the truth of which he calls upon the Almighty to witness, that during the six years he has resided here, he never in thought, word, or deed, interfered in any political question, or wrote a syllable connected with the politics of England, or any other country. He concludes by saying, that his own innocence assures him he must in course of time be completely cleared and justified.

Last week, Colonel Sinclair was indicted at the Guildhall-sittings, before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, for wilful and corrupt perjury. The prosecutor in this indictment was the Marquis de Calonne, formerly minister of France, under its monarchy. In 1792, this nobleman was at Coblenz with the French princes, and the defendant was also there as a colonel in the French service. M. de Calonne purchased an English stallion of Colonel Sinclair for the sum of one hundred louis d'ors, which he sent him by his valet in two rouleaux of fifty louis each, and heard no more of the transaction until some years after, when, upon coming to this country, he was astonished by Colonel Sinclair's demanding, not only this hundred louis, but a further sum of 625*l.* which he said M. de Calonne owed him on account of the army. The Colonel instituted a civil suit against M. de Calonne, who filed a bill of discovery against him in the Exchequer, and the present defendant, in answer to that bill, positively swore, that M. de Calonne had never paid him the hundred louis for the horse, nor had he ever given a receipt for the sum. The perjury was assigned on that part of the answer.

On the part of the prosecution, M. de Calonne was heard himself, who gave an account of the transaction, of which the foregoing is an abridgement, and produced Colonel Sinclair's receipt for the money. James Macmary, who was the valet who carried the rouleaux, swore to that part of the Marquis's statement, and to the paper produced, which he saw

Colonel Sinclair write, upon receiving the hundred louis d'ors. The Marquis de Beauport, who had seen Colonel Sinclair write, and had corresponded with him for some time, examined the receipt, and said, that to the best of his belief he could pronounce it to be the writing of Colonel Sinclair. The Chevalier de Mollier, who was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment to which the Colonel belonged at the period in question, said, he was very familiar with his writing, and upon having the receipt handed to him positively gave it as his opinion that not only the signature, but the whole of it was in the Colonel's hand-writing.

The witnesses for the defence were then called; the first was a Mons. de Bouvery, who had been secretary to Colonel Sinclair, while he was at Coblenz, and whose evidence went to destroy the whole of the statement made by M. de Calonne, and to prove the receipt a forgery; but this witness prevaricated, contradicted himself repeatedly, and gave the whole of his testimony in a most disgraceful manner. Capt. Drummond, Gen. Drummond, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Playfair, were the other witnesses for the defence, but their evidence was not material, and went chiefly to general character, and they all, though with some variation of opinion, acknowledged the resemblance which the writing in the receipt bore to that of Colonel Sinclair.

M. de Calonne, and other witnesses, were heard again in decisive contradiction of some of the circumstances stated in the

defence, and after a most able and impartial speech from Lord Kenyon, the jury pronounced the defendant to be *Guilty*.

There is reason to believe that government is in ^{12th.} possession of a clue to a widely extended conspiracy. Warrants have been issued to apprehend several more persons, some of whose names are well known. A letter from Dublin states, that upon information having been received there of the recent proceedings in this country, the whole of the materials and papers connected with the Press, the newspaper of which O'Connor is proprietor, have been seized. Alderman Alexander, in the performance of this duty at the office, 62, Abbey-street, found a quantity of seditious papers in manuscript, with some ball-cartridges, which a woman was endeavouring to convey out of the house in a clandestine manner. Among the persons in the house were Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Counsellor Sampson, and Mr. Swift, sen. this latter gentleman has recently had a sentence of imprisonment in the New Gaol remitted to him by government, for a libel upon some of the Fellows of Trinity College, and is supposed to have been director of the Press newspaper some time since. None of these persons were detained that night, having pledged themselves to be forthcoming on the following morning to answer any charge which might be alleged against them.

A tremendous skirmish occurred on Sunday night last, between a great number of Irishmen who were following a funeral, in which

several were desperately wounded. Three are since dead, and a fourth is not expected to survive; they fought with bludgeons and any instrument of offence they could collect on the spot; and, although almost too absurd to be credited, it is a literal fact, that the quarrel arose from a difference in opinion relative to some trifling particular as to the interment of the corpse they were attending.

19th. This morning, about ten o'clock, Mr. Barrett, of 72, Cheapside, a wholesale dealer in the Manchester line, was apprehended by a city officer on a charge of having forged several bills on the house of Mr. Stanfield, in Watling-street, who is in the same line of business. Upon being first apprehended he denied his name; but resigned himself when identified by a person who knew him. When he arrived at the Poultry-compter, he sent to the Lord Mayor requesting he would indulge him with a private hearing, to which his lordship immediately consented. His examination came on at seven o'clock in the evening, previous to which two officers were sent to his house to seize all his papers and letters, as it was expected that some important matters would be developed respecting the forgeries in which Messrs. Adamson, Wilkinson, and Kavanna, are involved, which expectation was fully answered. Several letters were found from different parts of the country to Mr. Barrett, threatening him with immediate apprehension if certain bills were not taken up, which were suspected to be forgeries. It is lamentable to re-

late the different and numerous bills that appeared from these and other documents to be in the due course of circulation, payable and accepted by persons who have no existence, the most part of which are directed to be paid at No. 34, New Change, the late residence of Kavanna; but almost every bill is accepted by a different name.

At the time appointed, Mr. Barrett was brought before the Lord Mayor at the Mansion-house, when Mr. Stanfield attended his examination, and the bill was produced on which the prosecution was founded, the amount of which was 54*l.* 1*s.* and it bore the indorsement of Mr. Barrett, from whom Mr. Stanfield made oath he had received it. The bill purported to be drawn at Bristol, in America, by Andrew Moxam, on Richard Griffin, 24, Old Change, but no such person was to be found. Mr. Stanfield further deposed, that he was the holder of two other bills which had been shewn to Mr. Barrett, who informed him they would not be honoured as they were both in fictitious names. He also gave information which had been acknowledged by the son of Mr. Barrett, that he had drawn several bills which were not filled up with any names. His lordship then ordered the prisoner to be remanded till the following morning. Mr. Lawrence, the city marshalman, by whom he had been apprehended in the first instance, again took him under his care, accompanied by the Turnkey of the Poultry-compter, to which place they purposed to conduct him.

The two officers each took hold of an arm, till they arrived at the gate of the Compter, when the turnkey went forward to open it, and left the prisoner with Lawrence. Mr. Barrett, who had conducted himself with so much quietness as to lull all suspicion, took advantage of this moment, released his arm by a sudden spring, and effected his escape. The cry of "stop thief," resounded from every quarter, in which he very judiciously joined more violently than any one, and such a confusion ensued, no one laying hold of the right person, though several were stopped, that he got clear off. He is between fifty and sixty years of age, and has always borne a respectable character. It is supposed that he will endeavour to make his way out of the country, and officers have been dispatched in all the directions most likely to intercept him in his flight.

Colonel Despard, formerly governor of the Bahama islands, has been apprehended on, as it is presumed, a charge of high treason, and has been several times examined before the Privy Council. Mr. Arthur O'Connor's friends have retained Mr. Erskine as his counsel.

A coroner's inquest sat recently on the body of Emanuel Gusman, a hair-dresser of Newport, Monmouthshire, when, after a long and careful investigation, it being clearly proved that he died from excessive eating and drinking, a verdict was found of *felo de se*, and his remains have been buried in the high road near the place where he died.

Letters arrived from Bencoolen, Japonocly, and Padang, of the

5th and 7th of March, 1797, by the schooner Providence, Captain Weatherall, arrived at Calcutta, some days previous to the late fleet from thence, give the following relation of an earthquake which happened on the west coast of Sumatra, on the 20th of February. The vibratory shocks of this earthquake are stated upon undoubted authority to have lasted three minutes, and to have recurred at intervals during a space of three hours, from its beginning, till the shocks had completely ceased. At Padang, the houses of the inhabitants are almost totally destroyed, and the public works much damaged; a vessel lying at anchor in the river was thrown by the sudden rise of the sea upwards of three miles on the shore, where she still remains. The number of lives lost at Padang exceeded three hundred; of these, some were crushed under the ruins of the falling houses, others were drowned by the irruption of the waters of the ocean, and many were literally entombed alive by the earth closing upon them. At Natal, very considerable damage was sustained, and several houses thrown down, but no lives were lost. It is, however, much to be feared, that, when the particulars are collected from the different quarters of the West Coast, where the earthquake was felt, the sum, both of lives and property destroyed will be even greater than there is now reason to suppose.

Sir John Sinclair, who was considered certain of being elected President of the Board of Agriculture for the ensuing year, has been unexpectedly opposed by the

nomination of Lord Somerville, one of the sixteen Scotch Peers, who gained his election by a majority of one.

We regret to state, that there has been considerable disturbance at Manchester among the cotton-spinners. Upon some disagreement respecting wages, the masters engaged other workmen at reduced prices; when the discharged men assembled in a riotous manner, breaking windows, and committing other acts of minor mischief; it is, however, expected, that a speedy and amicable termination to these misunderstandings will restore the place to tranquillity.

Mr. Adamson, a gentleman suspected of being concerned in the late forgeries, was apprehended at his own house last Monday, and taken to Clerkenwell-prison, whence he has been since removed to Newgate: he has been married little more than three quarters of a year to an amiable and lovely young lady, who is now in the fifth month of her pregnancy; and we regret to add, that notwithstanding her friends had succeeded in keeping the knowledge of her husband's situation from her for two or three days, in order to break it to her more gently, her distress at the dreadful intelligence was such that it is feared a total derangement of her mental faculties must inevitably be the consequence. It appears, that the first instance of the commission of these forgeries was effected successfully about nine months back, since which the practice has never ceased, and the bills now in circulation, which are still unpaid, amount to something more than

30,000*l*. The circumstances of the detection were as follows; a bill to a considerable amount was drawn on Bowles, Beachcroft and Co. (Adamson's bankers), and their acceptance forged, which became due on the 13th of March, but on the twelfth an application was made at the bank to take it up. This application, coming, as was pretended, *from a banker*, created a suspicion which led to the discovery.

The 20,000*l*. prize recently drawn, is divided entirely among poor persons; a female servant, in Brook-street, Holborn; a woman who keeps a fruit-stall in Gray's Inn Gardens; a Chelsea carrier of vegetables to Covent-garden, and an inferior servant of the Duke of Roxburgh, each possess a sixteenth; one-eighth belongs to a poor family in Rutlandshire; and the remaining shares are distributed in a similar manner.

This day, as Lieutenant 20th. Cooper, of the artillery, at Colchester-barracks, with a serjeant, and five privates of the East Essex militia, were sailing from Harwich to Languard-fort, the boat upset, by which unfortunate accident, that officer, the waterman, and three privates, were drowned; the rest saved themselves by swimming on shore.

Mr. Oliver Bond, whose house in Dublin was the principal rendezvous of the executive government of United Irishmen, sitting in that city, has been taken into custody, and among his papers was found the following resolution of the *Provisional Committee of Leinster*. "Resolved, That we will pay no attention whatever to any attempt that may be made

by either House of Parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as *nothing short of the complete emancipation of our country will satisfy us.*" The following persons have been apprehended in Dublin. Mr. Jackson, father-in-law to Oliver Bond, and young Jackson, his son. Counsellor Everett, Dr. M'Neven, John Sweetman Brewer, George Cumming, Agent and Secretary to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the Delegates from the Queen's County, Wexford, Wicklow, Cork, Kildare, Carlow, County of Dublin, and City of Dublin.

Yesterday a Lighter belonging to the King's Brewhouse at South Down, which had been alongside the Sampson prison-ship in Hamoaze, after discharging her beer and water and taking in a quantity of empty casks, returned to the above place. In unloading, it was observed, that two of the butts were extremely heavy, which excited some curiosity, and upon tumbling them over there was reason to suppose that there was some *animated being* within. The officers drew up the different gangs of men in battle array, and with due precaution ordered the heads of the casks to be knocked in; when out crept two Frenchmen, to the surprise of the bystanders. They had provisions with them, and having hoped to have remained longer undisturbed, they had intended to take the first opportunity of seizing a boat in the night, and making their escape.

28th. The largest Vessel ever built at Southwick near Sunderland, was launched last

week, in the presence of about fifteen thousand spectators. This magnificent ship is named the Lord Duncan: She was built in Mr. Hanelock's yard, measures nine hundred and thirty tons, and is completely adapted to the East India trade.

Letters from Dublin are continually detailing to us 30th. instances of barbarism and atrocity, as painful to humanity to relate as to listen to. A farming man at Newcastle, County Dublin has been murdered with circumstances of cold blooded cruelty which are too dreadful and too distressing to recount. The crime of this unfortunate man was his having consented to give evidence against some of the Insurgents at the Naas Assizes. Mr. Doolan a Gentleman of good property at Babeck between Bin and Boscrea King's County, has been also butchered in his own house, and (like the poor man above-mentioned) in the presence of his family. Some of this gentleman's servants must have been parties in this horrible transaction, or the murderers could not have gained admission into the house.

Henry Redhead Yorke, Esq. has been liberated from Dorchester Castle after four years confinement. When the Sheriff brought the intelligence he exclaimed in the language of Virgil; "*Libertas quæ, sera tamen, respexit inertem,*
Respexit tamen, et longo post tempore venit."

He has paid a fine of 200l. and entered into sureties for 2000l.

At the York Assizes which concluded last week Peter Buck, a

tanner of respectable connections at Ripley, was indicted for robbing Richard Terry, Esq. Banker of Ripon on the 30th. of last August, of 1500*l.* in notes, and 150 guineas, as the said Terry was returning from Knaresborough market to Ripon. Many most respectable witnesses who had known the prisoner from eight to twenty years gave him a high character. The defence, if such it could be termed, was simply this: "I am very sorry, appearances may be against me, but I am not the person who committed the robbery." The evidence against him, however, was too circumstantial not to be conclusive, and he was found guilty, but recommended to the clemency of the Court, both by the Jury and Prosecutor. Andrew Bern, and John Hill, the first one and twenty, the last only nineteen years of age, suffered death at Stafford for a highway robbery. A most distressing occurrence took place immediately previous to their execution from the falling of the scaffold, by which both the unfortunate young men were much hurt, and one of them was taken up insensible; and it was a long time before he was sufficiently recovered to undergo the sentence of the law.

At Bury Assizes last week, one Haycroft a noted publican of Sudbury, obtained three verdicts of 40*l.* each for assaults, against as many Officers of the 44th. Regiment of foot, for tumultuously breaking open his door to get into their quarters, after ten o'clock at night; and also another verdict to nearly the same amount, against the Worshipful the Mayor of that

Borough, for aiding and abetting them therein.

At the Salisbury Assizes, a man of the name of John Cassel, a Brewer's servant, was tried and convicted for assisting some prisoners of war to escape out of Porchester Castle. It was proved that he had conveyed two French Captains, inclosed in two casks, out of the prison on his dray, by which means they escaped out of the country.

APRIL.

On Friday Morning last, 4th. Mr. John Mellish (of the house of Gore and Company, Bishopsgate Street), Mr. W. Bosanquet, and Mr. Peter Pole, left town for Windsor, intending to take a few days diversion in hunting with His Majesty's stag hounds; they remained there two or three days, and yesterday after dinner, set off upon their return in Mr. Mellish's carriage with post horses. About half past 8, as they were crossing Hounslow Heath they were attacked by three footpads, who rushed out of a hedge; one of them ran to the heads of the horses commanding the Post boy to stop, while the others went to the side of the carriage, and without speaking fired a pistol, the contents of which passed through the two side windows immediately across the carriage. The glasses were then lowered and the assassins demanded their fire arms, and upon being informed they had none, discharged another pistol into the carriage and ordered an immediate surrender of their

money. Mr. Mellish gave his watch; Mr. Pole a pocket book containing some notes, and Mr. Bosanquet all the money he had in his pocket; all this was done without a word or movement which could imply any idea of resistance; but notwithstanding this, one of the robbers fired a third time into the carriage, and then with a most horrible oath told the post-boy to proceed. They had not proceeded more than a few yards, when Mr. Bosanquet asked his companions if they had received any injury, when it appeared that Mr. Pole had received the gunpowder in his face and eyes where it lodged, depriving him for a few minutes of sight; and that Mr. Mellish had been wounded in the head. On arriving at the Magpies he was taken out covered with blood and carried up stairs; and medical assistance sent for from Hounslow; Mr. Frogley an eminent Surgeon and Apothecary of that place, immediately set out, and on his way to the Magpies was stopped and robbed by the same gang. On examining the wound, Mr. Frogley found that the ball had entered the forehead about half an inch above the left eye, and perceiving the imminent danger of the unfortunate gentleman, he dispatched a messenger to London for Messrs. Blizard, Jones, and Bush, by whose united aid however the situation of the bullet could not be discovered, whence it was supposed to have found its way down towards the back of his neck, so that it would have been impossible for any surgical skill to succeed in extracting it. Mr. Mellish made his will, and appeared perfectly

composed till late on Saturday night, when a violent fever and delirium came on, and continued till five o'clock on Sunday morning when he died. Mr. Mellish lost his lady only a twelvemonth since, and has left one child, an infant daughter but two years old. Mr. W. Mellish, M.P. for Great Grimsby, is his brother. Every endeavour has been made to take the murderers, but hitherto without success.

His Majesty's ship the Pallas, 32 guns, commanded by the Hon. Captain Curzon, arrived in Plymouth Sound from a cruize, on Tuesday morning. Soon after she anchored, a heavy gale of wind from the South by West, came on attended with a most tremendous sea, which continued with increasing violence till seven o'clock on Wednesday morning, when she parted from one of her anchors, and drove much nearer the shore before her other anchors could bring her up. The yards and topmast were then struck, and she rode with an apparent degree of safety till half past eight, when she again began to drive. The crew made every possible effort, but notwithstanding their exertions, she struck on the rocks in the bay, between Wethy-Hedge and Mount-Batten Point. Though quite aground abaft, the sea raised her fore part so much, that the cables which had remained unbroken, parted and the surf heaving her broadside round, beat against her with so much fury, that she was every minute completely hidden from the view of the spectators. While she lay in this situation every hope of saving the crew seemed at an end, but

providentially, from the circumstance of her drawing less water forward than abaft, every succeeding surf forced her bow round nearer to the land, until she got again nearly end on with her stern to the sea. The hope of the ship holding together, and the prospect of a chance that the crew might be able to save their lives, were now revived, especially as the tide was ebbing very fast. The ship being quite aground, fore and aft, she was thus made to heel towards the shore, and by the latter fortunate circumstance, the crew were sheltered from the violent beat of the sea and exposed only to the spray, which every instant formed a cloud over them. In this state she lay till eleven o'clock when the crew were out of danger, and by noon the tide had left her, so as to enable them to get on shore in safety. The gale abated about one, and the sailors with the people from the Dock-yard, began to get out the stores, the greater part of which were saved. A more melancholy scene for two hours could not have been witnessed, as no other prospect appeared during that time, than the loss of the whole crew, because, in their situation, no assistance could possibly be given them, either on the land or sea side: Only one man on board lost his life, and he was killed by the fall of the main mast. A boat belonging to the Canada, in attempting to go to the relief of the Pallas was upset, and Mr. Massey, acting lieutenant of the Canada, and three seamen were unfortunately drowned.

On the first inst. a Courier arrived at Rome from Paris, with

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orders for all the Members of the Holy College to quit the Roman Republic, with permission to go wherever they wished. In consequence of which, all the Cardinals who have been detained at Civita Vecchia were liberated, and after having obtained passports from the Neapolitan Consul, they embarked for Obitello.

At Brussels, several of the most beautiful Churches are now brought to the hammer, and one of the conditions of sale is, that they are to be demolished by the purchaser.

This morning at five o'clock, Arthur O'Connor, 7th. Esq. with Messrs. Favey, Binns, and Alley, were removed from the Tower, and conveyed in four post chaises to Maidstone. The Gentleman Gaoler and two Wardens accompanied Mr. O'Connor; the other prisoners were each attended by two Wardens, all armed with pistols. The carriages were guarded by a detachment of the London and Westminster Cavalry as far as Foots-cray; they were there met by a detachment of the Kentish Yeoman Cavalry, who escorted them to Maidstone. The prisoners received no intimation of their intended removal till eleven o'clock last night.

The cause between the 9th. University of Cambridge, and the occupiers of the Downing Estate, of which they have had possession above thirty years, is finally decided in favour of the University; the Lord Chancellor, having in a late decree, ordered a Receiver for the University of Cambridge, to be appointed immediately. The arrears of the

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Estate, due to the University, will be more than sufficient to build a new College, which is to be founded according to the will of Sir John Downing, under the title of Downing College.

10th. Last year, when it was supposed that the French were in full march to attack Vienna, the mass of the people took up arms to defend the City, and the Palace of the Emperor. The anniversary of that day has been recently kept in that City with great solemnity, and every thing went on with the greatest order and unanimity, till a little before sun set, when the display of the tri-coloured flag from the balcony of the French Ambassador's Hotel, caused much murmuring and dissatisfaction among the populace. One of the chief Commissioners of the Police immediately waited upon the Ambassador, and pressed him in the most earnest manner to order the removal of the flag, the appearance of which, he said had so much exasperated the people, that it was impossible to answer for the consequences, if it were suffered to remain. The Ambassador received this intimation very haughtily, and pointing to his sword, declared his determination to defend the flag to the last extremity. The people had by this time collected in crowds round the house with loud cries, from which they proceeded to throwing stones, till all the windows were destroyed, and a boy assisted by those who were nearest the hotel, mounted on the balcony and pulled down the flag which was instantly trampled to pieces; they then forced admission into

the ground floor of the hotel, where every article of furniture, &c. was demolished in a few minutes; and some of them getting hold of two of the Ambassador's carriages, they quitted the house in a body, and tumultuously followed those who were dragging the carriages to a neighbouring Square, in order to make a bonfire of them. During the time thus employed, a considerable body of military arrived, and by guarding every avenue to the Ambassador's house which they completely surrounded, effectually prevented the return of the mob, and placed his Excellency in a state of perfect security. On the following morning, the Dutch and Spanish Ambassadors in compliance with General Bernadotte's request, waited upon him at his Hotel, when he declared his intention of quitting Vienna; and shortly afterwards, M. Godin, first Secretary to the Embassy, attended by an Austrian corporal, passed through the crowd, which had again assembled in great numbers, bearing in his hand a letter to the Emperor; but the National cockade in his hat giving offence to the people, they became so tumultuous that he could not proceed farther than the Guard-house, whence one of the Officers in waiting conveyed the letter to his Imperial Majesty. The contents of this letter were to demand as the conditions, upon which alone General Bernadotte would consent to remain at Vienna: 1st. the dismissal of the Minister, Thugut,—2nd. the immediate and exemplary punishment of the Chief of the Police, and of the commanding Officer of the military,—3rd. the estab-

lishment of the privileged quarter in Vienna, (which had been before demanded and refused) for the French Mission and its Compatriots,—4th. that the Emperor should at his own expence, repair the flag and flag-staff, and the emblazonment of the French arms, (which had been placed over the door of the Ambassador, and which had of course suffered in the general destruction). The whole of these demands were immediately and peremptorily refused. Upon which Bernadotte has quitted Vienna, breathing nothing but vengeance against the Austrians.

11th. The Hon. Colonel King was this day arraigned at Cork, for the murder of Colonel Fitzgerald (see our Vol. for 1797 page 81) and acquitted. As was likewise John Hentney, a person connected with the Earl of Kingstone's family. When Colonel King appeared in Court, a sense of the peculiar and unfortunate circumstances, under which he was making his public appearance as a criminal, visibly embarrassed and agitated him. The Court was much crowded. The fact of the murder could not be brought home to either of the prisoners.

The Pope has definitively decided to repair to the Abbey of Meleek, on the Danube, there to end his days. He is allowed twenty-four Cardinals for the arrangement of his ecclesiastical affairs, who are to appoint a new Head of the Church at his decease. His Holiness is to have during his life, a revenue of 300,000 florins.

Mr. Roger O'Connor has been apprehended at his apartments in

Craven Street, Strand. He was brought up to the Secretary of State's office, where a warrant was made out for conveying him back to Dublin; for which place he set out last night in the charge of Sylvester the messenger, and two police officers.

The Commissioners for trying O'Connor, Favey, Binns, Allen and Leary, under a charge of High Treason, opened this day at Maidstone at half past eleven o'clock. The Grand Jury being sworn, Mr. Justice Buller delivered to them an excellent Charge, when they withdrew for the purpose of considering the bill presented to them. A prodigious number of witnesses were then sworn, and the Court adjourned. The Attorney General, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Garrow, are the Counsel for the Crown. Mr. Plomer is to conduct the defence. (See Appendix to Chronicle.)

A curious helmet and vizor, a standard, and sundry sacrificing instruments have been recently discovered, at the Roman stations of Ribchester, in Lancashire, by the ground giving way under a boy, as he was sliding down a bank. A cube of eight feet of natural soil had been cleared away, and the space filled with dry sand, in the middle of which the various articles had been carefully deposited. The helmet appears to have been made between the reigns of Septimius Severus, and Constantine; the design of the figures which decorate it is grand, and superior to the execution, and the vizor appears to be of Grecian workmanship, representing a head of

Bacchus or Medusa. These antiquities are in the possession of Charles Townly, Esq. and they have been exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries who have ordered drawings to be made of them.

14th. The lady of the late unfortunate Mr. Mellish, lost her life about a twelvemonth since, by the following distressing accident. Being alone in her apartment, about six weeks previous to the time in which she expected to be confined, her sister and servants were alarmed by her violent shrieks, and hastening to her relief found her enveloped in flames. By immediate assistance however, they were so speedily extinguished, that no fatal effects would have resulted from the accident, but for the peculiar situation of Mrs. Mellish, to whom the alarm brought on a premature confinement, which terminated her life in a few hours. The child survives both its ill-fated parents.

17th. About nine o'clock on Tuesday evening Terence Shiel, Clerk in the employ of Messrs. M'Auley and Hughes, George's Quay, was found weltering in his blood, at the corner of Great George Street, Dublin. The body was examined by Surgeon Hume on the spot, when it was found that life was totally extinct, the unhappy man having received a stab from some sharp instrument in the back under his left shoulder, which passing through directly to the heart, must have caused immediate death. A Coroner's jury having brought in a verdict of "wilful murder against some person or persons unknown," a meeting of the parishioners of

St. Andrew was summoned, for the purpose of enquiring into the manner of the death of the deceased, and to take the most effectual means of discovering the murderer. Several persons who were present, reported many instances of violent conduct in the Officer of the patrol guard, which passed just before the deceased was discovered, but none could speak positively as to the regiment, or knew who was the Officer. A Committee was then appointed to enquire into this melancholy transaction, and make a report thereon to the Lord Lieutenant. At this period of the proceedings, Mr. Hughes, one of the employers of the deceased, came and informed the meeting he was just come from Lord Fitzroy, the chief in command, who told him that the murderer was identified in the fullest proof; that his name is J. J.—an officer in the Fermanagh Militia; and he had been put under arrest, but contrived to escape from the guard; orders had been immediately issued to search the packets, and hinder his escape that way, and that it was the determination of Government to use every means to bring the offender to the most exemplary punishment. A subscription was then opened, and in less than five minutes the sum of 400*l.* was subscribed in aid of the purposes above-mentioned, which is offered as a reward for the apprehension of the murderer. The following garrison orders were issued the same evening, with a promptness highly honorable to the commanding officer:—"Garrison orders, April 12, 1798. A suspicion of an

inhuman murder having fallen upon the officer who commanded the Fermanagh patrol on Tuesday night, Major-General Lord Charles Fitzroy was induced to order him to close confinement, till further inquiry should be made. The officer had, however, absconded before the order could have got to him, by which he has clearly proved the suspicion against him was not ill-founded; and no steps will be left untried by the Government of the country, to bring him to justice, and to the punishment such unsoldierlike conduct deserves. Though we lament the loss of a fellow-creature, and feel ashamed at the behaviour of a brother officer, let us hope that it may, in some degree, act as a caution to others, and lead us seriously to reflect upon our situation and the duties of an officer. True bravery has no connection with wanton cruelty, and if youth is sometimes an excuse for ignorance of duty, it is none for barbarity.

Yesterday evening about nine o'clock, Mr. Lavender, the principal clerk at Bow-treet, attended by a party of peace-officers, went to search a house, No. 19, Great Suffolk-street, Haymarket, against which an information had been laid as a receptacle of gamblers. It cost them near an hour's siege before they could effect an entrance; two very stout doors, strongly bolted and barred, obstructing their way in the passage, which circumstance gave all the gamesters an opportunity of escaping, except one, who was discovered and secured as he was getting over to the yard of an adjoining house. His companions made good their retreat, by a sub-

terraneous passage, through a long range of cellars, communicating with each other, and terminating in a house in Hedge-lane, from whence their leader, having the keys of every door, conducted them safe into the street; so that they were out of danger long before the officers could force admittance. A *Rouge et Noir* table with its appendages was brought away, and produced before the Magistrate, who judging that and the other circumstances to give sufficient evidence of its being a gaming house, committed the porter for trial accordingly, and bound the other person over as a witness; these being the only two individuals found upon the premises.

By an order from the Secretary of State, the Honorable Artillery Company were under arms during the whole of yesterday and last night, and patrolled different parts of the New River, to guard against the mischievous intentions of disaffected persons. A division of the Tower Hamlets kept guard over the water of Hackney, and a party of military were also set over the works of London Bridge. It is reported, that the 21st of next month was the day appointed by the conspirators to set fire to the principal towns in England.

At an early hour on the morning of the 14th instant, the County Court at Cork was crowded in every part to witness the trial of John Haye, and Timothy Hickey, for the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Manzer St. George and Jasper Uniacke, Esq. The counsel for the crown opened the prosecution. The first witness was the miserable widow of the latter gen-

tleman. She appeared with her eldest son, a boy not ten years of age, the oldest of six orphans, but no sooner had she been placed on the table than she fainted dead away, and remained a long time insensible. During the examination which followed, notwithstanding every attention which the most delicate and respectful sympathy could offer, she repeatedly fainted. To convey an idea of the emotion this melancholy scene excited in the court and spectators would be impossible, and when by slow degrees, and with many sad interruptions, the story of her sufferings was drawn from her, no one could feel surprise at the state of dreadful agitation into which she was plunged, nor at the traces of premature decay visible in her appearance. Mrs. Uniacke, as we have heard from her intimate friends, was a short time since a very handsome woman in the prime of life, and blessed with vigorous health; she is now emaciated, almost bent double, and looks at least twenty years older than she is. She swore, "that on the night on which the banditti attacked her husband's house, she was sitting in the parlour, her boy with her, and an infant at the breast. Mrs. Uniacke had attended Colonel St. George to his bed-room; and while they were talking up stairs, the house door was suddenly forced open, and a man entered brandishing a pistol, followed by many others; that, not finding the gentleman in the parlour, they took a candle and proceeded to the bed-room; that they seized Mr. Uniacke, dragged him down stairs and stunned him by several blows; that when they

brought him into the parlour, she threw herself with her infant child upon him, entreating them to spare the best of husbands and of fathers; a man then gave her a blow on the head with a pistol, which covered her with blood; and two wretches seized her husband by the legs, while others stabbed him in several places. During this time, some of the party had been engaged with Colonel St. George, and bringing down his mangled body threw it upon her and her infant as they lay upon the corpse of Mr. Uniacke; upon which, scarcely knowing how she effected it, she crawled to her own bed-room with the child." Question by Mr. Quin, "Which of the persons who were concerned in this horrid transaction does Mrs. Uniacke think she can recollect?"—"The man who entered with the pistol, and him from whom I received the blow: the next morning several persons were brought before me; but in the eleventh man I instantly recognised one of the murderers of my dear husband, and in the sixth after him the man who struck me. I think I had seen them before, but I have no difficulty in positively swearing that these were the men."—Mr. Quin. "One question more is all I shall ask; pray Madam turn round and see whether you cannot point out those persons."—It is not in the power of words to give an adequate idea of the scene which now took place. Mrs. Uniacke had not seen these merciless destroyers of all her earthly happiness since the time when she identified them, and then only for a moment. The instant in which she beheld the

prisoners a cold shivering seized her from head to foot, and she fell apparently bereft of life.— After a long interval, she was sufficiently recovered to be carried in again in a chair to complete this most material part of her evidence; but she was in such a state of nervous depression, that it was long before she could raise her eyes to look around; and though her efforts to conquer her fears were evidently made to the utmost of her power, yet her dread of seeing the wretches seemed almost unconquerable. At length she started suddenly from her chair, and pointing out the two prisoners at the bar, exclaimed, "That is the man who murdered my dear husband—this is the man who nearly murdered me." She then sunk back again on her seat and moaned in the most piteous manner, apparently insensible of all surrounding objects; but her agonising task was now concluded, and she was taken away by her friends. Master Uniacke's evidence was not material. The prisoners made a vague and fruitless attempt to prove an *alibi*, but their story was discredited by an honourable jury. Both were found guilty, and sent off for execution at the place where the murder was committed.

Patrick Haynes was afterwards capitally convicted of being concerned in the same murders, and sentenced to undergo a similar punishment. Three of the murderers of Mr. Dolan were also convicted.

On Easter Monday last, information was given at the Excise Office, that a party of Smugglers, with three loaded carts would

reach town that day, (by way of Croydon), together with one full of small arms; and that they would no doubt make a desperate resistance. A party of officers, and a troop of dragoons were sent, and met them, as described, near Croydon; but only found in company with the carts (besides the drivers), two men of the names of Johnson and Tapsell, who are well known in the smuggling trade, the others having returned, supposing the goods to be out of danger. The carts were seized, and the men apprehended and lodged in the New Gaol in the Borough; where they were confined in an apartment, the window of which faces a courtyard which leads up to the door of the gaol. About eleven o'clock this morning, some one requested to see the prisoners, and it appears that this person had previously put fire-arms through the iron grates of the window to the prisoners. He remained some time conversing with them, when Johnson requested the turnkey to go to the apartment where he slept, and fetch him his sleeve buttons; and while he was gone, the visitor asked the other turnkey to let him out. The outer door being opened for that purpose, Johnson and Tapsell burst suddenly out of their room, and each presenting a blunderbuss to the turnkey, prevented him from shutting the door; he permitted them therefore to pass, supposing, as they had irons on their legs, he should be able with assistance to overtake and secure them. But the plan was too well laid; for a man had been waiting for two hours near the prison, with three very capital

horses to assist the escape, and he also was well provided with arms. These horses they mounted, threatening with instant death any person who offered to molest them. They then set off full speed to the great astonishment of a number of spectators; but the man who held the horses was secured, while they were mounting, and committed to the New Gaol, after undergoing an examination at Union Hall.

20th. The seizure of the Divisions of the London Corresponding Society, and their papers at Clerkenwell, led to farther discoveries; and last night about eleven, a large party of Bow-street officers arrested the head body, called the executive committee, which had, it seems, long met with great secrecy, in a large old building in the passage leading out of Newcastle-street, Strand, into Craven Buildings, next door to the back entrance of a Public House, called the Queen of Bohemia's Head. In this place sixteen members of the society were last night found sitting, with a box, books, papers, &c. and several desks, as if the Secretaries of the different divisions were there to take down the minutes of the resolutions of the executive committee. There was also an elevated seat like a pulpit. The members found on the spot, were taken into custody, and all the papers, &c. seized.

Yesterday, Robert Reeves, the stock-broker, who was tried and found guilty last January Sessions, of forging scrip receipts with intent to defraud a Mr. Ashworth, but whose judgment had been respited on account of a defect in

the indictment, was again tried at the Old Bailey for an offence precisely similar, with intent to defraud a Mr. Parry. The circumstances as stated by Mr. Garrow, and afterwards proved were as follow. The prisoner had acted as Mr. Parry's broker, and had obtained from him nearly 10,000*l.* for which he had deposited scrip receipts for the loyalty loan of 7,500*l.* all of which turned out to have been forged. These facts were proved beyond the possibility of a doubt. An objection was taken on a point of law and disallowed by the court.

The prisoner called witnesses to his character, which, prior to this transaction, appeared to have been in every respect upright and honourable. Lord Kenyon summed up the evidence, and the jury immediately found the prisoner—*guilty.*

A Magistrate from Bow-street went with a party of officers, about twelve o'clock last night, to a Public House in Compton-street, Clerkenwell, and seized, by virtue of a warrant from the Secretary of State's Office, fourteen persons, a division of the London Corresponding Society. They were conveyed in six coaches to Clerkenwell Sessions House, where they underwent an examination, and whence three of them made their escape: the others were sent to the New Prison, Clerkenwell.

Yesterday morning, Mr. 21st. Bone, Bookseller of Lower Holborn, was taken into custody, and sent to the Privy Council for examination. Several proposals for printing books of a seditious tendency, were found in his house. Mrs. Evans was also taken up

with the following persons. Messrs. Philips, More, Keir, jun. Daw, Humphreys, Edsworth, Oxlade, and Savage. The Privy Council met at eleven o'clock, and examined several of the prisoners who were afterwards remanded into custody, and sent to Tothill-Fields and Clerkenwell Prisons.

The scientific men to be employed in the Expedition which the French are about to make into Egypt are as follow:

Astronomers.—M. Dargos, Duc la Chapelle, Noiret, and Mechein, jun.

Engineers.—Molard, Compt, Clouet, Broguet, jun. and Richer.

Naturalists.—Thoulin, Geoffroi, and Delille.

Mineralogists.—Dolorieu, Miller, and Dupuis.

Chemists.—Bertholet, Discatils, Samuel Bernard, and Le Grand.

Geometrician.—Coromeez, jun.

Botanist.—Nectour.

Zoologist.—Savigny.

Chirurgeons.—Dubois and Labatte.

Surveyors.—Millecat, Redoute, and Rigaut.

Their books and instruments have already been sent off from Paris.

Letters from Rome state 24th. that the private Library of the Pope, rich in books of the 15th Century, has been bought by a Bookseller for 36,000 piastres. A considerable treasure in gold and jewels is said to have been found in it. The French Commissary, Roessner, a Sicilian by birth, has bought the celebrated Raphael's tapestry for 30,000 piastres; Piranesi, the former Minister at Rome, has resigned a pension of 600 scudi, granted him by the king of Sweden. On the 29th, all the ex-nobility who are entitled to wear the badge of any public order, will repair to the Capitol, and commit their insignia to the flames.

The loan was taken this 23d. day by Messrs. Curtis, Boyd, Solomons, Goldsmid, and Ward. The terms are the most advantageous that have ever been obtained by the public. They are as follow:

150£. 3 per cent Consols, at $48\frac{3}{8}$	£72 11 3
50 Reduced - - - at $47\frac{1}{2}$	23 15 0
Long Ann. 4s. 11d. - - at $13\frac{1}{8}$	
Years purchase - - - - -	3 4 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>
	£99 10 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>

The bonus is only to be found in the discount on prompt payment.

25th. Eight officers of the fifteenth Dragoons appeared at Court on this day, with the gold chains and medallions presented to them by the Emperor, in gratitude for their having rescued him from the French by their

bravery in a skirmish in Flanders.

About twelve at noon, one of the Battle powder-mills, belonging to Mr. Harvey, and a drying house and store room nearly adjoining, were by some unknown

and accidental communication of fire, blown up, with two tremendous explosions, and totally destroyed. Three men employed in the mill were forced into the air with the works; and one of them rent to atoms, different parts of his limbs having been picked up at a considerable distance from each other: the other two fell, dreadfully lacerated, into an adjoining piece of water, whence they were taken out alive, but expired soon after. Seven separate buildings were completely destroyed, and the damage is estimated at five thousand pounds. Mr. Harvey's house situate at some distance is so shaken and disjointed, that it must be entirely taken down and rebuilt before it can again be resided in with safety. The quantity of powder which exploded exceeded fifteen tons weight. A heavy sand stone from the mill was carried several yards over Mr. Harvey's house, and a variety of pieces of timber into a large wood, at the distance of nearly half a mile.

The Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry in Ireland, has been lately arrested at Tedo, a post town between Ferrara and Bologna, as a spy: his lordship has been conducted to Ferrara, and is to be tried by a council of war. It is said, in the foreign papers, that two large portmanteaus were found in his apartments filled with various documents, comprising reflections on the French government; a correspondence with emigrants; a plan of the campaign in Italy; an exact account of the French force in the Adriatic and the islands in the Levant; a plan of an invasion of Mexico by the

emigrants; and for the restoration of the French monarchy, with a proclamation on the latter subject.

About one o'clock this morning, the watchman in ^{29th.} Bond-street was alarmed by repeated and violent screams issuing from the house of a Milliner, but before he could succeed in rousing the family the shrieks had ceased. However, on going to a back yard they discovered the premises to be on fire, and dreadful to relate, found a human body almost entirely consumed, which on investigation, proved to be that of a French young lady belonging to the house, who it is supposed, was sitting up either to work or read, and fell asleep with the candle too near her. The fire was extinguished without injuring any part of the house but the room of the unhappy sufferer.

Yesterday Mr. Williams who was convicted on the 24th of June, 1797, of a libel on the Christian religion, by publishing Paine's "Age of Reason," was brought up in the custody of the Keeper of Newgate to receive judgment in the Court of King's Bench. Mr. Justice Ashhurst pointed out the great enormity of this species of offence, and the circumstances which had aggravated the guilt of the present defendant in particular, and concluded by saying, that if the Court did not pass so severe a sentence as the flagrancy of the case required, it would be in consequence of Mr. Erskine's interference in his behalf. The learned Justice then sentenced the defendant to be imprisoned in the House of Correction for one year, there to be kept

to hard labour, and at the expiration of that term, to give security for his good behaviour for the rest of his life, to the amount of one thousand pounds.

DIED.—On the 4th inst. in the 117th year of his age, John Ingleby, who had been upwards of 95 years a domestic in the Webster family, of Battle Abbey, Sussex. He retained his faculties till within a very short period of his death, and was accustomed to walk out every day, supported latterly upon a short walking-stick in each hand. Notwithstanding it was the earnest wish of the present Lady Webster to pay this extraordinary old man every attention which his age and long services deserved, he could not be persuaded to remove his abode from an ancient out-building near the Abbey gate, so nearly filled with billet wood that there was barely room for a table and a bench by the fire upon which it was his custom to recline. However, he had a nurse solely to attend upon him, and his table was furnished with delicacies from that of her ladyship. His usual dress was a full bottomed wig, and a dress suit of chocolate colour with yellow buttons, and there was nothing in his appearance which gave the idea of his being so far beyond the ordinary age of man, except for the last few years a falling of the under jaw, which had a singular and unpleasing effect on the general expression of his countenance. Mr. Ingleby had a very strong sense of religious duty, and till within a very short period of his decease was in the habit of reading prayers twice a day to his at-

tendant, and any others who chose to make part of his congregation.

Capt. Alexander Hood, 21st. commander of the Mars man of war, nephew of Lords Hood and Bridport, and brother to Captain Samuel Hood, of the Audacious. This gallant hero received his death-wound in a brilliant engagement with L'Hercule, a French man of war, off Brest, soon after the action commenced, but lived to receive the news that the enemy had struck. He expired with the courage of a hero, and the resignation of a Christian. Captain Hood has left a widow and five children. As his remains were passing through Taunton in the way to the family burial place, the archdeacon, who was holding a visitation of the Clergy, went out with them in a body to meet the hearse at the entrance of the town, and accompanied the procession quite through it; a circumstance which greatly augmented the solemnity of the scene.

At Paris, after a few 26th. days illness, Mancini Nivernois, *ci-devant* Duc de Nivernois, born December 16, 1716, and formerly Ambassador to the Court of Great Britain. His Grace was fond of literature, and besides collecting many valuable works in this country, translated into French Lord Orford's "Essay on Gardening," and wrote a panegyric on Captain Cook. These and his other miscellaneous works, (*Œuvres Mêlées du Citoyen Mancini Nivernois*) were printed at Paris, 1797, in 4 vols. 8vo.

Aged 84, John Little, Esq. a man who, with an ample fortune, denied himself all the luxuries

and many of the necessaries of life through eccentricity of character, and a passion for accumulation. After his death, 173 pair of breeches, 184 wigs, and other articles of wearing apparel proportionably numerous, were found in a room which had not been opened for 14 years.

MAY.

3rd. This night, about eleven, as Mr. Barry, of Great Queen Anne-street, Barrister, was passing through Wardour-street, he was suddenly attacked by two women of the town, one of whom struck him a violent blow in the groin, which deprived him of breath for an instant, and caused him to stagger against the wall. The other wretch in the meantime robbed him of his pocket-book, containing notes to the amount of 70*l.* Mr. Barry on recovering from the blow, followed the women into a house, the door of which was instantly shut on him, and two ruffians rushed from the back parlour, who, after knocking him down, beat him in a most shocking manner with a quart pot and a bludgeon. His cries at length alarmed the neighbourhood, but for whose timely interference he would no doubt have been murdered. On forcing open the street door, Mr. Barry was found on the floor of the parlour weltering in his blood, having received several severe cuts on the head, and being terribly bruised in various parts of his body. The ruffians, on the breaking open of the house-door, locked themselves into a parlour,

from whence they made their escape through the window. The two women who had attacked and robbed Mr. Barry, and afterwards assisted in holding him down, were taken into custody on the spot.

Yesterday evening between 8 and 9 o'clock, Henry Hastings was arrested under the authority of a warrant from the Duke of Portland, at the White Horse Inn, Fetter-lane, by one of the Bow-street officers: he was just stepping into the Yarmouth mail coach, whence he was going to Hamburgh, on mercantile business for a house in Bread-street. His papers, &c. were seized, and he was securely lodged.

This night the Privy Council met at 8 o'clock 4th. to examine Henry Hastings. The examination continued till half past one in the morning, when he was remanded into custody.

Early this morning, Mr. Coxé the Messenger, with two Bow-street officers, went to the lodgings of a Dr. Watson, a person well known in the Corresponding Societies. The bird had however flown, but his papers were seized, which are understood to be very explanatory of the views and transactions of those with whom he is connected.

This morning about four o'clock, a most dreadful 7th. fire broke out at the house of a Mr. Bull, a tallow-chandler in Gerard-street, Soho. A servant-maid had set up for her master, a Major in the army, who lodged on the first floor; but he not returning as soon as she expected she went to lie down in the garret, in the next room to that in

which Mrs. Bull and three children slept, leaving, as it is supposed, the candle and fire burning in the kitchen. In less than two hours after, Mrs. Bull was disturbed by hearing a loud knocking at the street door, and supposing the Major had returned called out to the maid to rise and let her master in; but she was soon undeceived by the cries of "fire! fire!" which succeeded; and she instantly hurried down with her children calling upon the servant to follow also. The unfortunate woman, however, anxious, perhaps, to save some of her little property neglected to obey, and the fury of the flames increased by the current of air rushing through the hall, as Mrs. Bull made her escape, entirely cut off her retreat. The upper part of the house was so secured that she could not get upon the roof, and the fire gaining rapidly upon her, she had no resource but to throw herself out of a window in the two pair of stairs front. A watchman standing below in an effort to break her fall caught her by the leg, but this did not prevent her body from coming with such violence to the ground that she was carried in a state of insensibility to the Middlesex Hospital, where she soon expired. Notwithstanding every exertion to arrest the progress of the fire, it soon communicated from the house of Mr. Bull to that adjoining it on the right side: but all the inhabitants were alarmed in sufficient time to make their escape: one of them a Mr. Croziers, an Engraver, who lodged in the second floor, unfortunately returned with a hope to save three copper-plates on which

he set much value. He was followed by a Mr. Hyde (with whom he had been spending the night until that late hour,) to the very door of the apartment; but the heat was so great, that Mr. H. was obliged to retire, and Mr. Croziers who ventured in lost his life. Mr. Bull's house was entirely consumed, and all the property it contained destroyed; but it was fortunately insured: the other house was not entirely consumed, and a good deal of the property was saved.

Sir Sydney Smith who 13th. was taken prisoner in April, 1796, arrived this day at the Admiralty at one o'clock. He has been since that period of his capture a prisoner at the Temple at Paris, under the most rigorous confinement; the Executive Directory having made him a particular object of their revenge, refusing every overture for his release, unless *four thousand* seamen were given in exchange. Happily this gallant officer has reached this country without being indebted to Republican indulgence; and we trust he will live to add fresh lustre to the British name. Finding that all hopes of an honorable exchange had vanished, from the rancour which the Directory continually manifested towards him, a plan was formed to effect his escape which happily succeeded in every particular; and was so well conducted, that although Sir Sydney's release was effected on the 24th of April, it was not known to the Directory till the 4th of May, when he was beyond the limits of the Republic. He arrived at Portsmouth about five this morning, having

been picked up off Havre, by the *Argo* frigate, which was immediately detached from Captain Wolley's squadron to land Sir Sydney at Portsmouth, where, after taking some refreshment, he immediately set off for London. (See Appendix to the Chronicle.)

Monsieur Bergeret, Captain of *La Virginie* frigate, which was captured by Sir Edward Pellew, had been allowed by government to go to France to negotiate an exchange between himself and Sir Sydney Smith; but being unable to succeed, he returned to England about a month since. He received a letter this evening from Mr. Dundas, stating, that as the object of his journey to France was attained by the fortunate escape of Sir Sydney, his Majesty in consequence of the trouble to which he had been put, and as a mark of the satisfaction his conduct had afforded, restored him to his liberty, and permitted him to return to his country without any restriction whatever.

14th. This night, a person of the name of Parker, was brought to the Admiralty Office, guarded by a party of the 20th Dragoons, from Welling in Kent, to which place he had been brought under a similar escort from Margate. The prisoner, it appears, had acted as Master's Mate in the Navy, and obtained permission to serve on board Admiral Peyton's ship at Deal; but instead of which, he assumed the character of a lieutenant, and went on board the *Terror* bomb, where he told the commanding-officer he must resign, as he was appointed to the command. The commander, how-

ever, ordered him into custody, and sent him to Chatham, where he underwent a long examination before Gen. Fox, in which it appeared, that he had also endeavoured to assume a command in Lord Barrington's regiment in a military capacity. He has been since committed to the new prison, Clerkenwell.

As the Hon. Colonel Finch was on Friday morning exercising some companies of the Guards on Barham Downs, and standing in the centre of the line giving the word of command, he was dangerously wounded in the left groin, a little below the hip bone, by some combustible matter from a musquet, which could not be extracted. As the troops were all firing it could not be discovered by whom the wound was inflicted, and as there is not the least reason to suppose that it was premeditated, it is most probable that the soldier who committed the act is entirely ignorant of it. The last accounts of the situation of Colonel Finch, reported him to be in a very dangerous state. He is brother to Lord Aylesford, member for Cambridge, and Colonel of the 2nd regiment of Guards.

This morning a duel was fought in Hyde Park, between Lieutenant Fitzgerald of the Irish brigade, and Captain Brown. They were both wounded in the first round, the former in the breast, the latter in the neck; the seconds then interposed, and through their means the parties became reconciled. The affair originated in a dispute between them while serving in the West Indies. They fought at the distance of only five paces.

Thursday evening as Captain Moore of Sloane-street, and another gentleman in a curricie, were turning at the corner of the road near Chelsea College, the vehicle became entangled with a cart, in consequence of which Captain Moore was thrown out and killed upon the spot.

On Sunday night an inhuman murder was committed by some unknown person on the body of — Watts, a journeyman tailor, who, it appears, was passing by the end of Prince's-court about 12 o'clock, when he was assaulted by a man who stabbed him in three different parts of the body, and then throwing away the weapon, which was a large dagger, ran down the Court, where he was stopped by a young man who heard the scuffle, but from whom the murderer escaped by the part of his coat, by which he was caught, tearing off. The dagger was picked up by the watchman. The deceased received two large wounds on the breast, and one in the side, and died instantaneously.

Last Monday, the servant of Jesse Arthur, Esq. a Norwegian gentleman of noble connections, partner in an eminent mercantile house at Christianstadt, went as usual to call his master in the morning, and being desired by him to tell the landlord of his lodgings, (which were on the North Parade, Bath) that he wished to speak to him, went down stairs for that purpose; but ere he had reached the bottom, he returned in haste from hearing the report of a pistol in the room he had just quitted, where he found Mr. Arthur quite dead, weltering in his blood, the ball

having passed through both temples. He had been for some time resident in Bath, where he was much liked and respected; but having had the misfortune to lose a beloved wife, about two years since, his spirits became unsettled and he took to gambling, in which he lost at various times considerable sums, but not sufficient to injure his property, which was very large; and at the time of his death, cash, notes, and valuables to a great amount were found to have been in his possession; a sufficient proof when added to the non-existence of any debts, that the fatal act was not committed from any embarrassment in circumstances. The Coroner's jury brought in their verdict *Lunacy*, founded upon the representations which were given in evidence of the frequently agitated state of the unhappy gentleman's mind. Indeed his most intimate and particular friends all testified, that since the loss of Mrs. Arthur he had often appeared to be plunged into the deepest despair, and was scarce ever known to pass an hour without speaking of her, frequently with the most pitiable agitation and great wildness of language and manner.

Three prisoners, two men and one woman, received sentence of death on Saturday at the Old Bailey: thirteen were ordered to be transported for seven years: six were sent to be imprisoned in Newgate, and nine in the house of correction at Clerkenwell; four to be publicly, and five privately, whipped, and one to be fined one shilling and discharged.

Tuesday, Admiral Lord Duncan waited upon the 20th.

Chamberlain of the city of London, at one o'clock, and was made free of the city, and received, at the same time, a sword, richly ornamented with diamonds, voted to him by the Courts of Common-council and Aldermen, as a testimony of their sense of the important services rendered by his lordship to this country, by gloriously defeating the Dutch fleet on the 11th of October 1797.

The Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland have issued a proclamation offering a reward of 1000*l.* sterling to any person who shall discover and apprehend Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

At the meeting of the Whig Club yesterday, Mr. Fox made an open avowal of some very bold and extraordinary sentiments; he commenced with giving as a toast "The sovereignty of the people of Great Britain," and then, in a speech fully declaratory of his opinions in these critical times, condemned ministers in the strongest terms for their Irish measures, which he said we should soon see adopted in England also. He then expressed his disbelief in the probability of an invasion, but concluded his speech by patriotically announcing his determination to join in the defence of his country should the enemy be so infatuated as to attempt it, and his conviction, that they would soon be driven away in confusion and disgrace by the spirit and heroism of the people of England.

The Duke of Northumberland has resigned his lord lieutenancy in consequence of some resolutions passed at a county meeting, by the deputy lieutenant's censuring his grace for not taking a more

active part in the affairs of the county: which resolutions having been forwarded, in the first instance to the Duke of Portland, and through him to the Duke of Northumberland, that nobleman thought proper to send in his resignation; but he has since given instructions to the bailiffs of his different manors to lay proposals before his tenantry and their labourers for forming armed corps of infantry and cavalry, to be under the immediate command of his grace, who proposes to furnish clothing and horse-furniture at his own expence, and to pay one shilling per day to those who chuse to accept it, for each time of exercise.

Advices from Dublin 24th. state, that on the evening of the 19th inst. information was officially received of the place in which Lord Edward Fitzgerald had concealed himself, when Mr. Justice Swan, Major Sirr, and Captain Ryan, with a small guard, went in two coaches to the house of one Murphy, a feather merchant, in Thomas-street. Major Sirr instantly proceeded to plant sentinels at the principal outlets of the house, while Mr. Swan and Captain Ryan, rushed in, and ran up to a room two pair of stairs backwards. Mr. Swan having first reached the apartment opened the door, and told Lord Edward, who was on the bed in his dressing-gown and breeches, that he had a warrant against him, adding, "You know me, my lord, and I you—you must see the folly of resistance," to which Lord Edward made no other reply than by firing a pistol, which fortunately did not hit Mr. Swan, who ap-

proached nearer the bed, from which his lordship instantly sprung and attacked him with a dagger, with which he wounded him desperately above the shoulder-blade; Mr. Swan fired, but Lord Edward wounded him a second time in the ribs, when he staggered back, exclaiming that he was killed, just as Captain Ryan entered, for the whole was the business of a few seconds only. Lord Edward no sooner beheld Captain Ryan than he fell upon him with such determined fury, that with one cut he opened his belly to such a degree that the bowels protruded, but he nevertheless continued to struggle with him, and they grappled together, Lord Edward stabbing and eluding the grasp of Capt. Ryan, who endeavoured to wrest the dagger from him. In this state entwined together upon the ground, they were found by Major Sirr, who rushed up on hearing the reports of the two pistols; the major fired and wounded Lord Edward in the shoulder, who was then easily overpowered, and they conveyed him to the Castle, where he underwent an examination, and from thence to Newgate. The weapon with which this desperate young nobleman has done so much mischief, is of a very unusual construction, and specially formed for the most bloody purpose: the handle is in the middle, with a blade right and left, which cuts and thrusts; and of course cuts in whatever direction it may be held. It would be impracticable to disarm a man of such a weapon without depriving him of life, or disabling him. Mr. Swan's wounds are severe but not dangerous, and

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those of Lord Edward are said to be slight; but we lament to add, that Captain Ryan died on the following day: he had received no less than fourteen desperate wounds. Murphy, the owner of the house in which Lord Edward lodged, was conveyed to Newgate at the same time. His lordship had been in the habit of going out in disguise at night, and sleeping during the day, and was traced by some orders issued by him to the Society of United Irishmen.

In consequence of some expressions made use of by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, on Friday last, Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Rider; and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by Mr. George Walpole, met upon Putney-heath, and after some ineffectual attempts by the seconds to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired at the same moment without effect; a second case was disposed of in the same manner, Mr. Pitt firing his pistol in the air: the seconds then jointly interfered and insisted that the matter should go no farther, it being their decided opinion that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business had terminated with equal honour to both parties.

The trials for high treason have finished at Maidstone. O'Coigley is the only prisoner found guilty. O'Connor, Binns, Allen, and Leary, being all acquitted. (Vide Appendix to the Chronicle.) Immediately after the passing of sentence, Mr. O'Connor conceiving himself at liberty to go away after his acquittal, put one of his legs over the box where he

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had been standing, apparently with the intention of leaving the court. Several of his friends near him took an active part in his assistance, by placing themselves in the way of the Bow-street officers, who, with several peace-officers, rushed towards Mr. O'Connor, and the court was thrown into the utmost confusion. Two swords which lay on the table, (part of the prisoner's baggage); were seized upon and drawn by some persons, one gentleman was knocked down, and the tumult seemed to forebode dangerous consequences. By this time Mr. O'Connor was seized and dragged back again to the bar, when, silence being restored, he appealed to the court for protection, and to know by what right he had been seized, when cleared of all charge by the verdict of the jury. A warrant was then produced by the Bow-street officers, signed by the Duke of Portland, and dated the 22d of March, to arrest Arthur O'Connor, Esq. for high treason. His counsel submitted to the court, that he had been tried and fairly acquitted on that charged; and moved that he might be forthwith liberated. The court said they had no power to do that; their authority having terminated with the commission. They hinted that an affidavit might be filed in the King's Bench, which would force the counsel on the part of the crown to shew why he should not be liberated. Mr. O'Connor said, he conceived that when he was acquitted he was of course discharged. Mr. Justice Buller said, he did not doubt Mr. O'Connor's word, who might be easily so mistaken if such was

the practice in Ireland, but he must acquaint him, that in England it was otherwise; the practice in this country being, that the gaoler had the calendar returned to him marked, and thus he acted according to it. Mr. O'Connor then with much agitation of manner, asked if he might be permitted to speak a few words—Mr. Justice Buller, "What have you got to say, Mr. O'Connor?"—Mr. O'Connor—"Will the officers take their hands off? My lords, I am surrounded with drawn swords! I am prepared to die and it would be better for the court to doom me to death at once, than that I should linger out my life in a jail! Have the goodness to send me to the dungeon where my brother is in confinement, after having been acquitted of a charge of high treason in Ireland. At all events, will your lordships order that my agent may be permitted to come to me?" The court said they could make no such order. Their commission ended with the trial. The court then ordered all the prisoners to be taken back to the gaol, and the judges went away from the court.

This day, a terrible earthquake took place at Sienna. 25th. The shock was felt about fifteen minutes after one o'clock P. M. A noise similar to a discharge of cannon, accompanied by an undulatory motion of the earth, is the description of this tremendous event given by those to whom terror allowed any powers of observation. It was observed in the country, that the shock was less sensibly felt towards the sea than southward. No extraordinary phenomena preceded it: but it

had been remarked for some days previous that the air was exceedingly thick and cloudy, and that the temperature passed suddenly several times from excessive heat to intense cold. Almost all the churches have been damaged; the dome of a lecture-room in the college of Boromeno, fell in, and seventeen young students, who were assembled there, were all either killed or dreadfully wounded: the son of the governor of Leghorn, who was one of them, has lost both his arms. The number of persons killed in different parts of Sienna is more than fifty, and that of the wounded considerably more. A part of the convent of St. Barno, where the Pope resided, is destroyed. Fortunately for the Sovereign Pontiff, he was then in the gardens of the Saliorani family. All the inhabitants of Sienna fled to the country, where as many as could procure such an accommodation erected tents to sleep in. A slight shock occurred during the night; and between three and four the next morning, a more violent one renewed the general consternation. Even on the 27th the people did not think themselves safe in the churches, and an altar was erected in the grand square, where divine worship was performed.

Yesterday morning, Daniel Deklerck, a Dutch skipper, convicted of uttering a forged Bank of England note, knowing it to be forged, and Thomas Hunter, alias Ravanna, convicted of forgery, were executed in front of Newgate prison. The case of the Dutch Captain powerfully interested the public, as it had become

a general opinion that he had erred through ignorance, and his protesting his innocence to the last moment of his life, has unfortunately confirmed the almost universal sentiment in his favour, although it may in common fairness and justice be believed that his fate was not unmerited, as notwithstanding the strongest representations made at the Secretary of State's office by several persons of high respectability, neither the Directors of the Bank interposed in his favour, nor would the Duke of Portland submit his case to his Majesty's reconsideration. The body was taken away in a hearse by his friends.

DIED.—23d. Lieutenant William Giffard, aged 20. He was travelling in the mail-coach from Limerick to Dublin, and was the only passenger. As they passed through Kildare, a party of rebels who had possessed themselves of the town that morning, stopped the coach and demanded his name and profession. Upon hearing that he was an officer, they made him get out of the coach, and proposed to him as an alternative to save his life, to take an oath of fidelity to their cause, put himself at their head, and lead them against the neighbouring town of Monasterevaro. To these offers the gallant and unfortunate young man returned an immediate and peremptory refusal, and fell the next moment pierced by an hundred pikes. In two days the brave Sir James Duff, and the royal Dublin regiment entered the town of Kildare: to this regiment the father of young Giffard had belonged; it was that in which he

had himself his commission, and many of the officers and soldiers had known him from his infancy, and he was deservedly beloved by every man in the regiment. On entering the town the first object which struck their eyes was his mangled and unburied body, their rage knew no bounds, and the signal victory gained the same day at Kildare, by Sir James, in which 500 rebels were cut to pieces, must be fresh in every one's recollection. Lieutenant Giffard was a lineal descendant from the Giffards of Devonshire, a long race of heroes; and his great-grandfather spent his fortune and sacrificed his life for his unhappy Sovereign Charles the First.

At his house in Canon-row, Islington, the Rev. John Williams, above forty years an useful minister among the Dissenters, and the author of the following well-known literary works, "An Enquiry into the Authenticity (with an intent to disprove it), of the first and second Chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel." "Thoughts on Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles." "A Concordance to the Greek Testament." "An Enquiry and Observations respecting the Discovery of America." And some single Sermons. He engaged in controversy with the celebrated Dr. Bell, Prebendary of Westminster.

At Broughton Loan, in Scotland, Lewis Bisset, aged 109 years. He was born at Inverness, and was a baker and brewer till within the last twelve years of his life, which he spent in Edinburgh, principally supported by the contributions of charitable persons.

JUNE.

This day, Sir Edward 1st. Crosbie, bart. was executed under a sentence of martial-law, at Carlow, in Ireland, in consequence of his criminal acting in the rebel cause and intercourse with the rebel army. He was the head of a very ancient family, but of an impaired fortune, and himself and family received from the bounty of the crown, pensions to the amount of 400*l.* per ann. His head has been set on a pike on Carlow Market-house.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald 4th. died of his wounds at two o'clock this morning: the following is the verdict of the coroner's jury; "We are of opinion that the deceased came by his death by an effusion of water in the left side of the thorax, and inflammation of the lungs of that side, occasioned as it appeared to us upon the testimony of four eminent surgeons, by fever brought on by great anxiety of mind, aided by two wounds inflicted on the right arm by two pistol-balls found lodged over the scapula of that side." His lordship was brother to the present Duke of Leinster, and fifth son of James, first Duke of Leinster, by Emilia-Mary Lennox, sister to the present Duke of Richmond. He was born in 1763, and married, in 1792, the celebrated French Pamela, natural daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by, as it is asserted by some, Madame de Genlis; but others say that lady was only her governess. Lady Edward is inconsolable, and at times delirious; she is under the

care of her husband's two noble relatives, the Dukes of Leinster and Richmond.

The widow of Captain Ryan, who died of the wounds he received at the time of taking Lord Edward Fitzgerald into custody, has been provided for by government, and all the debts of her deceased husband paid. She is to have 200*l.* per ann. during life, one year paid in advance; at her death this annuity is to be continued to her daughter for her life also, and her son, who is about eight years old, is to be provided for either in the army or navy, as soon as he shall arrive at a proper age.

6th. This morning, Mr. Reeves, Mr. Adamson, and Mr. Wilkinson, were executed for the crime of forgery in the front of Newgate. The respectability of the situation held in life by these gentlemen, their widely extended connections, and the great extent to which, by the aid of these advantages, they had been enabled to carry on a long course of deception and fraud, had excited so general a desire to see the last awful punishment of the law inflicted upon them, that above a hundred thousand persons were assembled on the occasion; a great proportion of them, we lament to add, were women, and very many with the dress and appearance of a rank in life which should have taught them better feelings. The houses opposite to the gaol had all their windows taken out, and places were regularly let for the accommodation of the curious. Every indulgence that was at all consistent with proper caution was allowed to the

unhappy gentlemen, whose families were permitted to remain with them till a late hour last night, and a Methodist clergyman, at their own request, was permitted to attend them. Mr. Reeves and Mr. Wilkinson, were composed and resigned; but about five this morning it was discovered by the state of Mr. Adamson, that he must have contrived to secrete some opium which he had swallowed in the night: proper medical help was immediately called in, and by the aid of medicine he was able to join with the others in taking the Holy Sacrament, but with constant support and attention. The awful scene commenced at a quarter past eight in the morning: Mr. Reeves mounted the platform first, and Mr. Wilkinson followed; both with unshaken fortitude and the most impressive solemnity of manner. Mr. Adamson was then led, or almost carried forward by two men: his countenance was perfectly vacant, and had all the appearance of approaching dissolution upon it, from the effects of his recent dose. After the usual preparations they were all three launched into eternity at the same moment, and died without a single struggle.

The inhabitants of Lewes 7th. were this day much alarmed by a storm of rain, hail, thunder and lightning, which from its violence and extraordinary nature, greatly exceeded anything of the kind ever known to have happened there, by the oldest persons living. The hail in the space of five minutes, demolished glass in the town and its vicinity, which it is estimated will cost more than

a thousand pounds to repair; the smallest of the stones were as big as musket-balls, but the greater part of them were from four to seven inches in circumference. In the gardens and corn-fields, the devastation is inconceivable; 575 panes of glass were broken in the Barracks of Bletchington; a number of ducks were killed in a pond at Seaford; many birds were found dead under their nests, and at Beddingham a large tract of pease was totally spoiled and destroyed.

Yesterday afternoon it was intimated to Mr. O'Coigley, that his execution was to take place this morning. He received the information with much fortitude, and spent the evening in a calm and serene manner. At a quarter past eleven this morning he was brought out of prison, and placed upon a hurdle drawn by two horses, preceded by the Sheriff's men, and escorted by a company of the Maidstone Volunteers. The procession moved slowly to the place of execution on Penenden Heath, about a mile from the Town of Maidstone. When arrived at the place of his destination, he had a short conversation with a Roman Catholic Priest, who attended him and read some prayers aloud from a Latin Prayer-book. He then took out an orange and desired a gentlemen to cut it for him, for which purpose he presented him with a pen knife which he took from his pocket, observing at the same time, that he had possessed the means of self-destruction but that he would not deprive himself of the glorious death he was about to die! Mr. O'Coigley then turned

round and spoke kindly and gratefully to the keeper of the prison, praying God might bless him for the humane attentions he had received from him. Immediately after he ascended the scaffold and was tied to the gallows, in which awful situation he made a speech to the surrounding multitude; of such a nature, that it would be merciful to his memory to let it rest in oblivion for ever. It was of considerable length, and of a very inflammatory nature, asserting his entire innocence of every charge brought against him, which of course after the evidence on which he was condemned, could only be supported by accusing the Jury as partial, and charging the witnesses with perjury, which he did not scruple to do in the broadest terms. He spoke firmly and calmly to the last. When he concluded the board was let down as at Newgate, and he remained suspended twelve or thirteen minutes; the body was then taken down and the head taken off by a surgeon, after which it was held up to the populace by the executioner saying, "This is the head of a traitor." Both head and body were then put into a shell and buried at the foot of the gallows. The number of persons who attended, did not much exceed a thousand, which was probably owing to the circumstance of the matter not having been made very public. Even at Maidstone very few people knew anything about it, till the procession appeared in the streets.

Lord Henry Paulet commander of his Majesty's 12th. Ship *Thalia*, has been dismissed his Majesty's service by sentence

of a Court Martial, for publicly striking a Lieutenant of the same ship, while in the execution of his duty.

The officers of the 15th Light Dragoons, who have received his Majesty's permission to accept and wear the gold medals and chains presented to them by the Emperor of Germany, are Major William Aylett; Captains, Robert Pocklington, and Edward Michael Ryan; Lieutenants, Thomas Granby Calcraft, William Keir, and Thomas Burrell Blount; Cornets, Edward G. Butler, and Robert Wilson. The affair of which these medals are to perpetuate the memory, took place on the 24th of April, 1794, when a detachment of the 15th Light Dragoons without any aid or assistance, attacked the enemy who greatly outnumbered them, routed and dispersed them and took three pieces of cannon; which act of gallantry rescued his Imperial Majesty from impending captivity, he being at that time actually cut off by the patrols of the enemy, on the road from Valenciennes to Catillon, on his way from Brussels to the army.

19th. Dr. Esmond, brother to the Baronet of that name, convicted of affording assistance to the rebels in Ireland, has been executed in pursuance of the sentence passed upon him. He conducted himself on the awful occasion with great firmness and dignity: the only words he spoke were just previous to being turned off. "God forgive me as I forgive the world." He was a remarkably handsome and elegant young man, and an universal favourite in the highest circles of

fashion in Dublin. He has left a widow with whom he had a large fortune.

At the last meeting of the Court of proprietors of the Bank of England, the Governor informed them that he had received the following letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Downing Street, June 14.

"Gentlemen,

It being intended to propose to Parliament a clause, authorizing the Bank of England to receive, in payment of the three millions of Exchequer-bills, charged on the loan for the present year, as the several instalments become due, other Exchequer-bills at the same rate of interest, to be charged on the supply to be granted for the services of the ensuing year, I have to request you to communicate such intention to your Court; and to state that, if the clause should be approved by Parliament, their consenting to receive payment of the Exchequer-bills, in the manner proposed, will, at this period, afford an important accommodation to Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM PITT."

He then stated that the Court of Directors had taken this letter into consideration, and they were of opinion that the accommodation might be granted; and had accordingly come to the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that the letter of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, be laid before a general Court of Proprietors, and that the Governors be authorized to declare, that it is the opinion of the Court

of Directors, that the accommodation requested by Government may be granted, on depositing in payment of the three millions of Exchequer-bills, secured on the loan of the present year, other Exchequer-bills, at the same rate of interest, to be paid out of the first instalment of the supply to be granted next Session of Parliament."—The question was put, and the Court of Proprietors unanimously concurred in the above resolution.

A woman dressed in deep mourning, waited yesterday afternoon, at the garden gate of St. James's, in the anxious hope of presenting a petition when their Majesties stepped into their carriage, but being prevented by the officers on guard from approaching near enough, she retired to some distance from the place, and with great resolution and dexterity threw the petition into the royal carriage as it passed. It fell into the Princess Elizabeth's lap, who presented it to the Queen. From the narrative she told, it appears, that her husband was lost on board the *Queen* in the West Indies, one of her sons, a lieutenant, had been murdered by the crew of the *Hermione*, and another had fallen in action, while serving on board the *Leviathan*, which melancholy circumstances had left her entirely destitute, and in the greatest distress.

20th. The King has granted to Lord Viscount Duncan, his royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may bear as an honourable augmentation, in the centre of his paternal arms, a representation of the gold medal conferred upon him by his Majes-

ty, upon the occasion of the victory of the 11th of October, pendant from a blue and white riband, ensigned with a naval crown and subscribed, "Camperdown."

The sea in the neighbourhood of Sunderland, has been so uncommonly clear for a fortnight past, that a great number of anchors, kedges, ship's guns, and all kinds of ship's iron work, have been seen many fathoms deep, and a very successful fishery of those articles carried on. Some large anchors have been recovered, which lay a considerable way out to sea.

25th. H. Munroe, one of the Northern rebel chiefs, has been executed at Lisburn, where his head is placed upon a pole in a conspicuous situation.

Mr. Harvey, the general of the Wexford rebels, is a young man, well educated and connected, of diminutive stature and awkward appearance, but said to possess an active and vigorous mind and undaunted resolution. He was called to, and occasionally practised at, the Irish bar; and some time since, acquired much celebrity from a political duel, with a literary partisan of the Irish administration. His name appears in some publications, as Secretary to the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin; and he married about eighteen months since, the youngest of the lovely daughters of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Crosbie, Dean of Limerick, and brother to the Earl of Glandore.

Colonel John Gordon Sinclair, convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury (see the action brought against him by the Marquis De Calonne, in the Chronicle for last

Month), this day was brought up to receive judgment, and sentenced to be imprisoned for twelve months in the King's Bench Prison.

Mr. Stanton, a Surgeon and Apothecary at Tooting, having brought an action against Mr. Coghlan, an Officer, lately returned from the East Indies, for seducing his wife; the action was allowed to go by default, and the damages came to be awarded by a Sheriff's Jury yesterday, when 700*l.* damages were given. The defendant lodged in the plaintiff's house, and when proceedings commenced against him, he immediately set out to the West Indies.

The trial of Lieutenant Rae, accused of killing Lieutenant M'Vean in a duel, came on a few days ago before the Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh. It appeared from the evidence that the parties, both very young men, had been in habits of close intimacy; and that a trivial dispute, in which the prisoner shewed much temper and forbearance, led to the fatal rencontre. The Lord Advocate addressed the Jury on the part of the Crown, and the Honourable Henry Erskine, on that of the prisoner, Lord Eskgrove summed up the evidence, and the Jury, after a long deliberation, (with one dissenting voice only) returned a verdict of—*not guilty*. Mr. Rae was, of course, dismissed *simpliciter* from the bar.

Cornelius Grogan, Esq. a gentleman of landed property, to the amount of more than 6000*l.* per annum, who has been Member for Enniscortley, and High Sheriff for the County of Wexford, James Colclough, Esq. an Irish gentle-

man of great respectability, and Beauchamp Bagnall Harvey, the Rebel General, having fled and secreted themselves after the late reverses experienced by the rebels, have recently been discovered in a cave in one of the Saltee Islands, whither they had escaped. Messrs. Colclough and Harvey taking with them their unfortunate wives, and one maid-servant belonging to Mrs. Harvey, who had also a young infant with her. They had provisions with them for six months, and all their plate and money. It is said that they were discovered by some soap suds spilt at the mouth of the cave; which having been observed by three officers, who were on a shooting party there, they immediately suspected something like the truth, though they were far from anticipating the magnitude of their prize, a thousand guineas having been offered by Government for the apprehension of Harvey only. The officers entered the cave with presented arms; and perceiving Harvey and Colclough, desired them to surrender, telling them resistance was vain, as the cave was surrounded by an armed force; and that if they hesitated, they must issue orders to their men to advance and fire upon them. Hereupon, they submitted and allowed themselves to be secured, actuated no doubt in a great measure by a wish to spare the ladies a scene of bloodshed, as their characters for courage and determination would otherwise have induced them to sell their lives dearly. On being led out, however, they appeared greatly surprised and mortified, when they discovered the

deception which had been practised upon them, as they had arms and ammunition in abundance in the cave. They were marched to a small boat which waited for the officers, and conveyed to Wexford. On landing at the quay, Mr. Harvey appeared quite dejected, and extremely pale; but Mr. Colclough's fortitude did not forsake him, till he arrived at the gaol, when he beheld a head upon a pike. Upon inquiring whose it was, he was answered, that it was the head of Mr. Keogh, his most particular friend, which intelligence appeared to electrify him; he sunk into all the anguish of utter despair, and never recovered any appearance of spirits. The defence set up by these wretched men was, that they had acted by compulsion, which being entirely disproved by the clearest and most respectable evidence, they were sentenced to the punishment their crimes deserved, and executed at Wexford on the 27th instant. Mrs. Harvey is in a state of perfect distraction, and it is feared cannot survive long. At the same time with these misguided gentlemen, Cornelius Grogan, Esq. suffered the sentence of the law for similar offences. He was at the advanced age of seventy, and was a man who had been all his life beloved and respected, and remarked for never intermeddling with politics; but a few weeks reversed all the high opinion formed of his character, and brought his earthly career to a premature and disgraceful termination! The three heads were cut off and fixed on pikes upon the Market and Sessions Houses at Wexford.

A vast dock is making at Portsmouth, which is intended to receive ten sail of the line for equipment, which may thus be effected in much less time than by sending every article by boats to the vessels in the harbour, as is the case at present, and the waste and plunder which attends the present system must be obviated. The dock will be twenty-two feet deep, and faced with cut stone. The excavation is removed to a part of the yard near the arsenal for the purpose of making a gun-wharf and battery. A steam-engine is about to be erected in the yard, in order to pump the water out of the docks, which is at present effected by horses.

The late Lady Dorothy Hotham's will, leaves Baron Hotham of the Exchequer, her residuary legatee, by which means she has bequeathed him the bulk of her immense property, a few legacies excepted, to the exclusion of her only daughter; but Baron Hotham having received an intimation of her intentions in his favour from the deceased lady during her lifetime, before the will was opened, specified his determination to make over every bequest to himself to her ladyship's daughter, and he has since transferred this noble property by proper legal instruments to her and her heirs for ever.

DIED—On the 19th. In his ninety-seventh year, William Jennens, Esq. of Acton Place, near Long Melford, Suffolk, and of Grosvenor Square, London. His Godfather was King William the Third; and amongst other valuables discovered in his house, is a

magnificent Silver Ewer, a present from that Monarch at his baptism. He had been Page to George the First, and having inherited large paternal property, and during his long life remained a bachelor of very penurious habits, his accumulations increased even beyond his powers of computation. He was the last annuitant of the Exchequer tontine of 100*l.* a share, for which he had received 3,000*l.* a year for a length of time. His property was in almost every fund; and such was his immense wealth, that the dividends on most of his stocks have not been received since the year 1788, nor the interest due on his mortgages for a long period. In his iron chest, there were bank notes to the amount of 19,000*l.* and several thousand new guineas. He had always 50,000*l.* in his banker's hands, and had not drawn a draft for the last fourteen years. A will was found in his coat pocket, sealed but not signed, which was owing, as his favourite servant says, to his master leaving his spectacles at home, when he went to his Solicitor for the purpose of duly executing it, and afterwards neglect-

ing to repair the omission. By this testamentary instrument, in which John Bacon, Esq. of the First-Fruits Office, was left residuary legatee, the whole of the property was intended to be totally alienated from the channels into which it now falls. The most material sufferers by the informality of Mr. Jennens's will are, the Hanmer family of Bettlesfield Park, Flintshire, and Holbrook Hall, Suffolk. The heir at law to the real estate of Mr. Jennens, is William Augustus Curzon, a boy of ten years old, son of the late Honourable Penn Asheton Curzon, and grandson to a first cousin of Mr. Jennens. His personal property devolves on his cousins, William Lygon, M. P. and Mary, relict of William, Earl of Andover, eldest son of the late Earl of Suffolk. Thus his almost incalculable wealth descends to three individuals, all of whom previously possessed immense fortunes. On the 29th, the remains of Mr. Jennens were deposited with great pomp in the family vault at Acton. The following is said to be an accurate statement of his property:

South Sea Stock	£30,000	Interest on ditto	£ 8,725
Ditto, new ditto	30,000		7,650
Ditto, old ditto	40,000		9,600
India Stock	24,000		18,570
Consols 3 per cents	50,000		17,570
Ditto, ditto (his Mother's)	10,000		5,450
Bank Stock	35,000		19,600
5 per cent ditto	30,600		17,250
4 per cent ditto	24,000		11,520
Reduced Annuities....	50,000		16,800
Long ditto	22,000	per annum	22,000
<hr/> £325,600		<hr/> £154,735	

Account at the Bank	£57,719
Ditto at Child's	6,000
Ditto at Hoare's	17,800
Ditto at Stephenson's	19,300
Ditto at Gosling's	7,000
Due upon 400 shares in the London Assurance Office	3,400
On the New River concern	5,000
Interest due on Mortgage	200,000
Stock	325,600
Interest on Ditto	154,735

Total : £796,554

Together with the money found in the house, personals to an immense amount, and a landed estate of 8000*l.* per ann.

At Peterhead, aged 113, Jean Petrie. She was a native of Aberdeen, and a servant in the Hardgate, at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Notwithstanding her extreme age, which is authenticated beyond a doubt, she continued to travel as a beggar through the country till within a few days of her death, and seemed perfectly resigned to her fate, and to take much pleasure in the idea that her death would be announced in the newspapers. When at any time she was reminded of her great age, and the probability of her not living much longer, she always answered sharply, that her father had lived to fivescore and fourteen, and she would do the same. She was of a very contented happy disposition, and had worn the same clothes for thirty years without any alteration.

24th. At Vienna, the Arch-Duchess Maria Christian of Austria. She was the daughter of the late Empress Maria Teresa, born May 13th, 1742, and married April 8th, 1766 to Prince Albert, Duke of Saxe Teschen. She was Governess of the Austrian Provinces in the Netherlands

until they were conquered by Dumourier, and was accused of having instigated the useless and cruel bombardment of Lisle by her husband, and even of being actually present and firing one of the guns with her own hands. Her Highness died very rich, and has left a considerable legacy to the French Princess, the unfortunate daughter of the martyred Louis XVI.

JULY.

A melancholy accident 2d. occurred this day during Divine Service at Macclesfield. The Chapel being extremely full, an alarm was suddenly given, but from what cause has not been ascertained, that the roof was coming down, and a tremendous rush towards the doors consequently ensued. No one was materially hurt within the chapel; but just beyond the entrance, the crowd poured forth with such rapidity, that six women and a little boy were thrown down and literally trampled to death.

A deputation of the Royal Hu-

mane Society, consisting of Dr. Lettsom, Dr. Hawes, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Nichols, had the honour of presenting to his Royal Highness Prince Ernest, at his apartments in St. James's Palace, the Honorary Medallion which has been unanimously voted to his Royal Highness for his exalted philanthropy in the restoration of an unfortunate desponding suicide. The medal was presented by Dr. Hawes, after an appropriate address. His Royal Highness was pleased to express the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the Humane Society, and graciously desired to become a Governor. The transactions of the Society were also presented to the Prince.

On Sunday morning a gentleman bathing in the river Lea, near the Subscription House in Hackney Marshes, was unfortunately drowned. Two friends who were with him saw him sink, without the means of affording him any assistance. The body was found about three-quarters of an hour afterwards, and carried to Temple Mills, where every means were used to restore resuscitation without effect. The Coroner's inquest yesterday sat on the body, and returned a verdict—accidental death. The deceased proves to be a Mr. Mason, of Bush Lane, Cannon-street, a gentleman of excellent character and good connexions.

During the last week, eighteen vessels arrived in the river from St. Petersburg: their cargoes consisted 77,807 bars of iron; 4,034 casks of tallow; 176 casks of ashes; 466 bales of linen; 1,248 bundles of hemp; 596 bob-

bins, and 62 bundles of flax; 54 bags of feathers; 122 casks of bristles; 10 bags of bees wax; 74 bags of isinglass.

Court of King's Bench, 4th.
Gough v. Coffin. This was an action for damages, occasioned by the defendant, a young gentleman of fortune in Hertfordshire, shooting at and wounding the plaintiff, a tanner, whose residence is in Shropshire. It appeared that the plaintiff and another were riding over Finchley Common, and while stopping at the Bald-faced Stag for refreshment, they saw a man on a bay mare gallop past, and soon after a chaise drove up in which was the defendant who told them that he had been robbed and shot at by the man who had passed on horseback just before. The plaintiff and his friend being well mounted advised his proceeding in chase of the highwayman, in which they offered to assist, upon which the chaise went on as fast as possible. They followed and never lost sight of it, and came up with it at the bottom of the hill leading to Highgate. Both galloped past without speaking, when to their great surprise they were fired at by the defendant, and the plaintiff so much wounded as to be for some time afterwards under surgical care. It was a clear moon-light night, and as the highwayman was mounted on a cropt bay mare and the plaintiff on a grey horse, it was contended by the Counsel for the latter, that nothing but the most culpable negligence and inconsideration could have occasioned the accident. The defence set up was, that as the plaintiff and his com-

panion galloped past, they exclaimed, "That's the chaise, that's the chaise," which led the defendant to believe them part of the gang of the highwayman who had attacked him. It also appeared, that he had paid seven and twenty guineas towards the plaintiff's lodging and medical attendance. Lord Kenyon summed up the evidence, and clearly proved the law to justify the claim of the plaintiff; and the jury after retiring for an hour brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 175*l*.

7th. Joseph Greenway a prisoner in Newgate, charged with forging an indorsement in an order for the payment of 20*l*. 18*s*. 9*d*. was found strangled in his bed on the morning appointed for his trial, in a manner which shews how vain are all precautions, where a man is resolutely determined upon self-murder. It appears without a possibility of doubt, that he committed the suicide by holding a handkerchief tightly twisted round his neck till he died; in pursuance of the Coroner's warrant, and by order of the Sheriffs, the body was last night at ten o'clock carried in irons by two executioners, preceded by ten of the keeper's men, and escorted by four of the sheriff's officers, and buried in a very deep hole previously made for the purpose, between Newgate-street and Snow Hill. An immense concourse of people attended.

8th. Yesterday morning, John Allison for forgery, and William Hill for burglary, were executed at Kennington, pursuant to their sentence at the last Surry Assizes. They behaved them-

selves in a manner becoming their unhappy situation; particularly Allison, who stood up previous to his being turned off, acknowledged his crime, and expressed his contrition for it, and begged leave to be allowed to return his hearty thanks to Mr. Allport, the keeper of the prison, for his kind and humane attention. Hill did not make any address, but died as he had lived, firm and unaccommodating.

As a servant of the Rev. John Prior, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, was wiping himself with a round towel on a roller in the back kitchen, he unfortunately slipped down a step, by which means his neck became so much entangled in the towel, that it was immediately dislocated, and he was soon afterwards discovered by the family entirely lifeless: proper means were instantly used to recover him, but without effect.

Violent storms are now 12th. daily occurring in various parts of the country. A ball of fire fell at Bourn, upon the thatched roof of the Six Bells Public House, and the whole premises were consumed in a short time, but providentially no lives were lost. At Forncett, St. Mary's, Norfolk, four fine cows, a colt, and some sheep, the property of Mr. Kiddel, were killed by the lightning. Mr. Kiddel was standing close by the colt at the awful moment, but received no injury. Several similar accidents have happened among the cattle at Newcastle; and a young man of the name of William Kemp, a native of Gaudby, near Lincoln, having imprudently placed himself under the shelter of a tree,

was found dead ; his clothes burnt and rent in a surprising manner, and the tree split and shivered in every direction.

In the Court of King's Bench, on Thursday last, Mary Henderson, otherwise Farrel, otherwise Johnston, was indicted for a conspiracy to extort money from Lord Eardley. It appeared that his lordship, being at his Seat, the Belvidere in Kent, was visited by a person calling himself Captain Middleton, who requested an interview upon business of the first importance. Mr. Eardley, Lord Eardley's son, in consequence appointed a meeting with this Capt. Middleton, who informed him that a publication was about to appear, accusing his father of having combined to seduce a helpless young woman, with several other things much to his dishonour. The informant added, that Lord Eardley might command his services should he wish to prevent the appearance of this publication. To this his lordship made answer, that under any calumnious attack he might be exposed to, he should seek protection only from the laws of his country. Subsequently however consulting with Mr. Garrow on the subject, he, by that gentleman's advice, appeared to enter into the negotiation, in order to detect the conspirators. The business proceeded ; several letters passed between his lordship and Capt. Middleton, in one of which, the latter incloses a letter from Mrs. Henderson, the defendant, promising to suppress the threatening pamphlet for the sum of 150*l*. An interview afterwards took place between her and Lord Eardley, during which she

received that sum from his lordship, and in return gave him the following receipt :—

“ Received of the Right Honourable Lord Eardley, 150*l*. in consideration of which, I promise to suppress a libel injurious to the character of his person.—Mary Henderson.”

Upon which she was apprehended by the Bow-street Officer, Townshend, who was in readiness for the occasion in his lordship's house.

Mr. Erskine and Mr. Garrow, for the plaintiff, abundantly proved the above facts by competent evidence. Mr. Gurney, on behalf of the defendant, took some objection on points of law, which were overruled by Lord Kenyon ; his lordship then summed up, and the jury found the defendant, Mary Henderson, guilty of the conspiracy.

James Dickie, an Attorney, has been tried for treason and rebellion, by a Court Martial at Belfast. He was found guilty, and executed in pursuance of his sentence. He appeared, both during his trial and execution, to be totally unmoved by his situation ; at the same time, and with the same dreadful indifference to his unhappy fate, suffered John Storey, a printer, of respectability. Their heads were set up together on the Market-place at Belfast.

A considerable alarm was occasioned on Friday afternoon, at Windsor. The Round Tower guns, which have not been scaled since 1780, were ordered to be fired, for the purpose of cleaning them. The Bishop of Norwich, hearing accidentally of the circumstance, ran with the greatest pre-

cipitation, and was just in time to stop the match, which was already lighted, being put to the prime; and thus fortunately saved the fine altar-piece painted on glass, which cost 4,000*l.* from destruction.

Ensign Warren, of the Glamorgan militia, was drowned last week while bathing in the sea at Herne Bay. He was returning to barracks from a party with whom he had spent the night, when reaching the beach he stripped, and after sitting in the water some minutes, plunged out, and shortly disappeared. The servant, who stood on the beach, giving the alarm, several boats put off, and in about four hours the body was found lifeless.

12th. His Majesty has declared by a special order, that the French bishops, residing within this country, shall not be subjected to the regulations, which motives of prudence have forced government to adopt with respect to aliens. The Duke of Portland, on acquainting them with this order, observed, "That it was a proof of the high sense entertained by his Majesty of their personal good qualities, and a pledge of his Majesty's entire satisfaction with respect to the exemplary conduct of the Clergy committed to their care."

It now appears evident that the rebels in Ireland have, by various stratagems, collected large quantities of ammunition. The Yeomanry, posted on Harold's cross bridge, recently stopped a car on its way out of town, apparently laden with flour; on the bags two young women in decent apparel were sitting, and two more walked

alongside of it. On searching the sacks they were found to contain gunpowder and musquet bullets; the women were taken into custody, and sent with the powder, &c. into town.

At a Court of Common Council Mr. Powell moved, 17th. "That it be referred to the committee of city lands, to consider the necessity and expediency of abolishing Bartholomew Fair," which was seconded by Mr. Stokes. This motion Mr. Goodbehere opposed. It was not in the power of the Court, he argued, to put an end to the fair, it being held under the charter of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. A *Court leet* and a *Court of Pied poudre*, were held from the opening of the fair to the setting of the sun. The lands which were held by the city of London in free socage by the charters, included Smithfield-market, several of the houses, and a street in joint tenantry with the Earl of Leicester. Many of the householders were capable of discharging their rents and taxes by the fair. In this way it had been maintained quietly for a number of years. No misfortune of any consequence had happened, not so much as a broken head. The rising generation were amused for half a day only once a year; surely that was not too much: almost every parish in the kingdom had its revels, its amusements, and sometimes in the course of them even blood had been spilt. All nations, ancient and modern, had allowed some sports and festivities, to prevent greater and more serious evils. For these reasons, Mr. Goodbehere declared himself a decided

enemy to the proposed measure. It was then suggested to shorten the period to one day, to which, Messrs. Hodgson and Waithman objected, on the ground that the confluence of such immense crowds of people from all parts of the metropolis would render such a scheme dangerous, and probably occasion the loss of many lives. After some debate, it was referred to a committee.

18th. At half past 2 o'clock, P. M. a most remarkable phænomenon presented itself in the heavens, to the North-East of Shipton in Craven, which was visible for more than ten miles round, and struck the inhabitants with surprize and consternation. From the centre of a cloud awfully dark, appeared to issue a smoke perpendicularly upwards, similar to that preceding a volcanic eruption. This ceased in a few minutes, when from the base were immediately projected two dusky conical clouds, which uniting, darted towards the surface of the earth with considerable velocity, and after rolling its long train like the coilings of a serpent, suddenly burst asunder. The lower extremity continued to twist into circles, and the upper part was absorbed in the cloud. After having been observed for the space of nearly half an hour, the whole disappeared. Shortly afterwards a heavy shower of rain fell, accompanied by tremendous thunder and vivid lightning.

A few days since Admiral Parker received a letter, without signature, purporting to be written by the crew of the *Pluto*, requiring that they should be sent into some other ship, or that she should

be new officered, and threatening, in case of failure, to take the ship over to the enemy. In consequence of this the ship's company were turned out, and on examining their watches, a seal was found which corresponded with the impression affixed to the mutinous letter. The man who wore the seal being instantly taken into custody, confessed that he had written the letter at the request of two of his messmates, one of whom had been a quarter-master, but was some months since reduced. The two offenders were taken on board the *Flag*, the *Royal William*, at Spithead, and brought to a court martial, when Bryant, the quarter-master, was sentenced to be shot, and the other delinquent to receive one hundred lashes. Bryant, who is a good-looking man of about five and twenty, heard his sentence with the greatest insensibility; and upon Admiral Waldegrave, in a very affecting speech, expressing his hope that the punishment of this and other offenders would impress, throughout the service, the necessity of subordination, he smiled significantly, though not with any disrespect, but rather as if he were listening to the conversation of a companion over a can of grog.

The amount of the National Debt up to the 5th of April last, is 397,087,674*l.* 13*s.* 5½*d.*

Margaret Hughes, convicted at Canterbury for poisoning her husband, being some months advanced in pregnancy, has been respited for three months, but with a positive injunction not to form the slightest hope of mercy on this side the grave.

On the 11th inst. at midnight, the house of Mr. Charles Wade, of New Hagard, near Lusk, was attacked by an armed banditti who enquired for his nephew, Mr. James Lawless, a member of Capt. Baker's corps of yeoman cavalry. Finding he was at home, they demanded his arms, promising that if he delivered them without resistance they would do him no injury, but that if he resisted they would fire the house, and put every one of the inhabitants to death. Upon this, Mr. Lawless handed them out his pistols, but they had no sooner got possession of them, than they, in the most cowardly and inhuman manner, shot him through the heart, when he fell and expired immediately, upon which the murderers went off. The same troop had been to Mr. Wade's house two nights preceding and demanded money, but it appears their object was to murder Mr. Lawless, as upon being assured he was not at home they went off quietly, but told his Uncle they would come again, which promise fatally they were too punctual in keeping. Mr. Lawless was universally respected by all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and beloved by the well-disposed poor, to whom he had always been a protector and benefactor.

21st. About seven o'clock on Thursday morning, a fire broke out on board the Walmer East Indiaman, a new ship, lately launched at the lower water gate, Deptford, occasioned by some loose powder taking fire in the gun-room. The explosion, although not very extensive, was such as to occasion the destruc-

tion of the greater part of this fine vessel; and the flames communicating to the Bellona, she also sustained considerable damage before they could be extinguished. Three floating engines were sent down from London Bridge to assist on the occasion. Two men on board the Walmer were so dreadfully burnt, that they were sent to the London Hospital, in a state which forbids all hope of their recovery.

As Lieutenant Millar of the Grace gun-boat, and Lieutenant Dawson, commanding another vessel of the same description were going on shore at Sheerness, they had a dispute, and on Mr. Millar stepping from the boat the other drew his hanger, and ran it through his body, which occasioned his instant death: the murderer was taken into custody on the spot. The deceased has left a widow and two young children.

Yesterday morning, Mr. Birks, an eminent sadler in the Haymarket, cut his throat with a razor, and was discovered by a servant in the act of holding a basin to catch the blood. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but the unhappy man expired as he entered the house. No cause can be assigned for his committing this rash action, as he was possessed of considerable property. He spent the preceding evening in a very cheerful manner with some friends in the neighbourhood, and no appearance of mental derangement was noticed by the company. The deceased was above sixty years of age. Coroner's verdict—Lunacy.

Between three and four 24th.
o'clock this afternoon, during a most violent thunder-storm

the house of Mr. Linnel, butcher, at the upper end of the Drapery, Northampton, was struck by lightning, which threw down a chimney, and descended through the roof to the first floor, where it entered a small room in which was a young woman sitting at the foot of a bed, attending a child who was asleep in a cradle; neither of whom experienced the least injury. The electrical matter appears to have been conducted by some curtain rods which stood in one corner of the room, from the bottom of which it forced its way through the main wall into the street. The shock was very sensibly felt in the workshop of Mr. Porter, brazier, where a man and a boy were both struck down, but without being in the least hurt.

An alarming hurricane has been experienced near Cawston. Its effects were first seen at a place called Mucklemore-pit, where it carried the water up to the tops of the houses. It forced down some haystacks, and carried away the thatch from the roofs of several cottages. Its extent was marked in a field of peas, bearing them almost clear away for a track about sixteen yards wide, over the hedge-rows, and to the tops of trees. The labourers in the fields were much alarmed, as were the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, the noise it made being heard at the distance of a mile. Its direction, like hurricanes in general, was from N. N. E. to S. S. W, but differing greatly from the moderate whirlwinds usually experienced in this country, as it seemed, by the information of persons who witnessed its effects, to have resembled those known by the Asiatic

sailors, by the name of Travados. It was attended with no rain, but followed by two awful claps of thunder.

This week, as the servant and two sons of Mr. Edward Youngman, of Stoke-ferry, Suffolk, an opulent farmer, were returning from shooting birds in a piece of cole-seed, one of the guns, by accident went off, and shot his eldest son, a young man about eighteen years of age, through one of his hands, and into his body; he languished till the next day in dreadful agony, when death released him from his sufferings.

Mr. M'Cann, who has been tried by the special commission at Dublin, for sedition and treason, and found guilty, was executed in pursuance of his sentence on the 19th inst. before the New Prison. The advices which bring the notice of this event also state the miraculous escape of Mr. Roger Hendley, and his family, from being massacred by the rebels, at Maynooth. A large party, well mounted and armed, attacked the carriage in which was that gentleman, with his wife and children. They burst open both doors at the same instant, and wresting his pistols from Mr. Hendley, dragged him out, and forced him to kneel down, saying, he had but a few moments to live. In this dreadful situation, surrounded by the rebels, with their pistols and blunderbusses ready aimed, and only waiting the word of their commander to fire, the unhappy man resigned himself to the fate which appeared inevitable, but the agony and distress of Mrs. Hendley, and the cries and supplications of the children, had a

most unexpected effect upon the leader of the party, and the scene was at length terminated by his permitting Mr. Hendley to return to the carriage, and proceed with his family on their journey. One of Mr. Hendley's servants, who had in the first instance attempted something like resistance, was not, however, included in the mercy shewn towards his master. The rebels dragged him about half a mile from the town, where his body was afterwards found disfigured by pike wounds and shot in several places.

30th. A case of crim. con. in which Captain Shulham Peard, R. N. was plaintiff, and Mr. Lys, an army surgeon, defendant, was tried last week at the Winchester assizes. The criminal intercourse between Mrs. Peard and the defendant being clearly proved, the jury awarded the plaintiff four hundred pounds damages. The two sisters of Mrs. Peard gave evidence against her; but they were only asked a few questions. One of them fainted away on coming into court. They are the daughters of an officer of high rank in the navy.

Lady Wallace, on Saturday last, appeared before Mr. Bond, at the public-office, Bow-street, charged with having assaulted Georgiana Kelly, at her ladyship's house in St. James's-place. The prosecutrix was recommended by her uncle, a respectable linen-draper in Houndsditch to her ladyship, who, it was stated, afforded her an asylum, from humane motives, till she could find employment. The assault was clearly established. Lady Wallace desired that one of her footmen, who was present on

the occasion, might be examined, but this Mr. Bond declined, on the ground that the fact being admitted he had nothing farther to do with the business. On this her ladyship burst into tears, and in strong terms arraigned the administration of police in this country, and threatened, that when opportunity offered, she would go and spend the remainder of her days in France. By the direction of the magistrate, her ladyship gave the girl a guinea, and the warrant was discharged: since which Lady Wallace has published her own affidavit, contradicting in every material circumstance the evidence of Georgiana Kelly against her, and the affidavits of two of her ladyship's servants who were present during the whole of the time when the plaintiff asserts she was struck by Lady Wallace; and it appears from these statements that the charge against her ladyship was equally false and malicious, and brought out of revenge for an accusation of theft; Lady Wallace having had great reason to think she had been robbed of several valuable articles by the plaintiff.

On Sunday evening a boat with several men, women, and children, who were on the river for pleasure near Richmond bridge, ran foul of a sailing-barge and was sunk. The men saved themselves by jumping on board the barge, but one of the women in endeavouring to make the same attempt was crushed to death, and two of the children were drowned. The other women and children were got out by some watermen who saw the accident and instantly put off to their assistance.

The Emperor of Russia has issued an edict, by which the greater part of the printing-offices in the kingdom are suppressed. No work can be printed, and no work printed in another country, can be introduced into Russia, until it has been approved by censors appointed for that purpose. All the German newspapers are prohibited, and the French periodical works.

The following is the account of the mutiny on board the *Lady Jane Shore* transport. The *Lady Shore* had on board, besides convicts, eight soldiers of the New South Wales corps, amongst whom were Germans, French, and condemned criminals, reprieved on condition of serving for life at Botany-bay. They arrived at Portsmouth while the mutiny on board the fleet was at its height, and formed a plan to seize the ship when she should be out at sea. Of this Captain Wilcox, the commander of the transport was informed by Major Semple. He complained to the transport-board of the danger of proceeding to sea with such men while they had arms in their hands. The colonel of the regiment was sent to investigate the business; but he, perhaps, hesitating to give credit to Semple, and from the benevolence of his own heart, entertaining a better opinion of his men than they deserved, over-ruled the desire of Captain Wilcox. In this state they went to sea, and when within four days sail of Rio Janeiro, the mutineers rose in the night on the second mate, who was then on watch. He found resistance to so many armed men to be in vain, and of course submitted

to save his life. They then entered the cabin of the chief mate, and murdered him in the most savage manner, by cutting his head off. They then proceeded past Mr. Black's birth, to the round-house, where Captain Wilcox was, and demanded admission, which he refused, and on their persisting fired a pistol at them through the door; on which they instantly broke the door in pieces, and murdered him in a manner too shocking to describe. They afterwards returned to Mr. Black's hammock, and without the least warning thrust their bayonets through it in several places, not doubting that he was in it, but during the disturbance he had quitted it and concealed himself, which gave him an opportunity of begging his life when their rage began to abate. This they granted; put him and ten others into the long-boat, gave them a compass, and turned them adrift. They got safe to Rio Janeiro, where they related their melancholy story, and were received with every mark of hospitality and kindness by the inhabitants.

Two remarkable edicts have lately been issued by the Emperor of Russia. By the first, all strangers are forbidden to enter the Russian dominions, with the exception of couriers and deputies from foreign courts, foreigners of distinction, and persons in the Russian service. This order has been so strictly enforced, that several merchants, who were ignorant of its publication, and who have since arrived by water from Lubec and Riga, have been obliged to return. The second edict commands the return home in the

course of a month, of all young men, natives of Russia and its provinces, who are studying in any foreign universities. Confiscation of property is the penalty annexed to disobedience, and their friends and tutors are called upon to enforce the strictest adherence to the letter of the edict.

Lieutenant Dawson, convicted of the murder of Lieutenant Millar, suffered for his crime on Penenden-heath on the 27th inst. The deceased and the unhappy gentleman who has his blood to answer for, were old and intimate friends, and the quarrel which terminated in so fatal a manner, arose from a few hasty words when seated together over their wine after dinner.

At the annual Methodist meeting at Bristol, it appeared that the numbers of the Methodist societies are as follows: Great Britain 85,055; Ireland, 16,640. West Indies, 11,986; United States of America, 58,655; Total, 172,336.

31st. This afternoon, the son of a tradesman in Tottenham-court-road, a youth about twelve years old, playing with a pistol which had, with most culpable imprudence, been left lying about loaded, it went off, by which his brother's arm was dreadfully shattered, and the child of a neighbour shot dead.

On the 24th inst. the following horrible transaction took place near the Exchange, New York. Madame Gardie, late of the theatre, and Monsieur Gardie, whose name she bore, although not his wife, were found dead in their bed-room. It appeared that he had stabbed her with a new carving-knife, under the left breast,

and the weapon had penetrated so deeply into the heart that she must have expired instantaneously. The wretched man must have then attempted his own destruction, but not so successfully, as he was wounded in the breast in two places, and seemed to have died in great agony, having fallen from the bed on to the floor, which was deluged in blood. The cause of this dreadful act is said to have been jealousy. The coroner's verdict was, that he had murdered her, and afterwards committed suicide. His body was immediately interred in Potter's-fields, and the remains of his unfortunate victim were, in due time, respectfully buried in the Catholic burial-ground.

Drowned, in passing the river Don, at Barnby-down, in Yorkshire, on horseback, on the 10th inst. the Hon. James Bruce, son of the late, and brother of the present Earl of Elgin, M. P. for Marlborough, Wilts. His premature fate has occasioned the deepest regret among the circle of his numerous friends and relatives.

DIED.—The 30th, at his house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, James Adair, Esq. King's Prime Serjeant at Law, M. P. for Higham Ferrers, and Chief Justice of Chester. His death was caused by a paralytic stroke which seized him while walking along Lincoln's-inn. He was assisted home by some gentlemen who were passing, and died in a few hours. This gentleman was equally distinguished for great eminence in his profession, and in his political capacity for a warm attachment to the principles of the constitution. Until the great

schism of opposition, in 1793, Mr. Adair was the most zealous and the most intimate of Mr. Fox's political and personal friends; and although when that gentlemen declared his decided and enthusiastic approbation of the destructive principles and proceedings of the French revolutionists, the steady good sense and sober patriotism of Mr. Adair, would no longer permit him to adhere to his party, he did not become the passive instrument of the ministry, but on every occasion on which he could not conscientiously approve of their measures, he warmly and eloquently opposed them. The talents of Mr. Adair were not of a dazzling and overpowering nature, but he possessed a solid judgment, was a cool and accurate reasoner, with the highest rectitude of principle, and a profound knowledge of the laws of his country. A forcible and impressive speaker in the House, and a powerful and weighty advocate at the Bar. He was the author of "Thoughts on the dismissal of officers, civil and military, for their conduct in Parliament," and "Observations on the power of alienation in the Crown before the 1st of Queen Anne, supported by precedents and the opinions of many learned judges; together with some remarks on the conduct of administration respecting the case of the Duke of Portland."

At Vienna, Field Marshal General Clairfait, who had been in the service of the House of Austria five-and-forty years, during which time his fame, his zeal, and his fidelity, were rarely to be paralleled. He particularly distin-

guished himself during the seven years war, that, relative to the Bavarian succession, and in the last Turkish war, where he gained upon all occasions a number of the most signal advantages. In 1792 and 1794, the two masterly retreats which he made from the Netherlands, after a series of disasters, drew the attention of all Europe upon him; but his fame attained its highest pitch, through the happy issue of the campaign upon the Rhine, in 1796; after which, he returned to Vienna, where he lived in dignified retirement. His last illness was long and painful, and proved him to be as much a hero on his bed as in the field: it is supposed to have been greatly encreased by the late and present unfortunate situation of affairs on the continent, and his medical attendants attribute its fatal termination quite as much to anxiety of mind as bodily disorder. The Emperor and Empress caused his remains to be interred with every mark of public distinction, notwithstanding the field-marshal had expressed a wish to be buried in private.

AUGUST.

Mr. Charles Nowlan, a 1st, man of some property and much respectability, has been murdered at his residence in Greek-street, Dublin, under very peculiar circumstances, and a robbery committed at the same time on the premises of cash and plate to a considerable amount. It appears that his maid-servant had been on the morning of the murder, at about eight o'clock, to get

her candle lighted at a neighbour's, and she asserts, that when she returned home three men issued from the house in a very precipitate manner, however, she gave no alarm, although such a circumstance might have naturally caused her great terror. After a short interval she went back to the same neighbour's to announce her master's situation, and entreat assistance. The body was found lying near the kitchen, with a wound on the head, and so perfectly cold as to induce a belief that the vital principle had been extinguished for a much longer period than that of her absence. She has been taken into custody, together with a relative of the deceased, against whom the only suspicious circumstance seems at present to be, that on the morning of the murder he had been seen in company with a clerk who had formerly been discharged from the service of the defunct under suspicion of not having acted faithfully.

Lord Henry Paulett, late commander of the *Thalia*, who was dismissed his Majesty's service for striking Lieutenant Forbes, is reinstated in his rank as captain in the royal navy.

Messrs. Henry and John Sheares, who were executed last month at Dublin, for high treason, were sons of the late Henry Sheares, Esq. of Cork, M. P. for Clogh-nakilty. Two of the sons of this gentleman were drowned. Henry, the eldest of the family, suffered for his crimes at the age of forty; he had originally been in the army, but afterwards studied the law, and was called to the Irish bar, as was also the younger brother John. Unhappily for these gentlemen,

they were in France together during the most dreadful scenes of the French revolution, and becoming acquainted with the principal leaders of the Jacobin party, imbibed those opinions and principles which ultimately terminated in their untimely and disgraceful end. How far they actually designed to go was not, perhaps, very clear, even to themselves; but from step to step they proceeded from seditious manifestoes, issued from Taylor's-hall, to the demoniac spirit which dictated the merciless proclamation found among their papers.

3d. About two o'clock in the morning, the French General Baraguay D'Hillier, and Messieurs Antoirre Hondout Lamotte, and Couttaud Vullié, his aid-de-camps, with their servants, after landing at Portsmouth the day before, arrived at Lewes, on their way to Dover, to embark in some neutral vessel on their parole, for France. The general and his suite experienced great inconvenience from the difficulty of procuring chaises, owing to the Brighton races; which was the more distressing, from neither himself nor any one of his suite, understanding a single word of English, and from their journey to Dover being in their passport expressly limited to five days from the date, with a particular prohibition against going by the way of London. Mr. Shelly, however, becoming acquainted with their difficulties, exerted his authority, and procured them the means of continuing their journey. General D'Hillier is a fine looking man of three-and-thirty, about six feet two inches in height, and stout

in proportion, but symmetrically formed, and remarkably upright and military in his gait and appearance; he wears his hair short and thick, which, with a tremendous pair of mustachios, give an almost ferocious expression to his countenance.

5th. It has lately been determined by the Lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench, that where a sheriff's officer takes civility money, as it is termed, by which is meant a gratuity for keeping a person, whom he has under arrest, in a spunging-house, and not carrying him to the county gaol, at the expiration of twenty-four hours after the arrest, such money may be recovered by the person paying the same, in an action against the sheriff; and it was at the same time determined, that where a bailiff takes for a bail-bond more than is allowed (which is 6s. 8d. including the stamp) whether it be under the pretence of a gratuity for accepting the bail, or otherwise, the sheriff is likewise accountable to the party in an action.

The famous Count de Puisaye has at last left England. Government has granted him land of a considerable extent in Canada, near Montreal, and has supplied him with the necessary money, and other articles for cultivating the ground. He sailed last week with a colony of thirty-six emigrants or Chouans, to take possession of his new estate. This man has acted a variety of parts during the French Revolution, and has been by turns a constituent of the left side, a federalist, a republican, a Chouan, and a violent royalist.

On Monday night, the 7th. neighbourhood of Somer's-town was extremely alarmed by the riotous behaviour of a number of Irish recruits belonging to the 17th regiment of Light Dragoons, who were in barracks in Chalton-street, and who severely beat and ill-treated several persons. On Tuesday afternoon, much to the joy of the inhabitants, the whole party, consisting of fifty-one, including two serjeants, were marched off to Billingsgate, and embarked on board a Gravesend boat, for the purpose of being conveyed to the headquarters of the regiment at Canterbury; but, it being a considerable time before high water, the vessel could not set sail; on which they began to murmur, and at last resolved to return on shore, and go back to their old quarters at Somer's-town. They immediately put this resolution in execution, and, all the way through the city conducted themselves in the most outrageous manner. In Gray's-inn-lane, the riot was carried to such an excess, that the civil power was found inadequate to subdue the tumult; application was therefore made to the St. Pancras association, who assembled and marched to the spot with all possible speed, when the rioters dispersed, and took shelter in the barracks, whither they were pursued and taken prisoners without bloodshed. It was then thought advisable to remove them to different watch-houses in the parish, where they remained under a proper guard till yesterday, when they were re-conducted to the barracks, and four of the most active in the tumult, among whom

are the two serjeants, were committed to the house of correction by Mr. Justice Leroux, of Somerstown, who attended on the occasion. About four o'clock yesterday afternoon, the remaining forty-seven were conducted, under a strong detachment of the association, to the water-side, to be again embarked for Gravesend. One watchman, wounded in the affray, lies without hope of recovery, and several others we understand are severely wounded. The rioters are all very young men, and just arrived from Ireland.

A number of resolutions highly honourable to the parties concerned, have been entered into by our Irish prisoners, confined in France. They are generally and strongly declaratory of loyalty to the king and adherence to the principles of the British constitution. Many hundred Roman Catholics in the North of Ireland, have also publicly avowed their detestation and abhorrence of the rebellion in that country, declaring obedience and submission to the higher powers to be one of the fundamental principles of the Roman Catholic religion.

9th. A melancholy circumstance happened on Thursday last, at Puttenham, where Mr. and Mrs. R. Sumner, were on a visit to Admiral Cornish. In the morning the two gentlemen rode out, and on their return, Mr. Sumner finding himself somewhat faint, lay down on the bed, where he had a violent fit of tears, which so much relieved him, that he arose, dressed himself, and joined the company at table; but he was no sooner seated than his face fell flat upon his plate, and he was

heard to give one catch in his throat as if sick at his stomach. On being lifted up it was evident that he had expired. The distress of the scene which ensued may be easily imagined, which was greatly augmented by the presence of Mrs. Sumner, who is far advanced in pregnancy, and was seated directly opposite to her husband: she was carried to her chamber in a most dreadful state, and great apprehensions are entertained for the event. Mr. Sumner was brother to the Rev. Dr. Sumner, Provost of King's College, Cambridge.

His Majesty's third regiment of foot, or Old Buffs, having been upon hard duty in the different West India islands for two years, were assembled together on Brimstone-hill, St. Kitt's, the 23d of last June. The first act of this brave corps on their meeting was to subscribe five hundred pounds, to be paid into the Bank of England, as the voluntary contribution of the officers and men of the Buffs, serving in the West Indies, cheerfully given by them for the support of Old England. This sum was transmitted accordingly by Major Kaye, their commanding officer, and paid into the bank by the agent on Saturday last.

We lament to have to state the destruction of another of the East India Company's ships by lightning, together with that of the greater part of her crew. This melancholy event is narrated as follows in the last accounts from Bengal.

The Royal Charlotte and Britannia lay at anchor at Culpee, three or four cables length asunder, each having about five hundred

barrels of gunpowder on board as part of their cargo for the Cape. A thunder storm arising, the crew of the *Britannia* were employed in placing wet swabs round the fore-mast and pumps, when they were stunned by the explosion of the *Royal Charlotte*, and covered with the fragments of the wreck. Every soul on board, to the number of one hundred and forty, perished. Among the number were Mr. Stoddard, chief mate; Mr. Barnard, second; Mr. Missing, fourth; Mr. Saunders, pilot; Mr. Guthrie, carpenter; Thomas Collins, captain's steward; Stephen Collins, a Portuguese gunner; a cook, seventy-five lascars, and about fifty women and children. The shock was distinctly felt at Calcutta, a distance of fifty miles; and the ring of one of her anchors, and a copper-bolt, were found about three miles from where the ship lay.

This morning, about two 12th. o'clock, a woman confined in the Mayor's-prison, which is over the court-hall, in Maidstone, contrived to get out on the roof, and took the desperate resolution of leaping on a house below, from thence she fell into the street, a distance in all of near sixty feet. The noise made in falling created an alarm, and she was taken up and carried back to the place of her confinement. She was much bruised, but strange to say none of her bones are fractured, and she appears tolerably well.

One of the heaviest gales of wind occurred at Whitehaven, on Tuesday evening last, that the oldest inhabitants of the town can remember. The sloop *John* and

Thomas Kessick, which had sailed from Liverpool the preceding day, was forced on shore, almost at low-water, near the north wall. There were two female passengers on board, with each a child, (one of them an infant at the breast), and a girl of about fourteen years of age. This was about seven in the evening. The tide was flowing, and the wind caused such a surge, that for some time no boat could get to their assistance, and the crew remained in the most distressing situation, having lashed the females to the mast as the only means of preventing their being washed overboard. The vessel unfortunately grounded, and as the tide flowed in, it, in a short time, made a complete road over the deck. In this state, to the astonishment of all who witnessed this agonising scene, the sufferers continued to survive, and about twelve o'clock hopes were entertained of preserving them all, but just at the moment that a boat was making the most strenuous effort to reach the ship, a violent swell of the sea washed the girl off the deck, and the two children from their mother's arms. The former was taken out of the water alive, but expired in a few minutes, and the lifeless bodies of the infants were found soon afterwards. The mothers and the crew of the vessel were all saved.

The four antique horses, brought from Venice to Paris, are to take their station in the *Place de la Revolution*, formerly *La Place de Louis Quinze*. They are to be harnessed to a triumphal car, in which the Goddess of Liberty is seated, and the whole is to be surrounded by a suitable enclosure.

From the periodical account published by the Moravians last month, it appears, that their congregation in St. Kitt's alone, consists of 1270 Negroes; in Antigua, the celebration of Passion-week and Easter, was attended by many thousand blacks, and in the year preceding, 287 Negroes were baptized, and 285 admitted to the sacrament.

On Thursday night, at 14th.

Liverpool, a little before ten o'clock, a terrible gust of wind or tornado, came on, during which a ferry-boat, with a boatman, seven men and boys, and one woman, going to a vessel at the Slyne, were upset; three of the men were saved by boats belonging to flats, two were picked up by a flat going to Runcorn, and one saved himself by some oars or spars which he tied together with the handkerchief from his neck, and on which he floated until the next morning at six o'clock, when he was cast ashore near Bank-hall, with but little life in him, but we are happy to find he is likely to recover. The boatman, the woman, and a young man, foreman to Mr. Alley, sail-maker, were unfortunately drowned.

Lady Edward Fitzgerald sailed for Hamburgh, on Thursday morning, in the Prince of Wales packet, from Yarmouth. Her ladyship was attended to the vessel by her brother-in-law, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, who remained at Yarmouth till the packet sailed.

The Cherokee Chief, recently arrived in England, in the Isis man of war, is the celebrated General Bowles, who was in London before about seven or eight years since. He has been under

an arrest for several years by the Spaniards, but contrived to get on board a small vessel, which, on its way to this country fell in with the Isis, by which he was brought safe over.

Mrs. Summerfield, wife of William Summerfield, 15th.

servant to the Queen, was, on the 10th inst. delivered of a boy; at five in the afternoon she was delivered of another boy; and at nine at night she was brought to bed of a fine girl, all, with the mother, likely to live and do well. On Saturday, the children were half baptized by the names of George, John, and Sarah. Her Majesty sent for them to Lady Cathcart's house, where they were taken for the Princesses to see them. Her Majesty desired that two proper nurses should be procured for the boys, the girl is to be under the care of her mother. Most of the nobility have been to visit the mother and children, and have all contributed liberally to make them comfortable.

On Tuesday, a gentleman of the name of Watson, who came over from the West Indies in the fleet that arrived last week, was recommended as a lodger to Mrs. Wallace, who keeps a child-bed linen-warehouse, in Pope's-alley, Cornhill. He slept in her house that night, and about eight o'clock the next morning a gentleman called to pay him sixty guineas, and knocked at his bedroom door, but no answer being returned he was supposed to be asleep. A short time after he was called to breakfast, but as he still made no answer, a young man was sent into the room, who found him hanging at the foot of

the bedstead, suspended by a cord which had tied a trunk belonging to a former lodger. He was cut down, and medical assistance being called in, he was blooded, but without effect. Yesterday morning the coroner's inquest sat upon the body at Batson's coffee-house, when it appeared that the deceased was a native of Leith, in Scotland; but had early in life settled in Jamaica, and commenced planter; that some years since a derangement in his intellects took place, for which he was sent for advice to America, and returned quite recovered. He came to this country now upon business, and with a view of forming new correspondencies. It also appeared from the evidence of a gentleman who came over in the ship with him, that on the 15th of July they were in a tremendous storm, and nearly lost, at which time the deceased was so dreadfully alarmed, that it was afterwards observed he did not recover his recollection, or appear to know always what he was about for the remainder of the voyage. The jury of course brought in a verdict of *Lunacy*. A bill for 1000*l.* and various notes to a considerable amount were found upon the deceased, but no relative has yet appeared to lay claim to his property.

22d. The proposed improvement in the gold and silver coin of the kingdom, which has been submitted to the consideration of the Royal Academy, by the Lords of the Committee of Council, was discussed at the meeting of the Academicians this evening, when the designs or models of such of the members as had prepared them were received. The

following circular notice has been issued on this subject to the academicians:

Royal Academy, Aug. 20, 1798.

"SIR,—The Lords of the Committee of Council, having expressed a desire that the gold and silver coins of this kingdom should have every improvement, which the present state of the arts can afford, and the Royal Academy having agreed to take the same into their consideration, the president has accordingly ordered a general meeting of the academicians, on the 20th of September next, at seven o'clock in the evening, to receive the designs or models of such members of the Academy as will then offer; which designs or models are intended by the Lords of the Committee, to be presented for his Majesty's inspection, previous to their being carried into effect. The coins intended are as follow:

GOLD.

A two guinea piece,
A guinea, and
A half guinea.

SILVER.

Five shilling piece,
Half crown ditto,
One shilling, and
Sixpence.

The head of his present Majesty —The arms of the realm—The lion, the crown, and Britannia.—In forming the designs or models, it is desired that attention be paid to the roundness and simplicity of the coin; to the whole or part of the inscription on the same, and to guard against the wearing or filing.

JOHN RICHARDS, R. A. Sec.

The Dublin Journal relates, that as Gilbert Rawson, Esq. of Punchestown, near Naas, was riding by his own demesne wall, on the 5th inst. about two o'clock, he was waylaid by a band of assassins. A musquet was discharged at him from behind a hedge which lodged three balls in his breast. A villain leaped the hedge, came close up to him, and discharged the contents of a blunderbuss loaded with slugs full in his face, which shattered his jaw-bones. He then knocked him off his horse, and beat him on the head with the butt-end of the blunderbuss till he concluded the dreadful business was completed. He was found lying in the road soon after, and conveyed home, where he lived just long enough to tell by intervals the melancholy story, and name the assassin, who was well known to him as a man resident on his property whom he had often relieved, and to whom he had the preceding spring forgiven a robbery of four fine fat bullocks, on condition of his future amendment.

Early on Monday morning last, Mr. Pincat, surgeon, in Blackfriar's-road, was drowned bathing in the Thames, near the nine elms, Battersea-fields.

The following remarkable death recently occurred at Exton, in Rutland; a young man was in the act of loading a waggon, and his foot slipping he fell upon a fork, which he unfortunately held with the points upward, one of which entered his mouth, and ran into his brain. In this situation he remained upright till the fork was removed, and lived till night in the most excruciating agony.

The recent storms have been particularly severe in Kent, Sussex, and the neighbouring counties: an extraordinary and powerful tornado was witnessed on the 16th inst. at Boreham-street, about eighteen miles from Lewes. It seemed to gather in the north-east, and to take a south-westerly direction, occupying but a very narrow space. The first object from which it met with any resistance was Champney's barn, the gates of which it forced off their hinges, and broke one of them in pieces, and in its passage through the barn entirely stripped off its roof, and left scarcely a single rafter standing. In a neighbouring field, it took up a great number of wheat-sheaves, and carried them so high in the air, that the three Charles's, off Beachy-head, were distinctly seen under them by several persons who were then at Mr. Montague's house. The collections of loose corn which it wafted in the air, were by many at a distance taken for large flights of crows. The stubble in the wheat-fields through which it passed was, by its violence, beaten flat to the ground; and during its continuance, which was about ten minutes, a beautiful water-spout accompanied it. On the 22d inst. a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, occurred at Southampton. The lightning had a very uncommon appearance, the sky opening, and large streams of electric fluid like enormous fiery serpents, seeming to reach from the clouds to the earth. The storm extended to Spithead, where a seaman in the transport service was struck blind, which, with a horse killed by the light-

ning near Southampton, were the only accidents which happened in consequence of a storm which threatened so much mischief.

Letters from Berlin, state that Mr. Hawkins, the celebrated English traveller has arrived there. He came last from Asia Minor and Greece, which places he has carefully examined, both with respect to their geographical and statistical situations, and taken very accurate maps, so that he will be able to correct the errors of many modern travellers. He has a great number of Grecian coins, inscriptions, and other articles, besides manuscripts which he collected in the Convents. So considerable a collection, it is thought, does not exist in England. All these treasures are at present in the Morea, and Mr. Hawkins will not attempt to transport them to this country, until he is assured that the French will not seize them as English property.

We lately narrated the loss of the Royal Charlotte East India-man by lightning, and we regret to add that of the Princess Amelia, which was entirely destroyed, by accidentally taking fire off the Coast of Malabar, on the 5th of April. Forty of the crew unhappily perished with the vessel, but all the officers and passengers were saved. The destruction of these two ships, with the loss of the Raymond and Woodcote, Captains Smedley and Hanway, which were taken by the French, after a desperate resistance in the Tellicherry Roads, will stand the Company in little short of one hundred thousand pounds. Mrs. Brutton, the lady of lieutenant Brutton, of the 75th

regiment, passenger in the Raymond, was severely wounded in the face and shoulder during the action.

A young man, clerk to Mr. Sturdy, an attorney 24th. of New Boswell Court, Carey Street, was yesterday brought to the Public Office, Bow Street, charged with committing several forgeries. He had lately paid his addresses to a young lady of considerable property, and was about to be married to her. With this view he purchased a quantity of plate, and other articles of value, which he deposited in her possession, towards their commencement of house-keeping. On Wednesday morning it was discovered, that a forged draft or order, for the payment of the sum of 140*l.* had been paid by Devaynes and Company, bankers of Pall-Mall, who are bankers to Mr. Sturdy, which draft was dated the 20th inst. and purported to be drawn by Mr. S. and made payable to Edward Shaftsbury or bearer. On suspicion of being the forger, Robert Ladbroke Troyt the above-mentioned clerk, was taken into custody, and examined in the evening before Richard Ford, Esq. the sitting Magistrate. Mr. Sturdy attended and proved that the draft was forged; and from his knowledge of the prisoners hand-writing, he believed him to be the forger. He stated, that he also suspected him of forgeries to the amount of 1500*l.*, which he had recently discovered to have been committed in his name. On searching the prisoner, bank notes to the amount of 170*l.* were found upon him, and property to a very considerable amount was taken by the office

at his lodgings, the produce, as is supposed, of the different forgeries he has committed. The young lady to whom he was to have been married, on hearing of his apprehension, came forward, and related her knowledge of him, and delivered up the property he had deposited in her keeping. He was committed for further examination, when the other forgeries will be investigated.

Wednesday evening, as General Doyle and his aid-de-camp Capt. Doyle, were proceeding to Portsmouth, to embark with the troops for Gibraltar, they were stopped by two highwaymen, at the bottom of Red-Hill near Ripley; one seized the horses' heads, while the other opened the door, at Captain Doyle's side of the chaise, who fired at, and is supposed to have wounded him, as the fellow roared out and dropped a dagger fourteen inches long. Captain Doyle jumped out, and pursuing the man with his sword, the ruffian at the horses' heads fired into the chaise, and gave General Doyle a violent contusion on his left arm; luckily for the fellow his station was so close the post-boy that the General, without danger to the latter, could not fire, and therefore reserved it, and was getting out of the chaise when he received a second shot, which unfortunately entered the thick part of the thigh, about six inches deep, near the hip. The man then ran away and General Doyle fired after him, but it is feared without effect. Captain Doyle, in returning from an unsuccessful pursuit of the other villain had a thrust at this one, but it is supposed to have only gone through

his clothes, as no blood was to be seen when the spot was examined. General Doyle is now lying at Ripley, whither Mr. Rush the Surgeon is gone to attend him, and we are most happy to learn that he gives a favourable opinion of his wounds. It is hoped, that the dagger may be a means of discovering the villains.

There having been some 26th. disputes in the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh, relative to the choice of a magistrate at the ensuing election, Mr. Dundas, who seems equally a favourite with all parties, has addressed the following epistle to the Lord Provost.

Edinburgh, August, 1798.

My Lord,

It was with very sincere regret that I learned some time ago, and which has been confirmed to me since my arrival here, that there existed divisions, and difference of parties in the Council of Edinburgh. At a moment, when it is the duty of every good subject of Great Britain to lay aside all paltry considerations, and look only to the great interests which ought to occupy the attention of every good citizen, I lament that the metropolis of Scotland, should allow itself to be distracted by objects of so inferior a nature, as who should occupy this, or the other seat in the Council. It is the first time, since I was connected with the City of Edinburgh, that I have perceived any such spirit among you; and least of all, should I have expected to have seen it at a time, when Provost Elder presided over them. Delicacy prevents me from en-

larging farther on this subject; but I beg your lordship distinctly to understand, that, in so far, as I am personally concerned, I must disclaim all professions of friendship from any persons who think themselves at liberty to hurt your feelings at the end of your magistracy. If the City of Edinburgh has any desire to close its political connexion with me, it will cost them no trouble; a hint from them will do the business; but, as that connexion began in concert with you, it cannot continue at the expense of any injury done to your feelings; and your lordship is at liberty to convey that sentiment to any of my constituents, with whom you conceive it will have weight.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

On Wednesday night, or early on Thursday morning last, came on shore in a thick fog, about one mile to the Eastward of John's Haven near Montrose, the ship *Ewrittie*, of North Shields, Captain John Boswell from the West Indies, with the produce of eight large fish. The ship struck a little after high water, and drove on the top of a long ridge of rocks, where she stood upright all the tide of ebb, when, by the assistance of some ship masters with all the boats, fishermen, and useful hands that could be procured, to the astonishment of all present, she was got off next high water, and in such a state, that she could be kept with the pumps to proceed on her voyage to Shields. Too much praise cannot be given to the indefatigable exertions, which saved so valuable a property.

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At the Surry assizes, nine men and two women received sentence of death, but were all respited except John Alison, Attorney, for forgery, and one other, who are left for execution. At the Gloucester assizes, four criminals were left for execution. Three others were also found guilty of capital offences and sentenced, but afterwards reprieved.

Robert Ladbroke Troyt 26th. the Attorney's clerk suspected of forgery, was brought up again to the Public Office Bow Street, to be examined before Richard Ford, Esq. the sitting Magistrate. When examined on Friday, he had a new green coat with apparently yellow metal buttons, but it was observed to-day that he had no buttons on his coat, and on being asked what he had done with them he made no answer; when it came out that the buttons were of *solid gold*, and § his committal to Tothil-fields Bridewell on Friday, he took them off to prevent his being deprived of them at the prison. Upon being questioned by the Magistrate this day, he invariably maintained a sullen silence, in which neither gentleness nor threats produced any alteration. All hopes of his giving up his accomplices being abandoned, John Barker, a ticket porter belonging to Lincoln's Inn, was brought in and charged with being concerned with the prisoner, in uttering the drafts, well knowing them to be forged. As he gave a very contradictory account of the matter, he was committed, and his wife was bound over to give evidence. On the following day, Troyt was again brought up, and fully committed

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to take his trial on two charges. The ticket porter was also finally examined, and bound over to give evidence for the crown, and liberated on giving sufficient bail. Messrs. Devaynes and Co. in conjunction with Mr. Sturdy, the gentleman in whose name the forgeries were committed, have, with great and praiseworthy liberality, agreed to allow Troyt a guinea and a half a week, during the term of his confinement, and to give him twenty guineas for the expences of his trial.

Yesterday Captain Peter Long, who was capitally convicted at the last Admiralty Sessions at the Old Bailey, for being found commanding a French privateer, was discharged from Newgate, in consequence of his Majesty's pardon, on his entering into a recognizance with sureties to quit the kingdom, during the term of his natural life.

A discovery has been lately made, which promises the most important consequences to navigation. It consists of a compass and latitude instrument, in which we understand the magnetic fluid is so disposed and countrouled, that it shall lie truly and constantly on the meridian in all parts of the globe. The other instrument, by a similar management of the fluid, gives the latitude, with the same universality, in all seasons and weathers, within a few minutes of a degree.

A curious improvement in the art of gun making, has recently been brought to perfection. It consists in the barrels being bored out of solid pieces of steel, instead of being forged hollow from the iron in the old way. These bar-

rels in addition to their never bursting, carry closer and sharper, in a great proportion, than the common ones.

DIED—On the 2nd inst. Daniel Webb, Esq. Author of the celebrated Dissertations on Music, Poetry and Painting, and of Literary Amusements in verse and prose. He was the son of Captain Daniel Webb, of Maidstone, County Limerick, and brother to the present Dean of Kilmore.

At Liverpool, while performing the part of the Stranger, Mr. John Palmer, Comedian. The immediate cause of his death appears to have been apoplexy, but the Physicians who attended at the time, and were made acquainted with the previous circumstances of his case, are decidedly of opinion that he in fact, died of a broken heart, and that the attack was brought on by his efforts to perform his duty to the public in a most unhappy state of mind. He had recently lost his wife, to whom he had been fondly attached, and only a few days before his death received the melancholy and wholly unexpected intelligence of that of his second son, a youth, whose early promise of excellence, had centered upon him the chief hopes and affections of his father. He exerted himself however, in a most extraordinary manner, and although, on the Sunday preceding his death, he expressed to an intimate friend his conviction, that his heavy afflictions were hurrying him to the grave, he performed on the Wednesday, the part of young Wilding in the Liar, with considerable spirit. The Friday following was the day fixed upon for

his second performance of the *Stranger*, in the new Play of that name, and during the two first acts, he gave the part with all his natural talent and energy: in the third he appeared depressed, and to act with great effort. In the fourth, in the scene with Baron Steinfort, when questioned relative to his children, he appeared dreadfully agitated, but rallying for a moment, endeavoured to proceed, but the hand of death was upon him, and at the words,

“ Oh God, Oh God !

There is another and a better world !”

he fell upon his back, heaved a loud and convulsive sigh, and expired instantly without a struggle or a groan. For the moment, the audience supposed it to be only a studied addition to the part; but on seeing him carried off in deadly stiffness, the utmost astonishment and terror became depicted upon every countenance. Medical assistance was immediately called in, but every effort to restore animation proving useless, Mr. Aikin the manager, went upon the stage to announce the melancholy event, but was so much overpowered that he was at length forced to retire without making himself understood. Incedon then took his place, and communicated the dreadful intelligence, which was received with a general burst of horror and surprise; and many of the female part of the audience were agitated to tears and hysterics. The house was speedily evacuated in mournful silence.—As an actor, the death of Mr. Palmer is a great loss to the public. In the gay

parts of comedy he stood unrivalled, and so versatile were his talents, that he not only was successful in more serious characters, but played some of our principal tragic heroes, such as usurping tyrants, and ambitious villains, with great applause. As a husband and father, nothing could exceed his tenderness and kindness: his manners in private life were those of a polished gentleman, and his feelings and affections so strong, that his intimate friends and near connections were not surprised at the uncommon circumstances of his death. He has left eight children, who in a few months, have lost their father and mother, a brother and an uncle. A play has been performed for their benefit at Liverpool, and we are happy to learn that Mr. Taylor, proprietor of the Opera house, has given a free night for the orphan children of Mr. Palmer, at his Theatre, and Mr. Sheridan has followed the example of his liberality at Drury Lane. Mr. Palmer was buried at Liverpool in the most respectful manner, and a stone is to be placed upon his grave with his name and age, and as a very appropriate inscription, those remarkable words from the play of the *Stranger*, which he died in the moment of uttering.

At Warsaw, Prince Adam 4th. Poninsky, *ci-devant* Treasurer of the Crown, and grand Prior of the Order of Malta. His revenue for near 20 years, was almost half a million. He had resided for some time before his death with a poor peasant, a few miles from Warsaw, but expired in the house of an old servant in the

suburbs, who had taken him in out of compassion, and to shield him from the persecution of his creditors.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. The following melancholy accident occurred some days since at Annesley. Mr. Edward Palmer of Bedworth, with his wife and two children, went to meet a merry party of near relations, at the house of his father at Annesley. They had scarcely arrived when one of his children, a boy of seven years old, seeing a gun in a corner, took it up unobserved by any one present, and not having any idea that it was loaded, pulled the trigger, and lodged the contents in his father's shoulder and neck, who notwithstanding the aid of three skilful surgeons, languished till the next evening and then expired.

The inhabitants of Teneriffe, are in no small consternation, from the appearance of a new volcano, which has lately burst forth in the North West side of the Peak; a phenomenon which has not been seen there since the year 1704, when two volcanoes burst out towards the Town of Oratava, and threw out such a quantity of lava, that the Town was destroyed, a fine harbour, which then existed, was choaked up, and other considerable damage done by it. Between twenty and thirty alarming earthquakes followed, which also occasioned great mischief, so the terror of the inhabitants is not to be wondered at where any probability of

a repetition of such a tremendous visitation occurs.

Glasgow. A number of 2nd. young folks went down yesterday the length of Halensburgh, on a party of pleasure, in a boat belonging to Messrs. Truemans, Rope Spinners, here, having on board one of the rope-spinners to help to work the boat, and with the intention of returning to day. In coming up the river, however, the boat unfortunately upset, and shocking to relate, only one person was saved, by catching hold of a piece of floating timber. The names of the sufferers that have come to our knowledge, are the two Mr. Truemans, Miss Sally Trueman, their youngest sister; Mr. Brown, partner of Brown and Bogle, merchants below the Exchange; Matthew Gilmour, writer; and Mr. William Dick, agent for the Paisley Bank here. There must be several others, as the original party was at least ten in number.

The young lady who absented herself in April last, and who has been repeatedly advertised with a reward of fifty pounds, returned to her friends on the 25th ultimo, and has given a most extraordinary account of the cause of her absence. She states, that while walking out she was seized by two men, who forced her into a coach with threats of instant death, if she made any disturbance, and tied a handkerchief over her eyes. The coach proceeded at a furious rate, and after a short time she began to recover her presence of mind, and tried to call out for assistance, when one of the men put a pistol to her mouth which

hurt her very much, and terrified her so much that she fainted away. On recovering, she found herself in a room with the two men and an old woman. They told her she was taken there by orders of a gentleman, and that every kindness would be shewn her; and although they took her own money from her, she was told the gentleman had left an hundred pounds in their hands, in order that they might supply her with every necessary article. She refused, however, to take any thing at his expence, and, while she remained in confinement, borrowed a few things occasionally from the woman while her own were washed. Her place of detention she describes as a small room, the windows of which were strongly barred with iron, from whence nothing could be seen but a high brick wall at the distance of a few feet. Weeks passed on, during which she was civilly treated by the woman, and occasionally saw the men, who still adhered to their first story, that their employer was determined to marry her. On the 25th of August, soon after dark in the evening, the men came again and informed her they had orders from the gentleman to set her at liberty, as he was so extremely ill that he could not survive, and wished to be certain she was safe with her friends before his death. They then returned her her money which had been untouched, and binding her eyes, conducted her to a carriage, from which, after driving about an hour, she was set down in Gower-street, and the carriage drove furiously away. On finding out where she was, she made the

best of her way home to her brother's, where the feelings her unexpected appearance excited may be more easily conceived than described. She is the daughter of a very respectable farmer in Warwickshire; and was on a visit to a brother in London when forced away. Her person is tall and genteel, and she is reckoned handsome, but not particularly so. From the very cautious manner in which the business was conducted, there is not at present the least hopes of discovering the parties concerned, the lady being unable even to form a conjecture as to what part of the town she was carried to; and having no admirer or even acquaintance in the situation the gentleman was described to be when the men set her at liberty.

This afternoon, about six o'clock, the north-east 4th. bank of the New River suddenly burst, about half a mile from Hornsey-house; and between that spot and the part called Tottenham Freehold, the neighbouring meadow-lands, for a circuit of perhaps three or four miles, were presently inundated and the lower part of them to the depth of three or four feet. The part of the bank which is completely carried away, is about nine yards in length, and the rupture goes so low as within eighteen inches of the bed of the river. At seven o'clock the water at Hornsey was knee deep. The noise occasioned by the fall of water, was plainly heard at the distance of a mile. A great number of workmen were immediately dispatched to repair the damage, which may be so far effected in the course of this day,

as to afford the metropolis the usual supply of water; but it is thought, that to make an effectual and permanent repair, a temporary change of the current will be necessary.

We are concerned to have to relate a most daring and apparently unprovoked murder, committed on the body of Mr. William Sneyd, a respectable farmer of Tutterbony, County Dublin, and a Member of the Cooluck Yeoman Cavalry. The deceased had been at the fair of Killsallaghan, on Saturday last, and, while holding familiar conversation with the man who murdered him, the wretch took a pistol from Mr. Sneyd's holster, and shot him through the head. Through the confusion incident to the event, the perpetrator of the horrid deed escaped immediate punishment, but he will not, we trust, be able to elude the hands of justice.

Three ladies from Harrowgate, having been to view the different curiosities of Knaresborough, on their return incautiously got into the chaise before the post-boy had mounted, and when the horses had no one near them. By some mischance the horses took fright, and running furiously against the corner of a house, the chaise was upset and dragged for a considerable distance; one of the ladies, (Miss Crosby of Frodsham, near Chester) had unfortunately her arm out of the window of the chaise at the moment of its overturn, in consequence of which her arm was literally torn from her body, and left in the middle of the road, at least one hundred yards from the place, where the horses stopped, and she was otherwise

dreadfully bruised, especially on the face, one eye being entirely destroyed. The other ladies escaped with little or no injury, though the chaise was broken to pieces.—Miss Crosby has since died of the wounds.

Early on the 6th instant, Mr. Oliver Bond, who had been tried and found guilty of high treason at the late special commission held in Dublin, but who had been respited during pleasure, was found dead in his apartment at the New Prison. His death is supposed to have been occasioned by the bursting of a blood-vessel. Report states, that he had over exercised himself the preceding evening at ball playing; after which he ate a heavy supper and drank freely of claret, which altogether is supposed to have caused his sudden death.

The thunder-storm, on 13th. Sunday night, in the neighbourhood of Margate, was very awful: the flashes of lightning were so great, that they illuminated the sea to a considerable distance. It was accompanied by so severe a gale of wind, that one of the Packets coming from London had every sail, except the fore-sail, torn in pieces; two men, one of them a watchman, were blown off Ramsgate Pier and drowned; and a Dutch Galliot, used as one of his Majesty's gunboats, which had left Dover, was greatly damaged in endeavouring to get into Ramsgate, but failing in the attempt stood out to sea and fortunately got into Broadstairs yesterday.

A barbarous murder has been recently committed on the person of Mr. Marnock, an inhabitant of

Paradise Row, Dublin, a man of the most amiable disposition and excellent character. Some gentlemen having called at the house of the deceased (who was generally an early riser) in the morning on business, had repeatedly rapped for admittance without receiving any answer. The immediate neighbours, acquainted with Mr. Marnock's habits, thought the circumstance remarkable, and after a little longer time had been spent in trying to gain an entrance, it was suggested to break open the door, when the unfortunate man was found on his knees at the side of the bed, with his skull almost cut in two, which appeared to have been done either with a spade or a hatchet. It is conjectured that he was murdered just as he was undressed and was going to get into bed. The house was rifled and robbed of every portable article, even to the sheets of his bed. Mr. Marnock was a lone man, having lost his wife a short time before: suspicion rests upon a gardener in his service, and his female servant, both of whom have absconded. The Coroner, Mr. Alderman Thorpe, held an inquest on the body, and the jury brought in a verdict of *wilful murder* against the two above-mentioned persons. It was evident, that after committing the murder, the perpetrators had sat and drank some cordial spirits that were in the bed-room of the deceased.

A great deal has been said of the immense sums gained by our Naval Commanders. The public should also be made acquainted with their liberality. The wife of Rowen, one of the deputies sent to

Cayenne, and one of those who are now arrived in England, was, with a great number of Priests, taken some time ago by Sir Edward Pellew, in a French frigate going to Cayenne. She had sold all her property in France, to go to join her unhappy husband, and had with her about three thousand pounds. Sir Edward has given her back the whole sum, and has paid the sailors their share of it out of his own purse.

Last Wednesday evening, the following melancholy accident happened at Petworth in Sussex. As the coachman of the Earl of Egremont was watering a pair of horses in a pond, in the Park, during the storm, one of them took fright at a flash of lightning, and plunged into the water beyond his depth, when the coachman perceiving that he was unable to swim, and attributing the cause to his being curbed, followed him on the other horse in order to remove the impediment; but in the attempt he fell into the water, and was unfortunately drowned, with the beast he endeavoured to save. The other horse swam and recovered the land without difficulty.

This day, John Ladbrooke Troyt, was indicted 16th. at the Old Bailey, for forging a draft for the payment of 75*l.* with the name of Robert Sturdy subscribed to it, on Messrs. Devaynes and Co. Bankers, with intent to defraud the said bankers; and the said Robert Sturdy. It appeared that the prisoner, a young man of eighteen years of age, was clerk to Mr. Sturdy, a gentleman of eminence in the profession of the law, who resides in Boswell-street; that, some time ago, the

prisoner brought to the house of John Barker, Porter to Lincoln's Inn, some papers, and left them with Hannah Barker the porter's wife, with directions for her to give them to her husband to take to the banker's, which he did accordingly, and received at the banking-house of Messrs. De-vaynes and Co. the money for two drafts, one for 75*l.* and the other for 140*l.* He took it made up into a parcel to the prisoner's lodgings, at a green-shop in Whitecross-street, where he left it with the landlord, who duly delivered it to the prisoner. It was proved that the drafts were in the prisoner's hand-writing, and that Mr. Sturdy gave him no authority to write drafts on his banker. The drafts were paid in bank notes, all of which, with the exception of one five pound note, were found in the possession of the prisoner when he was taken to Bow-street, and searched.—*Guilty. Death.*

18th. Yesterday, William Williams, late proprietor of the reading room in Round Court in the Strand, appeared before a Magistrate on six different informations lodged against him by virtue of the 29th George III. sect. 9; whereby it is enacted, that "if any hawker of any newspaper, or other person shall let out any newspaper for hire, to any person, or persons, or to different persons, or from house to house, he, she, or they so offending, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds." Francis Gibbs, stated, that he went to the house of the defendant, on the 2nd of May last, and there having read a paper called the Daily Advertiser,

paid to the defendant one penny for the same; which being considered conclusive evidence by Mr. Estcourt, Solicitor for the Stamp Office; he rested his case here; when Mr. Barry, counsel for the defendant, was heard against it. It was at length mutually agreed, that in consideration of the peculiarity of the case, and the defendant waving all appeal, and promising never to be guilty of a like offence, one conviction only should take place, and all proceedings on the remainder cease. He was therefore fined in the penalty of five pounds; which, operating as a precedent, several other persons were fined in the like sum; and thus it is established, that reading rooms of this description come within the meaning of the aforesaid act.

The Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury, hav- 19th.
ing heard of the arrival of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at Charlton, near that place, waited on his Royal Highness with the freedom of that ancient city, which they presented to him in an elegant gold box, with a loyal and appropriate address. They all met with a most gracious reception, and his Royal Highness was pleased to return a reply, expressive of his acceptance of their attention and perfect approbation of the sentiments of the address.

An unfortunate accident happened on board the *Endymion*, three or four days before she came into Portsmouth. Some pistols lying on the gun-room table, Mr. Thompson, a Marine Officer, took up one of them, not

supposing it to be loaded, and presented it at Mr. Hogg, a Surgeon, saying, "I'll shoot you!" when it unfortunately went off. The ball entered at one ear, and came out at the opposite side, carrying away part of the tongue in its passage. Mr. Hogg was sent immediately to Haslar Hospital, where hopes are entertained of his recovery.

21st. A melancholy proof of the violence of human passions, when not under the control of religion and reason, has recently occurred at Bundoran, within two miles of Ballynamora, in Ireland. Two young men had for a considerable time paid their addresses to a girl in the neighbourhood; she discovered a partiality for one of them, whom she married; the other, smarting with disappointment and urged by despair, determined upon revenge, to accomplish which he, a few days after the marriage, brought the bridegroom to one of the rocks on that coast, under pretence of drinking wine together, when he first knocked him down with a bottle, and then in attempting to cut his throat with a razor, cut the unfortunate man from his mouth to either ear, and in several parts of his face. Finding, however a great difficulty in effecting his atrocious purpose from the struggles of his victim, he exerted all his strength, and threw him down a perpendicular rock, above twenty feet in height; by this he was much bruised and cut, although not killed by the fall. He was shortly afterwards discovered weltering in his gore by some gentlemen who were bathing; medical assistance was immedi-

ately procured, and hopes are entertained of his recovery, though he must always be dreadfully disfigured through life. Notwithstanding, the most diligent search has been made for the perpetrator of this horrid crime, he remains undiscovered.

Yesterday, James Shaw, Esq. was duly elected Alderman of Portsoken Ward, vice Sir Benjamin Hamet, resigned.

We are concerned to have to state a fatal duel which took place last week, in consequence of some slight disagreement between Lieutenant Lovinston, of the Perth Highland Fencibles, and Mr. Robert Rogers, of Limerick, Merchant. The parties met in a field on Roxborough road, with their seconds, and both firing together, the ball from Mr. Rogers's pistol entered his antagonist's right hip, of which wound he died in about four and twenty hours. Both gentlemen were natives of Scotland, men of amiable tempers, polished manners, and, till the unfortunate dispute which led to this fatal catastrophe, they were upon the most friendly and intimate terms together.

The Dublin papers say, that different causes are assigned for the accident which lately happened to an Ammunition Cart, between Edgeworth town and Longford; the most probable is that some leakage in the box which contained the gunpowder, formed a descending train to the ground, which took fire from the collision of the wheel against a flint. Mr. Edgeworth's whole family had intended to go to Longford, under the escort which attended the gunpowder, but were

most providentially delayed. Mr. Murray, the young gentleman who commanded the escort, shewed uncommon feeling for the fate of his companions when he went to Edgeworth town. Mrs. Edgeworth, whose carriage was ready to convey her to Longford, as the rebels were actually approaching the town, forgetful of her own danger, instantly employed herself and daughters in making bandages for the sufferers, and went to them at the house of Mr. Wilson, a farmer, on the road to Longford, who had afforded them all the assistance in his power. When they were dressed they were put into the carriage, and the ladies proceeded on horseback.

25th. A fish of enormous size having been seen for several days past, swimming in Southampton river, many fruitless attempts were made to take it; at one time it went up the narrow river Itchen, where one of its pursuers, Mr. Richard Evamy, of the New Forest Rifle Light Dragoons, fired at it from a boat with his carbine, and lodged a ball in its side, which, it afterwards appeared, went through eighteen inches of solid flesh, upon which the fish plunged into the water, and was for that time lost; it was, however, discovered the next day, upon the mud, near the village of Marchwood, the tide having in some measure left it; and it is supposed, that owing to the quantity of blood it had lost from the wound, it was too much exhausted to reach the water. In this state, three men in a boat approached and attacked it, forcing an iron crow down its throat, which evi-

dently put it to great torture; and lashing the mud with his tail, he threw it to an astonishing height, and the three men narrowly escaped being crushed by its force; but after repeated efforts they succeeded in killing it, and by tying it to the boat stern, after much labour, towed it to the village of Itchen. It proved to be a whale of the beaked or bottle-headed species, measuring near 25 feet in length, and 18 in girth; there is no division of head from body, all being in one; the eyes are remarkably small, and it has a snout something like the beak of a bird; likewise two fins near the head, and two others near the tail. The skin is very smooth, and of a beautiful lead colour, and the weight is supposed to be near six tons. It is a valuable prize to the fishermen who caught it, as they have exhibited it to an immense concourse of people who flocked from the town and its neighbourhood, to see this wonderful natural curiosity; and have since sold it for a considerable sum to make oil, of which it will certainly produce a very large quantity, it being in some places 14 inches deep in fat. Some idea may be formed of its enormous size, from the circumstance, that 8 horses and 40 men could scarcely drag it 50 yards.

Bridgewater bridge is now nearly completed: it is principally composed of cast iron, brought in pieces from Colebrook-dale in Shropshire, by water carriage. It consists of a single arch, the span of which is seventy-five feet; the road way is twenty-four feet wide in the clear, including two paved foot-ways; it is lighted by six

lamps. The expence of erecting the bridge is about four thousand pounds, which was collected by an additional toll on all the turn-pikes leading to the town. The former bridge had stood five hundred years, and was built by an ancient lord of Bridgewater: the new bridge is one of the handsomest in the kingdom.

A remarkable comet or meteor was observed on the 10th instant, about 20 minutes before twelve o'clock at night, by Alexander Campbell, one of the Masters of the Free School at Alnwick, Northumberland, and another person. It appeared in the southwest at a considerable altitude: at first it was no bigger, though much brighter than a common star, but presently expanded into the form and size of an apothecary's pestle. It was then obscured by a cloud, which was still illuminated behind; when the cloud was dispelled, it re-appeared with a direction north and south, with a long small streamer, cutting the pestle a little below the centre, and issuing away to the eastward. It was again obscured, and, on its re-appearance, the streamer and the pestle had formed the appearance of a hammer or a cross; presently after the streamer which made the shaft to the hammer, or stalk to the cross, assumed two horns to the

extreme point towards the east, resembling a fork. It was then a third time obscured; but when the cloud passed over, it was changed into the shape of two half moons, back to back, having a short thick luminous stream between the two backs: it then vanished totally from their sight. It is remarkable that every new appearance became brighter and brighter, till it was an exceedingly brilliant object, all the other stars in comparison looking like dim specks. The time of observation was about five minutes.

Early on Sunday morning, seventeen French prisoners effected their escape out of the Castle of Edinburgh. They had made a large hole in the wall, through which they crept, and by means of a rope got to the bottom of the rock; fifteen of them got safely down, but the rope broke with the two last, and they were so much hurt, that they were obliged to go into a house to get their wounds dressed, where they were detected and sent back to the castle. Parties were sent out in all directions in order to retake the others, and the greater part of them were brought back in the course of the day. The two that were hurt have been sent to the Royal Infirmary. A person in the west port, who is suspected of aiding and assisting them is apprehended.

Voluntary Contributions.—Bank Report to September 20th, 1798.

Voluntary Contributions	£ 1,514,933	12	9
Assessed Taxes	821,717	16	7
Total	£ 2,336,551	9	4

A melancholy circumstance took place on Tuesday afternoon, near Dover: as some artillerymen were firing the great guns in Archcliff's-fort, one of the shot unfortunately struck his Majesty's sloop Osprey, killed two men on the spot, and shattered the arm of another so dreadfully, that he died the next day. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales hearing of the above was greatly affected, and immediately ordered the utmost possible care to be taken of the wounded man, and of the families of the deceased. It appears that the gun had been pointed some hours before it was fired, and that by the changing of the tide, the Osprey was in its direction.

The latest accounts from the English missionaries at Otaheite mention, that a whole province has been ceded to them. It is sufficient to sustain ten thousand persons. The king of that place seemed so highly pleased with an English infant, born soon after the missionaries landed, that he shewed it to a number of his subjects, and indicated his delight by dancing it in his arms. A school has been established, where the children of the Otaheitans learn the English alphabet. The labours of the carpenters and smiths are looked at by the inhabitants with astonishment. The bread-fruit is made use of in administering the sacrament, but nothing is said to stagger the Otaheitans so much as the ceremony and conditions of marriage, as practised by the Europeans.

Saturday night, James Bond, a carpenter, in Dean-street, Westminster, came home in liquor, and

having words with his wife, beat her on the back part of her head with a mallet, which fractured her skull, and occasioned her death. He was immediately secured, and taken to Tothill-fields Bridewell. The wretched man is nearly seventy years old.

This day a common-hall 30th. was held at Guildhall for the election of a Lord Mayor for the ensuing year. The Recorder having stated to the livery the importance of the business for which they were convened, the Common Serjeant called over the names of the different gentlemen who had served the office of sheriff. The names of Mr. Alderman Coombe and Sir Richard Carr Glynn, were received with loud applauses, and it was declared, that the voice of the livery was in favour of those two gentlemen. Mr. Alderman Newman previously declined the contest. The Court of Aldermen retired for about half an hour, and at their return the Recorder said their choice had fallen on Sir Richard Carr Glynn, who was immediately invested with the insignia of the mayoralty. Mr. Alderman Coombe said, his feelings were sufficiently gratified by the approbation of the livery. The shew of hands having preponderated in his favour. He had no fault to find with the Court of Aldermen for the preference which they had shewn; perhaps their choice had fallen upon a worthier, though a junior alderman than himself. He should continue his exertions for the advantage of the livery, and he pledged himself that the event of the day should excite no animosity in his breast against any individual what-

ever. The number that voted were twenty—fifteen for Sir Richard Carr Glynn, and five for Harvey Coombe, Esq.

Last Monday, the following circumstance occurred at Newhaven, near Lewes: the press-gang of that place having, in consequence of an information from their captain, taken into custody two men who had improperly quitted their service on board the Hind cutter, and conducted them to the rendezvous, one of them named Hemmings, after being refreshed with some bread and cheese and ale, having, unobserved, contrived to get free of his handcuffs, on a sudden rose from his chair, and stabbed one of the gang between the hip-bone and short rib with a knife, and ripped up his belly so dreadfully that his bowels came out. He then went to his companion and swore that if he did not exert himself to escape as he had done, he would rip him up also, and daring any one to molest him under pain of similar punishment, he escaped out of the house and ran off, but had not gone far before he was stopped by a serjeant of militia, whom he also stabbed and cut across the belly, and in the scuffle which ensued gave him three wounds on the back, but people coming to the assistance of the serjeant, he was secured, and taken back to the rendezvous, and the next day brought before Henry Shelly, Esq. of Lewes, who committed him to the House of Correction for further examination. He informed the magistrate that his father lived in Shore-ditch, in the service of a carman,

and that he had been sent to sea by the Marine Society. Every assistance was given to the wounded men, but one of them, named Pope, belonging to the gang, expired in two days. The coroner's jury sat upon the body, and returned a verdict of *wilful murder*, in consequence of which the prisoner was committed by the coroner to Horsham gaol, to take his trial at the next assizes. It is hoped that the serjeant is out of danger.

Last week, a most dreadful fire broke out on board the Joseph and Mary, of South Shields, then lying at anchor near the Mill-dam. Immediate assistance being got, the ship was towed out from amongst the others, only setting one vessel near her partially on fire, which was soon got under. The flood-tide then making, and the wind being from the south-east, she was got over to the north side of the water, and her anchor let go over to Dortwick-sand, at the mouth of the Coble Dean, and the great guns, six in number, all of which were shotted, pointed forwards down the river, and slanting over the ship's quarter, up the river. The fire-engines from North and South Shields were got into large boats, and began to play upon the fire; but few people durst approach the awful scene until the guns were off, the shots of which happily did no damage. After two hours exertion the fire was got under, and the ship scuttled and sunk on the land. She was consumed entirely abaft to nearly the water's edge, but the fore-part did not suffer so much. The fire broke

out, as it is supposed, by a candle being left burning near some oakum in the gun-room.

DIED.—At Somer's-town, aged 106, Elizabeth Reid.

At his house in Park-street, Windsor, in his 84th year, Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq. many years Recorder of Liverpool, F. R. and A. S. S. and Vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries. He was going to Egham races, when he dropped down in a fit and soon expired. He was buried in St. George's-chapel, Windsor, on the 22d inst. He represented the borough of Ilchester in one parliament, and was an early member and vice-president of the society of arts and commerce, and various other charitable and literary societies. The recordership of Liverpool was held by him at the particular request of the corporation. The bulk of his fortune is left, after the death of his widow, to Mrs. Brand, sister to Sir Harry Trelawny, Bart. who was his ward. He had an estate in Flintshire, and was constable of Flint Castle, a sinecure place. He was elected F. A. S. in 1763; and in the *Archæologia* II. 80, is a paper of his observations on Peter Collinson's account of the Round Towers in Ireland, I. 305. In III. 111, is his tour through South Wales; p. 154, extracts from Henry VIIIth's household-book; account of a painted window in Brereton Church, Cheshire, IX. 368; a non-descript coin of Philip, King of France, X. 463. In a Roman Station, called *Croes Atti*, on Mr. Brereton's estate, his horse once kicked up several Roman antiquities, engraved and

described in Pennant's *Welsh Tour*, I. 51, 52. 67—73. Mr. Brereton married one of the Whitmores of Shropshire, by whom he had five children, who all died young.

OCTOBER.

On Monday night, the houses of the Protestants in 1st. the vicinity of Narraghmore, county of Kildare, were attacked by the rebels, who plundered them, the inhabitants having saved themselves by a timely flight. The banditti then proceeded to Glassenly, the seat of Thomas James Rawson, Esq. Captain of the Athy Royal Infantry, which they set on fire, and the whole building and furniture were consumed. Three old Protestant women and a man, who had fled there for protection, perished in the flames. The morning of the 27th ult. exhibited one of the most shocking spectacles which has perhaps been seen during the rebellion. A family of four persons of the name of O'Brien, consisting of two brothers, a sister, and a young man, a cousin, who lived in a village, called Ballyknockin, in the county of Wicklow, were attacked at night, when in bed, by a number of persons armed with pikes; they forced the doors, and having secured the female in an upper room, dragged the three men to one of the fields belonging to their own farm, stabbed them with innumerable wounds to death, and so disfigured one of the bodies that it was almost impossible to recognise it. They

then proceeded to destroy every thing in the house, and carried off all the valuable and portable articles they could find. The young woman whom they had confined received no other injury. In the morning the dead bodies were found before the house, a horrid spectacle.

Yesterday the Lord Mayor, Alderman Boydell, and three others, city officers, appeared in the Court of Exchequer, to present the new Sheriffs to the Cursitor Baron. The ceremony of swearing the old Sheriffs to the truth of their account, and the appointment of Under-sheriffs being finished, the feudal ceremony of chopping the sticks for a tenement, called the Moor, in the county of Salop, and telling the horse-shoes and sixty-one rails for a tenement, called the Forge, near Temple-bar, was performed by Alderman Sir John Eamer; and then the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, returned to the London Tavern, where they partook of a sumptuous dinner.

A curious circumstance occurred while the rebels were in possession of Killala; they sent a flag of truce by an officer of their number, named M'Guire, accompanied by Dean Thompson, (who was pledged for their safe return) into the town of Castlebar; the object of which was to learn in what manner their prisoners were treated; they were accordingly permitted to visit the prisons of the town, and the report which they made is said to have given great satisfaction.

Hondon, a French sculptor of eminence, has lately finished a very fine bust of General Washington. To be enabled to execute

the likeness, the artist went to Philadelphia, and lived for six months in Washington's family. The simple costume of the figure has been much criticised in America, where taste is yet in its infancy; the Americans wished to contemplate a Roman hero, decorated with all the attributes of a conqueror, whereas Hondon, on the contrary, aimed at representing the protector of the Arts, of Peace, and of Liberty. It was the interposition of Washington himself which decided in the General Assembly that the idea of the artist should be executed. The figure is arranged in the simple and noble habit of a man in rural life, a light plaited vest, half buttoned, sandals on his feet, with a cloak fastened on his breast, and flowing over his shoulders and back, as if to protect him from the inclemency of the weather. One hand is supported by a staff; the other rests on the republican *fascies* crowned with a cap of liberty. At his feet is a plough.

This day the Court of 3d. Common Council was attended by two hundred members. The business was opened by the Lord Mayor reading the following letter, which he had received from Admiral Nelson, viz.

*Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,
August 8, 1798.*

"MY LORD,—Having the honour of being a freeman of the city of London, I take the liberty of sending to your lordship the sword of the commanding French Admiral, Monsieur Blanquet, who survived after the battle of the Nile, and request that the city of London will honour me by the ac-

ceptance of it, as a remembrance, that Britannia still rules the waves; which that she may ever do, is the fervent prayer of your lordship's

Most obedient servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

*Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor
of London."*

A tumult of applause immediately followed the reading of the letter; and upon the motion of Mr. Deputy Lecky, the sword was ordered to be placed among the city regalia. The thanks of the court were then unanimously voted to Admiral Lord Nelson, and to the officers and the seamen under his command.

5th. Yesterday, the Lord Mayor, sixteen Aldermen, and nearly two hundred Common Councilmen, attended by Mr. Deputy Lecky, presented a report respecting the French Admiral's sword. After a short debate, the court ordered it to be placed in a very elegant glass case, in the most conspicuous part of the Council-room, with the following inscription upon a marble tablet:

The Sword of Monsieur *Blanquet*, the commanding French Admiral, in the *glorious victory* off the Nile, on the first of August, 1798.—Presented to this Court by the Right Honourable
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

Resolved—That a sword of the value of 200 guineas be presented to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson by this Court, as a testimony of the high esteem they entertain of his public services to this city, and to the whole empire.

That the Lord Mayor be requested to provide and present the

said sword to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson.

That the Freedom of the City of London be presented to Captain Berry in a gold box of 100 guineas value, as a testimony of the high esteem entertained of his gallant behaviour on the 1st of August last.

That the thanks of the Court be given to all the other officers, seamen, and marines, for the undaunted bravery and steady conduct which they exhibited on that memorable day.

All these motions were carried unanimously, and with repeated bursts of applause.

That beautiful edifice Wanstead church, Essex, was last week robbed of all its elegant and valuable communion-plate, and the pulpit, desk, &c. stripped of their handsome velvet coverings. The sacrilegious villains drank all the wine designed for the Holy Sacrament, leaving the bottles broken and strewed about the church, in which they also left a lighted candle, which providentially did no mischief. The gang consisted of sixteen, six of whom are in custody, and it is hoped the rest will soon be taken.

The accounts of the ravages of the yellow fever brought by the Halifax and New York mails, are most distressing. At Philadelphia, sixty persons died in a day, upon an average, when the last returns were made; but the number had so greatly increased, that they had ceased to give it publicity; and in order to conceal the dreadful effects of the pestilence, the unfortunate sufferers were buried in the night. The distemper had made nearly as mortal a pro-

gress at New York, where about twenty persons died every day, and all the principal families had deserted the city. Not a single person was to be met in the streets without a handful of segars, and one smoaking in the mouth as a precaution against the disease. At Boston this dreadful scourge had also began to shew itself, and was spreading rapidly.

Immediately upon receiving the news of the victory off the mouth of the Nile, at Constantinople, the Grand Seignior directed a superb diamond aigrette (called a chelengk, or plume of triumph), taken from one of the imperial turbans, to be sent to Admiral Nelson, together with a sable fur pelisse of the first quality. He directed also a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed among the British seamen who were wounded at the battle of the Nile. These presents are to be conveyed in a Turkish frigate. Mr. Smith, his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Constantinople, has received an official notification of these gifts from "His Imperial Majesty, the powerful, formidable, and most magnificent Grand Seignior." This paper concludes with a hope that, "as the English minister is constantly zealous to contribute, by his endeavours, to the encrease of friendship between the two courts, he will not fail to make this circumstance known to his court, nor to solicit the permission of the powerful and most august King of England for the said Admiral Nelson to put on and wear the said aigrette and pelisse."

On the 25th ult. a tremendous gale came on at Halifax, in

Nova Scotia, between four and five p. m. The vessels in the harbour prepared to sustain it by striking their top-gallant-masts, yards, &c. letting go their best anchors, and exerting every means which might best enable them to withstand its fury; but notwithstanding all these precautions several accidents occurred, for the gale increased with the most terrific violence, and veering from the eastward blew directly up the harbour, and the waves dashed almost every thing to pieces which opposed them. The tide which should have turned at eight o'clock continued to flow till nearly nine. The wharfs were all under water, and their timbers began to give way. The moon, which occasionally broke through the clouds, disclosed a prospect which baffles all description; ships driving before the hurricane nearly on their beam-ends, others actually upset, many with their masts torn by the board; wharfs and stores, filled with valuable merchandize, dashed into atoms; and, in short, one continued scene of devastation and ruin, the whole length of the town, from the King's Lumber-wharf to the Navy-yard. It would be endless to endeavour to enumerate the ships injured, or the stores, &c. destroyed: the damage is computed at fully one hundred thousand pounds. The Lynx sloop of war had a most singular escape; after driving from her anchors, she ran foul of a man of war, and in passing her she fortunately hooked on the other ship's anchors into her aftermost port, which she carried off with the cable to it, and by this she rode out the whole gale, with her

stern to the wind, as the man of war was luckily so well moored as to hold them both. The appearance of the country after the storm was singular; every tree and vegetable was blighted and withered, as if they had been scorched with fire.

Admiral, now Baron Nelson of the Nile, is the son of the Rev. Mr. Nelson, Rector of Burnham Thorpe near Holkam in Norfolk. He entered early into the service, was made Lieutenant in 1777, and Post Captain in 1779.

An unhappy event took place a short time ago at Lisbon. A Cadet of the Portuguese regiment of La Lipe, was walking in company with two young ladies, when an officer in the English service observed in passing by that they were pretty girls. The Cadet irritated with jealousy excited a soldier on guard to insult the officer, and he elbowed him several times, without his supposing that any offence was intended, but at length perceiving a determination to insult him, he collared the soldier and carried him to the guard house, where however his complaint received but little attention from the officer commandant. The soldiers perceiving this, fell upon the officer who with difficulty escaped, but a friend who ran to succour him, received fifteen stabs and died on the following day. Four or five other English officers who ran to the assistance of their comrades were wounded before any explanation could take place, two of them in a dangerous manner, but as it has happily proved, not mortally. The officer commandant has been taken into custody as well as all the soldiers

on guard, and preparations are making for their trial.

The marriage for some time projected between the Duke D'Angouleme, eldest son of the Count D'Artois (now Monsieur) and the Princess Royal, daughter of Louis XVI. is now finally concluded, and is soon to take place at Mittau in the presence of Louis XVIII. uncle to both the young couple. The Court of Vienna wished at first, to unite the youthful Princess with the Arch-Duke Charles; but having previously engaged her word of honour to her cousin-germain, the Emperor at length consented to the marriage, and will have the Princess conducted to the frontiers of his dominions with all the honours due to her rank. The Emperor of Russia has engaged to have the nuptials celebrated with suitable magnificence. The Princess Royal will have the same dowry as her mother, which the Court of Vienna agrees to pay her, together with a legacy bequeathed to her by the Arch-Duchess Christina, forming in all a revenue of about a million tournois.

A curious circumstance lately took place in the 13th. criminal Court at Cork.—Citizens Conway, Shannon, and Bacon stood indicted for High Treason on the information of a young man named David Power. Power was called up to the table, and instead of giving evidence, addressed the Court in a set speech, in which he declared that he would not prosecute, for that he would not have the tears of Conway's widowed wife and orphan children to add to the misfortunes he had already brought on himself,

and he submitted with pleasure he said to the sentence of the Court, which was a year's imprisonment for contumacy. Power is a young man of good character and respectable connections, and a student in the College of Dublin.

20th. A Court Martial was held on the 13th inst. in Dublin Barracks, on Hugh Whollaghan and James Fox, sen. and James Fox, jun. privates in the New Town Mount Kennedy Corps of Yeomanry; the first charged with the wilful murder of Thomas Dogherty in the County of Wicklow, and the two latter with being aiding and assisting in the perpetration of the same. Mary Dogherty, mother to the deceased, deposed, that on monday se'nnight the prisoners Whollaghan and Fox, jun. came to the cabin of a woman where she then resided, (her own dwelling and her son's having been destroyed by the soldiery); that Whollaghan only entered the room, the other prisoner having waited outside the door. On Whollaghan's entering the room he asked, "are there any bloody rebels here?" Witness replied, "No sir." Her son she said was sitting behind her eating some bread and milk. The prisoner addressed himself to him and asked if he were not Dogherty's eldest son?" he replied "I am." The prisoner then said, "You must die immediately." Her son answered "I hope not, Sir; if there is any thing against me, let me have a fair trial, and I will abide the consequence: I am ready to go up with you now to Mr. Latouche's." (Delginny is on the Latouche

Estate.) The Prisoner said "He did not care about Mr. Latouche any more than himself." The witness then begged the prisoner to spare her son; he d—d her for an old b—h, and snapped his piece which missed fire; he then snapped it again, and again it missed. On this Fox came in and said, "Your gun is not worth a penny, but by G—d that fellow must die." The witness seeing the prisoner intent upon murdering her son, caught hold of the muzzle of the piece and endeavoured, as far as her strength would allow, (being an old and infirm woman) to defend him, but the gun went off on the third trial, the ball grazed the breast of her son, and entered his right arm which it broke. He dropped down exclaiming, "Oh mother pray for me!" The witness in an agony of woe, took hold of his head which she supported in her arms. The prisoner immediately went out, returned in a few minutes after, and said, "Is the villian dead yet?" Witness replied, "Indeed he is sir." The prisoner then said, "For fear he should not, let him take this," and fired a second shot which entered her son's body; he never spoke after, but uttered a groan, and expired directly. He did not speak from the time he received the first shot, except the one exclamation mentioned before, but witness thought he might have lived, had he not received the second shot: she had no charge against James Fox, sen. The prisoners were *all acquitted!!!*—In consequence of this extraordinary and disgraceful decision,

His excellency Lord Cornwallis has directed the following letter to be sent to Lieutenant General Craig.

Sir,

Having laid before the Lord Lieutenant the proceeding of a General Court Martial, held by your orders in Dublin Barracks, on Saturday the 13th inst. of which Colonel, the Earl of Enniskillen was president, I am directed to acquaint you that his Excellency wholly disapproves of the sentence of the above Court Martial; acquitting Hugh Whollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which by the clearest evidence, he appears to have been guilty. Lord Cornwallis orders the Court Martial to be immediately dissolved, and directs that Hugh Whollaghan shall be dismissed from the Corps of Yeomanry in which he serves, and that he shall not be received into any other Corps of Yeomanry in this kingdom. His Excellency farther desires, that the above may be read to the president and members of the Court Martial in open Court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. TAYLOR, Sec.

P.S. I am also directed to desire that a new Court Martial may be immediately convened, for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them; and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Whollaghan, be admitted as members.

Lieut. Gen. CRAIG, &c. &c.

21st. The following Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the late signal naval victory, was used this day, and is to be repeated on two more Sundays in

all Churches and Chapels throughout Great Britain.

“Oh Almighty God! the Sovereign Ruler of all the world, in whose hands is power and might which none are able to resist; we bless and magnify thy great and glorious name, for the happy victory which thou hast vouchsafed to the fleet of thy servant our Sovereign, in distant seas. We offer thee as we are most bounden, thanks and praise; for of thee alone cometh both counsel and strength for the fight. Thou alone givest victory unto kings, and deliverest thy servants from the peril of the sword. We beseech thee give us grace to improve this and all thy great mercies, to thy glory, the advancement of thy Gospel, the honour of our Sovereign, and, as far as in us lieth, to the good of all mankind: and keep alive, we pray thee, by thy sanctifying spirit in our hearts, such constant sense and remembrance of thy goodness, such fear of offending thee, such reliance on thy help in time of need, as may daily appear in the conformity of our lives, to the Doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with Thee Oh Father, and Thee Oh Holy Ghost! three persons and one only God, be all honour and glory, world without end! Amen.”

It is with heartfelt concern that we announce the death of Captain Hume, M.P. for Wicklow, who has been killed in an action between his corps and Holt's ferocious Banditti. He had been all the preceding night at the head of his corps,

and a part of the army in search of Holt, when returning home to take some rest, and considerably advanced before the rest of the party, he came up with some of Holt's men, whom he mistook for friends as they were in military dresses, and was shot through the body and head. An engagement followed, but the murderers previously escaped to the mountains. The excesses committed by this daring marauder, and the success with which he has resisted the force sent out for his subjugation, have rendered him an object of such universal notoriety, that the following authentic particulars respecting him, may not be unacceptable to the public.

Previous to the present troubles in Ireland, Holt was a farmer of respectability, and considerable property in the neighbourhood of Roundwood, County Wicklowe. Being a man of energy, zeal, and uncommon daring, he acted as a county keeper, or in other words, thief-taker general to the counties of Wicklow, Kildare and Dublin. He possessed minute local knowledge of the mountainous tracts within that district, and so successful were his exertions against those, whose licentiousness of conduct had driven them thither for shelter from the laws, that his very name inspired terror in the hardiest and most determined among them. His sudden transition from a conservator to a violator of the public peace, is ascribed to private pique, and an ambitious spirit, to which the probability of successful rebellion offered temptations he had not sufficient principle to resist. He

is about five and thirty, of a stern and manly aspect, strong, well made, and singularly athletic; in height, five feet eleven inches; and both in manners and person, possesses all those imposing advantages calculated to lead at his will, the desperate multitude which he commands. Several thousands of troops, of admitted zeal and gallantry are now, and have been for a considerable time, employed against this rebel. Their want of success is in great measure to be imputed to the peculiar nature of the country which they have to act in; but it proves to a lamentable demonstration, that Holt and his banditti are much more formidable than has been represented.

A snake, measuring forty feet six inches in length, and twenty nine inches in circumference, was lately found in a garden near St. Anne's Barracks, Barbadoes. On being first discovered, he flew with the most determined fierceness at some persons who approached him; and it was not till several musket balls had pierced his body that he appeared to consider retreat preferable to defence. With some difficulty he fled about a hundred and fifty yards, when a rifle ball through the head dispatched him. The Royal Society are enquiring particularly into this circumstance, from the extraordinary fact that this animal is of a peculiar species, never before found in the Island of Barbadoes.

Mr. Alderman Truelock, 24th, who has laboured for several months past, under a state of mental derangement, has put

an end to his existence with a pistol, at his house at Symond's Court, near Balls bridge, Dublin. This unfortunate gentleman's prevalent symptom of insanity, was a persuasion, that his family and servants were leagued in a plot to poison him; and so strongly did this idea possess his mind, that for many days previous to the unhappy catastrophe, he could not be prevailed on, even on the advice and strenuous remonstrance of his physicians, to take any food until Friday morning last, when he took some jelly. On the evening of that day, when sitting alone with his lady, he suddenly seized a pistol, which hung over the chimney piece for the protection of his house, ever since a robbery which was committed there a short time since, aimed it at Mrs. Truelock's head, and the ball passed through the back of her neck; she ran out of the room screaming for assistance, and the Alderman immediately bolted himself in, and with a second pistol completed the dreadful business almost instantaneously. The servants broke open the door, and found that the unfortunate gentleman had effected his fatal purpose, by placing the muzzle of the pistol in his mouth, the ball passing diagonally through the occiput. The Coroner's inquest sat on the body, and returned their verdict—Lunacy.

About half past eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, when the Magistrates were engaged in the execution of their official duty, a most furious and outrageous mob assembled round the Marine Police office, and with loud shouts attacked the windows, broke the

outside shutters, threw in large stones, and did a great deal of damage. As soon as it was possible for the Magistrates and police officers to force their way to the street, the riot act was read, but before this was effected, while the mob were attempting to break into the house, the officers armed themselves and fired one or two pistols, but the mob continued to be very outrageous, nor was it possible to make the least impression on them until one of the most active of the rioters, a coal-heaver, was shot dead on the spot. In a short time after, one of the officers who was standing close to Mr. Colquhoun, and Mr. Herriot was shot in the hand, and soon after, Franks a lumper attached to the office fell mortally wounded. He lived two days, and declared that he distinctly saw the person who shot him, who was a very tall man, a coal-heaver. In this daring attack, stones of twenty pounds weight were dashed through the windows, besides brick-bats and entire bricks. Several bludgeons with looped cords attached to one end were also discharged through the windows, and were found with numerous other missile weapons in different parts of the house after the departure of the rioters, none of whom, we are sorry to say, were taken into custody, nor has it yet been ascertained upon what fancied provocation the mob acted in so outrageous a manner.

As some men were lately at work in an open field at Bagborough, near Shepton Mallet, they discovered an earthen pot containing about

one hundred broad pieces of gold of the coinage of James the First. The property has been claimed by Peter Sherston, Esq. as Lord of the Manor.

An unfortunate accident happened on the 10th of August, on board his majesty's ship, *Terpsichore*, stationed at Messina; the sentinel at the cabin door, accidentally fired a musket shot into a box of gunpowder which blew up, and wounded the Captain, first Lieutenant, Master, Doctor, and twenty seamen, four of whom are since dead: the Doctor is dreadfully wounded in both hands, but is in a fair way of recovery.

The board of Agriculture have come to a unanimous resolution that their presidency in future shall be annually elective.

Last week, John Gordon, William Thompson, Charles Lamb, and three other sailors, late belonging to the *Jason* frigate, arrived at Plymouth. They left the ship on the preceding Saturday evening, in the four oared jolly boat, and the Monday following fell in with the *Speculation* of Altona, Captain Christopher Courier, a Danish vessel, bound to Lisbon, on board which they were taken, being then about six leagues from the Start, and there remained until the morning previous to their arrival, when they again took to their boat and shaped their course towards England, and providentially reached Yalm Creek in safety, where they hauled up the jolly boat and walked to Plymouth. The *Jason* had struck on a rock near the French coast, and although she got off again, the water flowed into her so fast, that Captain Sterling,

her commander, was obliged to run her ashore on a smooth place, situate between the rock and the land, to prevent her foundering: she grounded so near the land, that the French soldiers were in possession of the vessel before these men left, and suffered them to depart, supposing they were going on shore with the rest of the crew, but so great was their horror of a French prison, that they determined to run every risque to regain their native land. The poor fellows had neither compass, water, nor provisions, and the hazard of a voyage of a hundred miles across the Western Ocean thus unprovided, in a heavy gale of wind, can be adequately conceived by those alone, who are accustomed to a nautical life. They think the French will not ever be able to get the *Jason* to sea again, but they may save the stores, and it is their opinion that the first of the English cruizers that may appear off that part of the coast, will set fire to her hulk. She lies about seven miles from Brest.

On Saturday last, a melancholy accident hapened at Upton. In the park of a gentleman who resides there, were two or three remarkably tall trees, one of which grew within five yards of the gardener's dwelling house. The wind blew so hard in the night as to root up this tree, which dreadful to relate, in its fall, broke through the house, and crushed the gardener and his wife to death, together with two young children who were sleeping with them. The tree has made, as it were, an entire passage through the house. Another child who slept in the

farther corner of the room was unhurt, and rescued from its perilous situation on the following morning.

The Emperor of Russia has published a proclamation, importing that he has examined the various acts and documents of the grand crosses, commanders, and knights of the Order of Malta, which contain a protestation against the conduct of the late Grand Master, Baron Hompesch, in delivering up the capital and island of Malta, without defence, to the French commander, and concluding a dishonourable capitulation; that he has found the allegations contained in the said acts well founded; and that he takes the illustrious Order of St. John of Jerusalem under his protection; requiring at the same time, all his Ministers at Foreign Courts, to inform such Courts that he means nothing contrary to their established rights.

Sir Henry Vane Tempest's stables at Long Newton have been broken open, and his valuable and favourite mare, Lady Sarah, most barbarously maltreated and left for dead. She was matched for five hundred guineas next Doncaster meeting, against a mare of Mr. Burdon's of Stanton Vale. Several horses of considerable value and deeply engaged, were in the stable, whom the miscreants must have passed in going to the place where the Lady Sarah stood. From the marks about her head and neck, it is evident that they attempted to strangle her with a cord, and probably supposed they had completed their purpose. Sir Henry has offered a reward of

one hundred guineas, for the discovery of the perpetrators.

Towards the end of last August, Mr. Briggs, the secretary to Admiral Harvey, was killed in a duel with lieutenant Truscott, in the island of Martinique. The difference originated in some trifling dispute, when both parties were rather elevated with wine, and as neither could be induced to apologize, they met on the following morning behind the Navy Hospital in Fort Royal, when the ball from Mr. Truscott's third pistol went through Mr. Briggs's heart, and caused his instant death. Mr. Truscott is the son of the Admiral of that name.

The Dublin Papers state 26th. that after General Craig had read to the General Court Martial the letter from the Lord Lieutenant which commands their immediate dissolution, on account of the acquittal of Hugh Whollaghan for murder, Lord Enniskillen the President, desired to know of General Craig, whether he, and the other members of the Court Martial, might with propriety, write to his Excellency, to justify themselves, and explain the private reasons of their conduct. General Craig replied that although as a Court, they now no longer existed, he did not see that anything could prevent his lordship, and the members of the late Court Martial, from communicating with his Excellency as private gentlemen. His lordship then observed, that he wished all the world might know his reasons, he had no objection to their being printed; he knew there were some persons who attended

the court and took notes privately; and attributed the misconceptions which had gone abroad to their publication of the proceedings of the Court. General Craig said it was very right, that all who thought proper should take notes of the proceedings there. It was an open Court, and there was no reason why there should be any privacy connected with it. At all events, the friends of the prisoners could not be denied the privilege of taking down for their own information whatever they thought necessary, in a case in which they were so materially concerned as a public trial of their friend or relative. He then said he had no objection to the clerk of the Court giving his lordship and the gentlemen a copy of the letter, which it had been his painful duty to read, if they wished it. This was accordingly done, and afterwards the Court separated.

31st. A most dreadful hurricane took place in the County of Tipperary, which extended its ravages for above twenty miles round, partial in its extent, but dreadful in its consequences. At Mooreo Ford, the seat of E. Moore, Esq. it blew down the chimneys, which falling on the roof of the house carried it in, and the family who were sitting in a room adjoining, had a most narrow escape, and only saved themselves by leaping from the windows on to the turf stacks in the yard. With such fury did it rage, that it tore up above three hundred fine trees in the domain of the Honourable Mr. Massey; and for miles round, large quantities of timber were, by the dreadful violence of the

hurricane, carried with rapidity through the air: the mischief done to the dwellings and property of the poor is great, and very lamentable.

Yesterday morning, Wooley Mill, near Torrington, having been recently erected, was set to work for the first time. In about an hour one of the mill-stones split into two parts, and was hurled off with so much force, as to strike a young man from the place on which he was standing, to the distance of five and twenty feet, where he was found dreadfully disfigured, and quite dead. A woman standing in the way of the body thus thrown, received so violent a shock from it, as to break her arm in a shocking manner; and the miller received a blow from one piece of the stone which fractured his leg and thigh.

DIED.—On the 4th. At Dysart in Ireland, aged 102, the Reverend Bellingham Swan. He was curate to the celebrated Dean Swift.

Suddenly in his stall, in the Borough,—Leeds, a cobbler, aged 89, a melancholy example of the vicissitudes of human life. He was formerly an officer in the army, but sold his commission and turned tea-dealer. He afterwards quitted this business, and accepted a commission in the Russian service; but having the misfortune to kill a brother officer in a duel, he fled to England, where, being reduced to want, he hired himself as book-keeper to an eminent Woollen Draper, in which situation he remained five years, when his employer dying, he set up a chandler's shop in which he failed; and after encountering

many changes and chances with much difficulty and distress, being reduced to the greatest poverty, at length turned cobbler, which trade he followed till his death.

At Vienna, of a complaint in his bowels, after a few days illness, the Abbé Joseph Hilarius Eckhel, Director of the Imperial Cabinet of Medals, and Professor of Antiquities in the University of Vienna. He was born at Enzesfeld, in Austria, January 13th, 1737. His learned friend, the Abbé Michael Denis, first keeper of the Imperial Library, has written the following lines on his death;

In obitum Josephi Eckhelii *re νομο-
ματο φυλακος. Palat.*

* * * * *

Eckhelium brevis hora tulit: sed Diva
Moneta Scripta viri secum vivere
sæcla jubet.

By his death, numismatic science will sustain a great loss. His capital work is intitled, "*Doctrina nummorum veterum*," in four parts. Vienna, 1792—1794, 4to; to the first of which are prefixed, General Prologomena. In 1786, he published a specimen of this work, intitled, "*Descriptio Nummorum Antinchiæ Syriæ*;" also, "*Sylloge Nummorum veterum anecdotum Thesauri Cæsarei*. Vien. 1786." 4to.

At his house at Pinner, aged 98, John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq. almost the only survivor of that ever memorable and fatal catastrophe in the Black-hole Prison at Calcutta, and writer of the affecting narrative of that night of horrors. Mr. Burdett, who resides near Southampton, and Mr. Mills,

now resident on the Hampstead road, are now the only survivors of the three and twenty who were found alive in the morning; one-hundred and forty-six having been imprisoned in the dreadful dungeon on the preceding night. Mr. Holwell's preservation may be entirely attributed to the uncommon humanity of Mr. Mills above-mentioned, who resigned his situation near the window to him when he was nearly expiring. This magnanimous act, however, had nearly cost the life of its performer, who was found in a state of insensibility when the prison was opened.

In Edmonton Workhouse, aged 100, Martha Gillet. She was a native of Caithness in Scotland, and was much esteemed and respected by every one who knew her.

In the house of James Calder, farmer, near Campsie in Scotland, aged rather more than 101 years, John Evans. He had passed the greater part of his life in the army, and was in the action of Dettingen, &c. under the Earl of Stair. He was generally beloved, and was buried in a respectable manner at the expence of his Master, Mr. Calder.

In Westminster, aged 108. Mrs. Catherine Agar.

NOVEMBER.

The accounts of the Fes- 1st.
ter, from Philadelphia, New London, and New York, continue to be most distressing. The first victims to it in New London, were Captain Elijah Bingham and his three children;

since which the deaths have been gradually increasing to sixteen a day. Colonel John Moylan, died deeply regretted at Philadelphia, on the 17th ultimo. The deaths in that city, are averaged at about 30 adults, and 12 children, in four and twenty hours, and in New York the numbers are nearly the same. The nephew of the late Dr. Franklin, and Editor of the *Aurora*, was among the last returns; and a passenger in a vessel recently arrived from Philadelphia, states, that there has been a suspension of the printing of all newspapers both in New York and that city, and that there was nearly a total stagnation, of all trade and public business.

The proceedings of the Court Martial, which sat at Clonmell, for the trial of Lieutenant Bowen, of the North Cork Militia, (who was charged by Colonel Lord Kingsborough, with having deserted his post at Wexford,) have been approved of by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. The Court found the prisoner guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and sentenced him to be dismissed His Majesty's service. The Lord Lieutenant has also approved of the proceedings of the Court Martial, held at Cork, for the trial of Colonel Lord Kingsborough, on several charges brought against him by Lieutenant Bowen. The Court, after finding his Lordship not guilty, and most honourably acquitting him of each and every one of the charges upon which he was tried, concludes his sentence by saying, that "upon this case they cannot avoid stating, that the prosecution appears to them to be the most malicious,

frivolous, vexatious, and groundless, that ever occupied the attention of a Court of Honour and Justice."

Some time ago, Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick's watch 5th. was stolen, on board a convict ship in Langston Harbour, which he has since recovered in the following extraordinary manner:— On hearing of the theft, the convicts, to whom Sir Jerome had rendered many kindnesses, formed among themselves a board of honour, from which they elected a grand jury to receive the bill of indictment against the accused person, whom they were determined, if a true bill was found, to proceed to try upon a certain day, in case the watch was not previously returned. They also declared, that if he was found guilty, they would inflict the most summary and exemplary punishment upon the culprit. This had the desired effect; and on the day before this grand jury of convicts were to sit, the watch was handed to the officer of the military guard.

A Royal Tiger of enormous size made his appearance in June last, about four miles from the confines of the Black Town at Bombay. A large party of the natives, armed with swords, spears, and muskets, went in pursuit of, and shortly came up with him. The ferocious animal, nothing alarmed by their numbers or their weapons, allowed them to approach within a few toises, waiting with the most majestic composure until they came within his reach, when he sprang among them, killed two on the spot, and mortally wounded five others;

after which he retired in perfect leisure, no one daring to follow or molest him.

On the first instant, three private soldiers of the Worcestershire Militia, quartered in a house, between Mullingar and Port Lemon, in Ireland, were murdered in their beds, with shocking aggravations of wanton cruelty, by an armed gang of rebels: a party of the neighbouring yeomanry hastily assembled, and pursued the murderers nearly fifteen miles into the King's County, where, unfortunately, they could only overtake four of the villains, who made a desperate resistance; two were killed on the spot, and the remaining were brought wounded into Mullingar.

Sunday being the Anniversary of the birth of William the Third, of glorious memory, was kept with great rejoicings in Dublin. In the morning, the flag was displayed on Bedford Tower; at noon, there was a splendid appearance of nobility and other persons of distinction at the castle, to compliment his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; after which his Excellency, attended by the nobility and gentry, and escorted by a squadron of horse, went in procession round the statue of King William. On his Excellency's return to the castle, the great guns at the Salute Battery, in his Majesty's Park the Phoenix, were fired three rounds, and answered by volleys from the regiments in garrison, which were drawn up on College Green; and at night there were bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy.

On the 2nd instant, at the Commission, Dublin, John Clennon

and Sarah Anderson, were put to the bar, charged with the murder of Mr. James Marnock, late of Paradise-row, Dublin. (See page 86 of the Chronicle.)

Some of the neighbours of the deceased proved their having found him murdered by his bedside, with the back of his skull cloven. From the subsequent evidence, it appeared that the prisoners had absconded from the house of the deceased, after rifling it of every portable article of value, packing the greater part of the plunder in boxes which they found in the house, and which they conveyed to the Grand Canal Harbour, whence they proceeded with them down the Canal to Monasteraven; thither they were traced by Mr. Marnock, son to the deceased, and were arrested by Mr. Haydon, one of the Mountmellick Yeomanry, who found in their possession several articles, the property of the deceased, and on being charged with the murder they confessed it. They were identified by a man at whose house they lay the night after the murder, as husband and wife; and by a Pawnbroker, to whom they pledged some plate belonging to the late Mr. Marnock: a carpenter also proved his having mended a box for them, which was ascertained to have belonged to the deceased. Indeed in the midst of the trial, the wretched woman declared aloud the guilt of her barbarous accomplice, but denied having known of any intention to murder; and that the first intimation she had of the infernal deed was at the moment of its perpetration, when she heard the blow given, and the only

and last cry of her poor old Master. She then went up stairs, and saw the deceased stretched on the floor at the side of the bed, and the prisoner standing over him with a hatchet in his hand, with which he had given the blow ; and he threatened the like fate to herself, if she said a word, or refused to participate in the robbery, and accompany him in his flight ; all which these threats induced her to do. She also said that Glen-non wanted her to turn approver, and accuse some innocent person, which she refused to do. The Jury, after a solemn charge from the bench, without any hesitation found the prisoners guilty, and the Court immediately passed sentence on them, and ordered their bodies to be delivered for dissection after execution. These abandoned wretches displayed an instructive lesson by their conduct in the dock, each accusing the other as the cause of their premature and ignominious fate ; and by their indecent recriminations shewing guilt in its most deformed and disgusting features : they were executed on the following day.

7th. The Bankruptcy cause of Mr. Bowes, came on to be argued in the Court of Chancery, in consequence of his having presented a petition, the prayer of which was, that a commission of bankruptcy lately issued against him might be superseded, at the expence of Mr. Francis Peacock, the petitioning creditor, who was formerly the agent of Mr. Bowes. The doubt on which the present application was founded, it appeared, had existed for upwards of eleven years ; no legal act of

bankruptcy had been proved, and no satisfactory evidence had been given of Mr. Bowes being a trader. The only proof of his being a trader, was stated in the deposition to be this, " That Mr. Bowes was interested in four collieries ; that he was part owner of a ship, which he had freighted, and therefore sought to get his livelihood as other ship-owners usually do."—After the whole of the case had been heard, the Lord Chancellor was clearly of opinion, that Mr. Bowes ought to be considered merely as a part owner of a ship, and that he was not a trader within the meaning of the bankrupt laws. His lordship also thought that his petitioning creditor's debt, and the alleged act of bankruptcy were defective, and did not warrant the suing a commission. Upon these several grounds his lordship ordered the commission to be superseded, at the expence of the petitioning creditor.

Holt, the notorious rebel chief, who has kept the counties of Wicklow and Wexford so long in a state of disturbance, has been at length taken into custody.

The last week has been one of tremendous weather on the western coasts. At Whitehaven, a smack bound from Liverpool to Ireland, laden with coals, intending to shelter in the harbour, came on about half ebb tide, and grounded on the bank lying off the outermost Pier, called the New Quay. A hawser was immediately procured, and although the surf was running prodigiously high, a boat was hauled down, when Captain Francis Hutchinson of the *Ceres*, and Captain J. Rookim, of the

Minerva, with two seamen, jumped into it, and pushed off with the hawser. Fortunately by these means, and the assistance rendered by the persons on the pier, the vessel was hauled in safety within the New Quay, not having received much damage. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the persons concerned on this occasion; and particularly on the two captains and seamen, who so gallantly hazarded their lives to protect the persons and property of strangers from imminent danger.

On the 8th instant, Theodore Wolfe Tone, was conveyed prisoner, from Derry to Dublin, under a strong escort of Cavalry, and taken to the Castle for examination, from whence he was shortly after transmitted to the Provost Marshalsea, at the Barracks. When first brought to the prison, and about to be ironed, he remonstrated against such an indignity, towards a staff-officer, bearing a French commission, and a naturalized subject of the French Republic; and he obtained time to write a letter of remonstrance to Lord Cavan, commanding officer in the district, upon the subject; but received for answer, that he could be considered in no other light than as a rebel, taken in arms against his king and country, and leading a hostile force to the invasion of his native land, and therefore he must expect suitable treatment. On the 10th, the Court Martial met for his trial: it was composed of the following persons: General Loftus, President, Colonel Vandeleur, Colonel Daly, Major Armstrong, Colonel Wolfe, Colonel Titler, and Captain Corry.

The unfortunate man displayed the greatest fortitude and collection of mind during the whole of the proceedings. He pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him, and appeared to glory in the cause in which he had embarked, which he called, "The same in which Washington had succeeded, and in which Kosciusko had failed." Holding a commission in the French service, he prayed the Court to sentence him to be shot, enforcing his request by relating the conduct of the French towards those natives of France, who were sent by the English to aid the rebellion in La Vendée, and were taken in arms. This request was denied him, and he was sentenced "to be hanged by the neck till he was dead; and that his head should be cut off and stuck up in some conspicuous part of the city." As soon as he was made acquainted with his sentence, he sunk into a state of despondence which shook all the apparent fortitude which he had displayed on his trial; and on the night preceding the day appointed for his execution, he found means to cut his throat. The next morning, Mr. Curran applied to the Court of King's Bench for a habeas-corpus, to bring up the body of Mr. Tone, upon this ground. "That Courts-Martial had no jurisdiction upon subjects not in the military service of his Majesty, during the sitting of the Court of King's Bench." The Chief Justice ordered a writ to be made out immediately; but Mr. Tone was not in a condition to be moved. The military in whose custody the prisoner was, obeyed the order of the Court of King's

Bench, and suspended the execution. He died in consequence of the wound in his throat, on the 19th instant; and his body was on the 20th delivered to his friends to be buried. Tone was about four and thirty; his father was a coach-maker in Dublin, and gave his son a good classical education, and his literary and conversational talents were such, that his society was courted by men of a rank very superior to his own. Having been bred to the law, he was called to the bar in 1789, but not succeeding in the profession, he became a political writer, and an ardent advocate of the principles of the French revolution. Tone was the first suggester and organizer of the Society called United Irishmen; and after a time, some circumstances occurring which rendered it expedient for him to quit the country, he retreated to France, and was taken in the act of returning with the French Squadron, (in which he bore a commission), for the avowed purpose of invading Ireland. The grandfather of Mr. Tone was an old and confidential servant of the present Lord Kilwarden, and he was named Theodore Wolfe, after the celebrated lawyer of that name, who stood sponsor for him at his baptism.

13th. This day, a grand match of ploughing against time, was performed in Windsor Great Park, between the oxen belonging to his Majesty, and those of Lord Somerville, which his lordship had brought with his plough from Somersetshire. Half an acre of ground being measured, Lord Somerville's oxen (four in number) started first, and performed

it in an hour and twenty minutes. The machine went over two furrows at a time. His Majesty's oxen were then put to the plough, (six in number) but they lost the match by forty minutes.—The Duke of Clarence, Prince Ernest, Lord Walsingham, Generals Harcourt and de Budie, with a number of gentlemen farmers round the country were spectators. Lord Somerville's oxen were sent off for Sussex to plough another match against time.

This morning, a well-dressed man, who had 14th. slept at the White Hart Inn, Southampton, the preceding night, asked the chambermaid for a glass of water with which he retired into his bed-room; and some time elapsing without his ordering breakfast, a message was sent to him, when he was discovered shot through the head, and lying dead upon the floor. So closely had he applied the pistol to his temple, that no report was heard in the house. A small hole was made in the temple, whence a great effusion of blood ensued.

Friday, the new Lord Mayor, accompanied by the late Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Recorder, and Sheriffs, in their scarlet gowns, went in their coaches to the water side, the sword and mace being carried before them, and the city officers attending; and from thence proceeded in the City Barge, adorned with streamers and pendants, to Westminster; and having walked round the hall, and solemnly saluted all the courts, they went to the Exchequer Bar, and the new Lord Mayor did there take the oaths appointed; and having recorded warrants of

attorney in the proper Courts, returned by water to Blackfriars, and from thence in coaches, with the usual solemnity to Guildhall, where a magnificent entertainment was provided; at which were present several of the Foreign Ministers, the great officers of state, divers of the nobility, Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, the Judges, and many others of quality and distinction.

Letter of General Kosciusko to the Emperor Paul I. of Russia.

"I profit by the first moments of the liberty I enjoy, under the protecting laws of the greatest and most generous nation, to return you the presents that your apparent bounty, and the atrocity of your ministers forced me to accept. If I do wrong, Sire, attribute it only to the irresistible force of the attachment which I bear to my compatriots, companions in misfortunes, and the hopes of yet serving my country. Yes, I repeat it, Sire, and I am desirous of making to you the declaration; your heart appeared to me to be touched at my disastrous situation; but your ministers and their satellites, have not conducted themselves towards me according to your wishes. Should they attempt to impute to my free will, a measure they compelled me to take, I will develope to you, and to all men who know the value of honour, their violence and perfidy; and that it will be to them only you will owe the publication of their crimes. Receive, Sire, the testimonies of my respect.

(Signed,) KOSCIUSKO.

Paris, 17. Thermidor.

Her Royal Highness the 19th. Duchess of York, has just performed an action of great generosity. Hearing of the difficulty with which some poor housekeepers discharged the various taxes to which they have been subjected, her Royal Highness caused it to be made known, that she would willingly pay the assessed taxes of every indigent person in the parish in which she resides in the country, on application being made to her, or a person who has been appointed by her for that purpose. Three hundred pounds has been placed by the Duchess in the hands of this agent, to carry into effect her truly kind and charitable intentions, two hundred and fifty of which have been already paid to various distressed applicants.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr. 28th. Dennis, a hair-dresser, in Church-lane, St. Martin's, put a period to his existence by shooting himself through the head with a loaded pistol; the unhappy man was married last Wednesday, and his wife, who was to have come home this week, on hearing a rumour of this sad event, hastened to the house, where she has continued in strong convulsions ever since, and it is feared either her life or intellects will be sacrificed. No cause can be assigned for this rash action. He had sent for a tobacco-pipe from a public-house, in which he cast the bullets; the ball forced off the upper part of the skull; a broken ramrod belonging to another pistol found in a drawer, was lying near the place where he fell.

The ravages of the yellow fever in America continue to be of

the most dreadful description. At Philadelphia, seventy and eighty deaths are reported on an average in twenty-four hours; and in one instance, the report of the health-committee stated one hundred and eighteen to have died in that space of time. The last details, however, were not quite of so melancholy a complexion. On the 15th ult. the deaths in that city were but twenty-seven, and the new cases forty-eight. At New York, on the 17th ult. the deaths were twenty-nine, but most of the citizens who had returned to the sickly part of the town, had taken the infection. At Boston, by the 23d. the fever had entirely disappeared, and the citizens had for the most part returned to their former dwellings.

The following important declaration has been unanimously subscribed to at a very numerous meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of the metropolis, held at the Mansion-house; the Lord Mayor in the chair.

1. "That the principle of finance resorted to in the late session of parliament, namely, that of raising within the year a considerable portion of the sum necessary for the public service, had contributed in an eminent degree, to the improvement of public credit, and the advantage of the community.

2. That the meeting was nevertheless of opinion, that the criterion there assumed as the basis of that extraordinary supply, had been found unequal in its operation, inasmuch as it had failed to call forth a due ratio of contribution from many descriptions of persons.

3. That impressed with full confidence that the resources of

these kingdoms are adequate to the maintenance of the national honour and independence, the meeting think it proper to declare their readiness, to give their utmost support to such measures as the legislature may deem best calculated to call forth those resources in a more equal and effectual manner, trusting that its wisdom will devise such expedients for that purpose, as combined with our late glorious victories, may afford the means of farther spirited resistance to the power and pretensions of the enemy, and secure not only the blessings which we now enjoy, but also that ultimate object of all our exertions, a safe and honourable peace."

Last week, was exhibited a scene of distress fortunately very rare in the harbour of Dublin. A tremendous gale of wind had blown at s. e. incessantly for three days, but on the night of the 21st inst. it increased to a most dreadful tempest: two large merchantmen were driven from their anchors in Poolberg, and stranded on the Clontarf shore; two others ran upon the North Bull, when one of them oversetting, fourteen of her crew attempted to make their escape in the boat, but were all drowned in the surf. The *Active*, Lee, from Liverpool to Dublin, was driven close under Lord Clare's house, at the Black Rock. A Welch sloop foundered at her moorings in the Liffey, near the new docks; and the *Kangaroo*, sloop, of war, which lay in the bay, was driven from her anchors over the bar, through Poolberg, and up the river Liffey, as far as the Marine School, where she was at last happily brought up, with

the loss of her guns, which she had been obliged to throw overboard. Several boats and small craft were sunk during the tempest, and many lives have been lost.

On the twenty-first instant, the barracks of the Clare militia, at the west end of the town of Maryborough, the capital of Queen's-county, Ireland, by some accident caught fire, which extended with infinite rapidity towards the magazine, in which were deposited fourteen barrels of gunpowder. By the exertions of the officers and men, eleven of them were removed, but the flames communicating with the three remaining in the barracks, occasioned an explosion which blew up part of the building and several persons; four of whom were killed on the spot, and above twenty others lost their legs or arms, or were otherwise desperately wounded. Had the barracks been more centrally situated, the consequences of this accident might have been still more fatal and destructive.

A dreadful accident occurred on the 4th inst. on board the Northumberland man of war, stationed off Gibraltar. By some unaccountable negligence, a fire broke out on the lower deck, and in a few minutes an explosion took place, which blew up sixteen of her men and officers, all of whom are dead except one sailor. Among the sufferers are Mr. Bell, the gunner, and one of the lieutenants.

29th. The following is a narrative of the loss of his Majesty's hired tender the Margaret, Lieutenant John Pollexfen, commander, who was sent by

Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, with important dispatches for the squadron under the command of Capt. Home, of the *Cæsar*, conveyed in a letter received by the Admiral from a gentleman residing near Dunsanaghy, acquainting him with this melancholy event;

"I feel much concern at being obliged to inform you of the loss of the *Margaret*, tender, with all her crew, on this coast, in the late violent storm. On Saturday night last, in a dreadful gale of wind at N. W. about nine o'clock a gun was heard, supposed to be from some vessel in distress, and soon after a brig was driven upon a ridge that runs out from the mainland to the island of Enhisboffin, and almost instantly went to pieces, the place being the most dangerous that can well be imagined for a vessel to touch upon even in good weather. The wreck was so complete that when I got to the shore, the next morning, the stern was lying at a considerable distance from the rest of the ship, and the whole altogether broken into different parts. From a piece of paper found on the shore it can alone be known what the vessel was. This paper mentions the *Margaret* tender, John Pollexfen, lieutenant and commander; Colin Ross, master and commander. It seems to be a return of the men on board. The bodies of nine men and one woman have been driven on shore and buried here. Scarce any thing from the wreck has been saved."

The new church of St. Martin Outwich, has been consecrated by the Bishop of London, before a crowded and respectable congregation. After divine service, the

Rev. John Rose, the rector, in a very pathetic and forcible discourse appropriate to the occasion, took a review of the declining state of religion in a neighbouring country, and the frequent attempts of false philosophy to triumph over Revelation in this kingdom; and concluded with a most impressive exhortation to his parishioners, to give a constant attendance in the place which the Lord had that day made holy. This church, newly erected on the site of the old one, is a very beautiful structure, where, to use the language of Mr. Rose, "an elegant simplicity harmonizes the mind without attracting the fancy."

Robert Ladbroke Troyt, the attorney's clerk, found guilty of forgery on the bank of Messrs. Devaynes and Co. was executed last week pursuant to his sentence at the Old Bailey. He behaved with great decency and propriety. At the same time Dennis Nugent suffered for a rape, and a woman for coining. Nugent denied his guilt to the last moment, even after the cap was drawn over his eyes, and called aloud to the spectators to bear witness to his asseverations of his innocence.

Yesterday, being the day appointed for a general thanksgiving for the successes obtained by his Majesty's arms at sea, and in particular for the late victory of Adm. Lord Nelson over the French fleet, it was duly observed throughout the metropolis. The shops were for the most part shut up; and the whole volunteer corps of London and Westminster attended divine service at their respective parish churches. The flags on St. Martin's Church and Westminster

Abbey, were displayed, and the bells rang in the morning and at noon on the occasion. Their Majesties, and the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, and Sophia, at twelve o'clock, went to the Chapel-Royal, St. James's, where they heard a sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Fisher, canon of Windsor.

A most unprovoked, and at present unaccountable murder, was committed at Sheerness on Wednesday night last, at eleven o'clock. Captain Brown, of the Kite sloop of war, having been accustomed to sleep occasionally at the house of an inhabitant of that town when circumstances obliged him to remain all night on shore, went thither as usual, and knocked for admittance. The man opened the door, but refused to let him in, and while Capt. B. with another officer who was with him, were parleying and remonstrating, in consequence of this unexpected refusal, the villain fired a pistol at Captain Brown, the contents of which entered his side just below the ribs, and lodged in his body. He expired in a few minutes. The murderer escaped in the horror and confusion of the moment, but was taken about two hours after, while attempting to cross the ferry.

Mr. Matthew Lyon, a member of the American Congress, has been tried and found guilty of seditious practices at Vermont. The sentence pronounced against him was, that he be imprisoned four months, pay costs, and a fine of one thousand dollars, and stand committed until judgment shall be complied with. The indictment contained three counts: the first of which charged him with writ-

ing a letter to Mr. Spooner, printer of the Windsor paper, published on the 31st of July last, containing artful and indirect accusations of the President of the United States, importing corruption in his appointment of men to office, displacing and rejecting men of age, experience, wisdom, and independency of sentiment, and preferring "men of meanness and ignorance;" and insinuating, that he is devoted to a fondness for ridiculous pomp, idle parade, and selfish avarice. The second and third counts were for uttering publishing, and printing, of certain parts of a letter, said to be from an American diplomatic character in France, commonly called the Barlow Letter, abusing, in the most virulent manner, the President and Senate of the United States; and particularly for their conduct towards France.

The king has been graciously pleased to give a grant unto the Right Hon. Horatio Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and K. B. in consideration of the great zeal, courage, and perseverance, manifested by him upon divers occasions, and particularly of his able and gallant conduct in the glorious and decisive victory obtained over the French fleet near the mouth of the Nile, on the 1st day of August last, his royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may bear the following honourable augmentations to their armorial bearings, viz. *a chief undulated argent, thereon waves of the sea, from which a palm-tree issuant be-*

tween a disabled ship on the dexter, and a ruinous battery on the sinister, all proper; and for his crest, *on a naval crown or, the chelengk or plume of triumph,* presented to him by the Grand Signior, as a mark of his high esteem, and of his sense of the gallant conduct of the said Horatio Baron Nelson, in the said glorious and decisive victory; with the motto, "*Palmas qui meruit ferati,*" and to his supporters, being a sailor on the dexter, and a lion on the sinister, the honourable augmentations following, viz. *In the hand of the sailor, a palm-branch, and another in the paw of the lion, both proper, with the addition of a tri-coloured flag and staff in the mouth of the latter;* which augmentations to the supporters to be borne by the said Horatio Baron Nelson, and by those to whom the said dignity shall descend in virtue of his Majesty's letters patent of creation; and that the same may be duly exemplified according to the law of arms, and recorded in the herald's office. And also to order, that his Majesty's said concession, and especial marks of his royal favour, be registered in his College of Arms.

One Bunbridge, a young man residing at Dartmouth, in America, who had for some time past appeared to be strongly attached to Miss Russell, of the same place, went to her father's house about nine o'clock on the evening of the 29th inst. and entering the room where the family were sitting, expressed a wish to speak to Miss Russell, which her mother refused, and declared her displeasure at his attentions to her daughter. This the villain probably expected,

for having provided himself with a long butcher's knife, he turned to the unfortunate girl, and buried it with such savage violence in her bosom, that she almost instantly expired. The wretch then stabbed himself in two places, but his wounds are not mortal, and he was immediately taken into custody.

A few days ago, as Mr. Ledwith, of Grangebeg, near Castle-town Delvin, Ireland, with some gentlemen of the Delvin cavalry, was in pursuit of some ruffians, whose depredations had disturbed the neighbourhood, he entered rather rashly into a house wherein some of them had taken refuge, when one turned about and shot him through the body, so that instant death was the consequence. Two of the ruffians were made prisoners. Mr. Ledwith was an active magistrate and a most worthy man, and is deservedly regretted by his numerous friends and relatives.

DIED.—On the 3d inst. at Hop-ton Waters, Shropshire, in his 106th year, and to the last moment, in the full use of every faculty, the venerable William Hyde. When he attended Worcester races in the year 1797, and the 105th of his life, the following account of him appeared in the Worcester Herald. "In his cottage on the side of the Clee-hills, he has passed his long and peaceful life. The same parish which gave him birth has, with very few exceptions, been his bourne. Once, indeed, after the age of seventy, he travelled into Wiltshire to see his sons, and walked the first day of his journey, from his house to Newport, in Gloucestershire, a distance of nearly fifty miles.

With a mind neither debauched nor distracted by vicious and violent passions, he has calmly glided down this long stream of life, sixty-eight years of which have been passed in wedlock with the same wife."

In her 107th year, at her grandson's house at Pen- 16th. tonville, Mrs. Susannah Reynolds, relict of the late Wm. Reynolds, deputy of Vintry Ward, and mother of the late Edward Reynolds, Esq. clerk of the worshipful company of the Goldsmiths. She retained all her faculties to the hour of her death.

At Marbury, whither she had retired during the troubles of war, the Princess Sophia-Charlotte, reigning Princess of Solms-Lich. She was daughter of Alexander Emilius Bourgrave, of Donna-Wurtemberg; and married to Charles Christian, Prince of Solms-Lich, in 1759.

DECEMBER.

1st. Holt, the rebel leader, is a close prisoner in the Castle of Dublin; the death of his colleague and fellow-plunderer, Hackett, who was killed by Capt. Atkinson, of the Alklow yeomanry, in defence of his house and property, and the captivity of Holt, has restored tranquillity to that part of the country. The body of Hackett was suspended from a tree at the entrance of Arklow for several days.

A coach driver, at near twelve o'clock on Monday night, drove his vehicle into the river at Manchester, near the old bridge, for the common but imprudent purpose of washing, when there being a high tide and the current strong,

the horses were soon driven into the centre of the stream, forced under one of the arches, and in that state they swam with the man on the box, through Blackfriars Bridge, fighting and struggling for their lives, till one in the morning. The poor fellow in his endeavours to extricate himself from his perilous situation, had entangled his legs in the reins, but from them he freed himself with a knife, and fortunately, coming nearly in contact with a dyer's flat, he, by an astonishing effort, jumped from the box upon it, and lay there several minutes in a state of insensibility. The horses after swimming about the river for some time, followed their master to the flat, and attempted to raise their fore-feet upon it; the poor man with the little strength he had left, held up the head of one of the creatures till, with a convulsive groan it expired in his arms. From the active assistance of several persons who had been attracted by the cries of the coachman, they had so far succeeded in rescuing the other horse as to extricate him from the reins, and had got him nearly half way up Mrs. Duxbury's steps, when, owing to the tempestuousness of the night, he slipped from their hold and again plunged into the river, and nothing more was seen of him. Happy would it have been had the calamity ended here! Curiosity, early on the morning following, drew together crowds of people to see the bodies of the horses floating: among others a group of nine or ten women and children, very incautiously got together on a dyer's stage, hanging over the river, near

the New Bridge, when, shocking to relate, the bottom of the stage gave way, and they were all in an instant precipitated into the river. Three only were recovered before life was extinct, the strength of the current rendered every endeavour to save the others ineffectual, and they were all swept away! The following are the names of the unfortunate sufferers; Martha Rhodes, Anna Reed, Jane Holiday, Ellen Neild, Sarah Petty (the two latter Mrs. Duxbury's servants) and Richard Boardman, together with a woman with an infant, name unknown: a boy who was saved was fetched out by a dyer's dog. The sagacious animal returned for a woman, but alas! too late.

The reports of the yellow fever from Philadelphia up to the beginning of November, are as follow. October 27th, for the last twenty-four hours, ending that day at noon 23 had died

October 29....47 —

— 30....17 —

— 31....15 —

Nov. 1....20 —

On the second of November there were no reports.

By accounts from New York it appears that the deaths were as follows:

October 25.... 7 had died

— 26....13 —

— 29.... 9 —

These accounts evidently shew that the extreme virulence of the disorder has nearly exhausted itself, and we are happy to state, that since the reception of the above account, advices have been received from Philadelphia stating that this terrible scourge has at length yielded to a succession of

frosty weather, and the committee of health had invited the inhabitants to return to their homes, under an assurance of perfect safety, with proper precautions of cleaning and airing their houses, bedding, and cloaths. The coldness of the season has worked the same happy change in New York, Boston, New London, and Wilmington, where the same species of disease has been raging, and proved infinitely more malignant than the former disorders with which those places have been visited.

3d. This evening, a violent storm, with thunder and lightning, in the neighbourhood of Chertsey, produced the following melancholy catastrophe. As two women, whose husbands are employed in the iron-mills at Weybridge, were returning to Chertsey to their homes, they were blown by the violence of the wind into the Guildford river, at Weybridge-lock, and both drowned. Two of their children were following at a little distance behind them, who, on seeing what had happened, ran and alarmed the neighbourhood. The bodies were afterwards found, but all attempts at resuscitation proved useless. The fate of these poor women, and the situation of their husbands and surviving families, have excited general commiseration. They had each a sucking infant at home, and have left between them fourteen motherless children. A subscription has been opened in the neighbourhood which is liberally filling, and to which the Duke and Duchess of York have, with their wonted liberality contributed most handsomely.

Yesterday an eagle was shot by a labourer in a garden at Horsham. The royal bird was on the wing beset by upwards of a hundred rooks, whose noise attracted the notice of the man who shot him, while at a considerable distance, and gave him time to procure a loaded gun. The wings of this eagle measure, when extended, seven feet three inches from point to point. He is yet alive, having been only slightly wounded in one of his pinions.

L'Aigle, of 38 guns, lately lost in the Mediterranean, was going at the rate of thirteen knots an hour, when she struck upon a rock on the coast of Barbary. The violence of the shock threw several of the officers and others from their beds, and carried all the masts by the board. The night was extremely dark; the sea which was high and increasing, poured in, in all directions, upon our people, who, though for some time without the least prospect of deliverance, yet, to a man, providentially reached the shore by means of spars, casks, &c. &c. As soon as the dawn broke, Capt. Tyler perceived that the ship, although completely a wreck, had not gone to pieces; he, therefore, to prevent her being of any use to the enemy, burned her to the water's edge; at which the Bey, who shortly after sent for the officers and crew, expressed much displeasure, saying the wreck was his property, but an assurance from Capt. Tyler, that he acted in conformity with the orders he had received from his own government, and an acquiescence in the desire of the Bey to give him

such things as might be recovered from the wreck, perfectly satisfied him. His people, however, took a liking to all the watches and other articles, our poor fellows possessed, and by requests, pretty nearly equal in effect to commands, stripped them of every thing they could by any means give away.

7th. The dispute between the Senate of Hamburgh and the British resident *Chargé D'Affaires* in that city is not yet terminated, as the English Cabinet have sent over instructions to their agents to insist on their detaining Napper Tandy, Blackwell, and the other Irishmen in the military service of France, lately arrested at that place. Blackwell is said to be an officer in high repute, who has served several campaigns on the Rhine. The following are the particulars of their capture:

The vessel which Tandy and his companions had been in, off the coast of Ireland, was driven by a storm on the coast of Norway, from whence, apprehensive that in navigating the North Sea they should fall in with some English cruiser, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their object and their route was received at Hamburgh shortly after they had arrived there (on the 22d of November). They were traced to the inn bearing the sign of the arms of America; Sir James Craufurd, the British Minister, immediately waited on the chief magistrate to request a warrant to arrest those persons, as subjects of Ireland in rebellion against their sovereign, but could not obtain it: not discouraged, however, he applied again three times, and at length obtained an

order to the police, to the required effect. On the 24th, soon after four in the morning, Sir James led the officers of the police, attended by a guard, to the American arms, which he completely invested, waiting till the doors were open between five and six, when he entered with his escort which occupied every passage. The master of the house was then called, who, upon being asked for the strangers by their travelling names, shewed their several apartments. Early as it was, Napper Tandy was found writing; the officer who entered the room demanded his passport, which he, with much confidence, said he would produce, and going to his trunk, took out a pistol, which presenting at the officer, he said, "This is my passport." The officer, however, having been selected as a man of uncommon bodily strength, in an instant seized the pistol, and wrested it from him; at which time, the guard hearing the scuffle entered the room, and secured Mr. Tandy, who, with his associates were shortly after put in irons, and by order of Sir James, confined in separate guard-houses. No sooner had this event transpired in the evening, than Citizen Marragon, the minister of the French Republic, sent a note to the Senate, claiming Napper Tandy and his colleagues as French citizens, and threatening to leave Hamburgh if they were not released. Sir James Crawford, on the other hand, opposed the demand, in terms equally strong. In this perplexity the Senate held an extraordinary deliberation at five o'clock, which lasted till midnight. Another was held on the

following day, but no decision has taken place, and the fate of the prisoner still remains in uncertainty. Napper Tandy is in a bad state of health. The French Chargé d'Affaires Citizen Le Maitre, offered a considerable sum of money to an officer of the Hamburgh regulars, who had the guard of the prisoners, to permit their escape; but he indignantly refused, and proclaimed aloud the attempt to dishonor him. Sir James Crawford and Citizen Maragon, have dispatched to their respective Courts the particulars of this important event.

On the 5th instant, one of the Castle Secretaries at Dublin, called upon the several state prisoners, and informed them that they were now at liberty to go to any part of the European continent not at war with this country, except the undernamed persons, who were acquainted that circumstances had occurred, which prevented the Lord Lieutenant from suffering them to leave prison at present. Viz. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas A. Emmett, John Sweetman, Henry Jackson, Dr. M'Nevus, John Chambers, Samuel Neilson, Thomas Russel, Matthew Dowling, John Sweeny, Hugh Wilson, Miles Dignum, Joseph Cuthbert, John Cormick, Dean Swift.—The Secretary intimated at the same time, to all persons included in the emigration bill (the excepted persons excluded,) that if they did not depart in the course of one month, they must remain in prison at their own expence, as government, after that, would not grant them any allowance.

The ci-devant rebel leader Holt, seems a great penitent for his for-

mer atrocities, and indeed evinces his sincerity as far as lies in his power. Through his confessions many of the caverns have been discovered in which the rebels secrete themselves and conceal their plunder. All those found in such places who attempted resistance, were immediately put to death, those who surrendered, were sent to Wicklow gaol. Many families who have been plundered in that county, have had valuable articles of property restored to them, in consequence of the spirited and active manner in which Holt's discoveries have been followed up.

Yesterday, the Peters, 11th. of Hamburgh, Captain Peter Lauseu, of 220 tons burthen, put into Harwich in distress, having lost her cables and anchors; Mr. Applebie, the Master of the Blaze gunboat, commanded by Lieutenant Elliot, went on board to press the hands; having received information that she was laden with linen, arms, and gun-flints, and bound to France, all the papers were seized, the consternation of the crew being so great, that they had not time to destroy one of them: she had 44 hands on board, and her cargo is estimated at 45,000*l*.

A very numerous and respectable meeting of Europeans and native inhabitants, was held in the Town hall at Bombay, on the first of July, 1798, when it was resolved to open books for the receipt of voluntary contributions, towards the support of the Mother Country at the present important crisis. The following liberal donations by the Members of Government formed the commencement of the subscription.

The Hon. Jonathan Duncan, Governor, 25,000 rupees.

Lieutenant General James Stuart, Commander in chief, 20,000 rupees.

James Privett, Esq. third in Council, 12,000 rupees.

William Page, Esq. fourth in Council, 12,000 rupees.

It is expected that the patriotism displayed on this occasion by the government, will be followed by similar exertions throughout every branch of the service under that presidency, in proportion to their respective stations and fortunes. Other letters from Bombay state, that the contributions on the first day amounted to 20,000*l.*, and that they had since exceeded 50,000*l.* The generous aid afforded to the national resources by the little island of Bombay will no doubt be greatly exceeded in amount at Calcutta and Madras, where the inhabitants are more opulent, and equally liberal in their ideas.

A singular discovery was made yesterday, in the Barrack yard at Horn Cliff Kent; some of the Middlesex militia, being employed to clean a well, one of them who had been let down in a bucket, called hastily to his companions to draw him up again, and informed them that there was a dead man at the bottom. Upon pulling the corpse up with a rope, it proved to be the body of George Sullivan, who was supposed to have deserted on the Monday night preceding. He was a fine young fellow about twenty two years of age, and much esteemed in the regiment, to the officers and privates of which, his apparent desertion had caused much regret

and surprise. Some bread and cheese he had been to procure were found in the well with him, but the accident which must have occasioned his premature death, will ever remain a mystery.

The *Britannia*, Captain Caleb Wilson (belonging to Mr. Petrie) sailed the latter end of last month from Shields, laden with lead, bacon, butter, bale goods, &c. for London, and having eleven or twelve passengers on board. On the following day the wind shifted to the East, bringing on a heavy sea which continued five days, during which the vessel beat about and was driven to the Northward, on the Staples near the Fern islands, opposite Barnborough Castle, where she was totally wrecked, and all on board, both crew and passengers unfortunately perished! part of the vessel, with 50 firkins of butter, a carpenter's and a medicine chest have since been cast on shore, and the body of a child has also been found, near Banborough. Among the unfortunate sufferers on this melancholy occasion, were Mr. and Mrs. Heron of Newcastle, and their two children, Mr. John Cock and his wife, who had been on a visit to some friends in that place, Thomas Scott, shipwright, who has left a wife and three young children, and Mr. Andrew Ferguson, of the Perthshire Fencible cavalry. The names of the other passengers are not yet known. Among those belonging to the ship, was Mr. John Wilson, brother to the captain, the first mate.

This evening about six o'clock, the only son of 11th. Mr. Israel, an Indigo broker of

great respectability resident in Mansell Street Whitechapel, put an end to his existence by shooting himself through the head with a pistol, in the presence of his father. They were sitting together after dinner, and he left the room for a few moments, to fetch as it is supposed, the fatal instrument; upon his return he informed his father that it was his wish that he would set him up in business; upon the cause of this proposition being enquired into, he stated that he and his cousin, Miss——wished to be married, and he solicited the consent of his father, who treated the whole affair with ridicule and reminded him of his youth. Upon which the son replied, that if his father did not immediately agree to both his propositions, he would destroy himself. His father bad him go like a silly boy as he was, and reflect coolly over this conduct, when to his horror and consternation, the unhappy youth pulled a pistol from his pocket, and put an end to his existence in one moment. Another loaded pistol was found in his pocket.

15th. Yesterday, about half past four o'clock, P. M. La Coquille frigate of 44 guns, (one of those captured by Sir J. B. Warren's squadron, on the 12th October, off the coast of Ireland), at anchor in Hamoaze, caught fire, and burnt with such incredible rapidity, that in the course of four hours the ship was wholly consumed, except a very small part of her bottom. All the boats of the fleet attended, and their crews attempted to scuttle her, but the fire raged so violently, that they were forced to abandon her, after saving as many people

as they could discover on board, and from the impossibility of the fire being extinguished, they deemed it prudent to cut her cables, and the boats towed her on shore at flood tide, on the West mud, at the entrance of Milbrooke Lake, without any other accident happening, than the destruction of the Endeavour brig, belonging to Scarborough, laden with coals; this vessel being aground on the mud, immediately to leeward of La Coquille, and the wind blowing a strong gale at East, she run her athwart, whereby the fire instantly communicated to her rigging, and she was burnt together with her cargo. The fire on board La Coquille is said to have originated in the gun room, where some midshipmen had been letting off rockets, the sparks of which communicated to some loose cartridges, and thence to some barrels of gunpowder, which were in the after part of the ship. The explosion was so violent, that it forced the mizen-mast entirely out, and carried it upwards of a hundred yards in the air, and soon afterwards the stern and quarter-deck were in one entire blaze; at seven P. M. the fore and main mast fell over the side with a dreadful crash; all her stores had been previously taken out, and she had nothing but her lower masts standing at the time of the accident. From the return the next morning, it appears that the unfortunate sufferers on this occasion, are Messrs. Drury, Bate, and Evanson, midshipmen, the first a nephew of Captain O'Brien Drury, of the Powerful; the last, a son to the collector of Cork; about ten seamen and some women were also

blown up, of whom no remains have been discovered, twenty seamen and marines were on shore on leave, and the rest of the crew were saved. Two seamen and a woman were brought to the hospital, extremely bruised and cut, and one seaman with his skull fractured. It is also feared, that John Jellico, a Custom-house officer, has perished in the ship, as he has not been seen or heard of since the accident happened. A woman jumped overboard, and was saved by the Naiad's boats; and the arm of a man was seen thrust through one of the scuttles on the gun-deck, waving for assistance, at which time shrieks were heard, but the flames raged with such fury, that it was utterly impossible to afford any aid to the unfortunate sufferers. When the ship was completely on fire, the sight, owing to the darkness of the night, was grand, awful and terrific, and the sea for a great distance round, appeared like one solid sheet of fire. *La Coquille* was esteemed the finest ship of the French squadron (except *La Loire*) and was only three years old, having been built at Bordeaux in the year 1795. She had been surveyed by order of the Navy board, preparatory to her being taken into the service, but not having been actually purchased by government, the loss, unfortunately will fall upon the gallant captors.

The Colossus man of war, 74 guns, Captain G. Murray, was lost on the night of Monday the 10th inst. in St. Mary's Road Scilly. The islanders exerted themselves to the utmost in open boats for the preservation of the crew, who we are rejoiced to say are all saved to a man,

with the officers and passengers, several of the latter, as well as of the crew and officers, were not yet recovered from the wounds received in the glorious battle of the Nile. Nothing but the lives could be saved; every article of baggage, clothing, stores, &c. are wholly lost, and the remains of Admiral Lord Shulldham, which it was intended should have been deposited under British turf, have found a watery grave on this unfortunate occasion.

17th. Advice from America announces the entire discontinuance of the yellow fever in the cities of New York, and Philadelphia, but a disease of a similar nature had appeared at New Milford, Royal Towns, and Windsor, in Vermont, and the grand Isles of the Lake Champlain. By a statement in the newspapers it appears, that no less than 3346 persons have died of the yellow fever in Philadelphia alone, to which if we add the number of citizens of that city who have fallen in the country, its loss cannot be estimated at less than five thousand.

It appears certain that the Emperor of Russia has declared himself grand master of the order of Malta, and has already made eighteen knights. This news has occasioned a disagreeable sensation in Germany. Prince Rupert, on his return from Vienna to St. Petersburg, was dismissed and disgraced.

19th. Yesterday, in consequence of judgment being allowed to go by default in the case of the Marquis of Abercorn, against Captain Copley, for criminal conversation with the Marchi-

oness, the damages came to be assessed before the Sheriffs. They were laid at twenty thousand pounds. Evidence was brought to prove, that the Marquis had lived in great apparent harmony with his wife. The witnesses produced for this purpose, were the Duke of Leeds, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Mulgrave, the Hon. Mr. Knight and Mr. Elliot. The jury returned a verdict for *ten thousand pounds!*

22nd. Marine Police. This day John Dalton, a private in the 3d regiment of guards was charged with stealing, together with James Turnbull, another soldier, on Thursday last, a large quantity of new guineas from his Majesty's Mint in the Tower. The prisoner underwent a long examination. From the evidence of an apprentice, it appeared that the prisoner, with Turnbull, and two other soldiers, had been employed to turn the fly of the dye in the Mint; and that at breakfast time the two other soldiers having previously left the room, Turnbull produced a pistol and coming up to witness, who was in the hole in the same room, feeding the dye, told him if he did not deliver the key which unlocked the chest, in which the money newly coined was detained, and remain quiet where he was, he would shoot him. That upon getting possession of the key, Turnbull opened the chest and took out a large bag full of guineas; that the whole of the transaction was the work of an instant, but Turnbull perceiving an infirm old gentleman, who was at breakfast at the farther end of the room, taking notice of him, he ran and pushed him into a large

closet, and then observing the witness endeavouring to make off, Turnbull attacked and overpowered him, compelling him also to go into the closet, where he locked them in; that during the whole affair, the prisoner stood an inactive spectator of what was passing, remaining between the witness and the door of the room, which at first was wide open, but immediately after was closed by the prisoner. The prisoner in his defence stated, that Turnbull held a pistol to his head, and threatened to shoot him if he stirred. He was committed for further examination.

This evening between 24th. seven and eight o'clock a terrible fire broke out at the princely mansion of the Earl of Essex, in Curzon Street, May Fair, which consumed the whole of the premises; the flames raged with such incredible fury, that nothing of any consequence could be saved. The fire began while the family were at dinner, and is supposed to have been caused by one of the girandoles in the drawing room falling upon a sofa, and communicating with a window curtain; a large party having been invited to cards in the evening, the drawing room was lighted up, and soon after the family had descended to the dining room the alarm was given. His lordship and a few friends who were with him, ran up with the servants in the hope of extinguishing the flames, but it was too late, as to enter the apartment would have endangered their lives. It was feared the adjoining house belonging to the Earl of Macartney would have shared the same fate,

and every thing of value which could be removed, was carried over to the Earl of Chesterfield's opposite. The Earl and Countess of Essex, with their son Lord Malden and his lady, took refuge in the house of Mr. Dent, in the same street, but slept at Lord Chesterfield's, and the Countess of Macartney went to the Marquis of Bute's, in Hill Street Berkley Square. None of the furniture or pictures were ensured, and the loss must be almost incalculable. The house was originally built by Mr. Wood the self-taught architect of Bath, who designed the best part of those elegant and superb buildings, which form the splendid decorations of that city. The design was in the style of Palladio, but it had been much added to and beautified upon becoming the property of Lord Essex. It is singular that on the same day, the house of Lord Melbourne at Whitehall, and his seat Bocket hall, were both accidentally set on fire, but by timely assistance both houses were saved with very little injury.

The Thames is nearly covered with sheets of ice, driving with the tide, so that the river is impassable for craft.

27th. Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the open air with a northern aspect was, on Christmas day in the afternoon at 23; at nine at night, 22. On the following day in the afternoon, 18; at nine at night, 17½; at nine this morning, 17; which is fifteen degrees below the freezing point; at eleven this morning 18.

Yesterday morning about four o'clock, a fire broke out in a cottage at Heytesbury, Wiltshire,

which in a short time reduced it to ashes, together with two other thatched cottages adjoining; and three women, and a girl unfortunately perished in the flames, before any assistance could be given to them. The accident is said to have been occasioned by the carelessness of a man who inhabited one of the cottages; he had drank pretty freely on the preceding evening, and returning home late at night, he imprudently set fire to a large bundle of straw in his chimney corner, which communicated rapidly to the rafter and thatch, and in a few minutes the whole was in a blaze, but he escaped without injury. The disfigured remains of the four persons who unhappily lost their lives, were dug from the ruins in the course of the day, and this morning inquests were taken on the bodies by the coroner, Mr. Clare of Devizes, when the jury returned verdicts of accidental death.

Palermo, Dec. 28. The King and Queen of Naples arrived safely here, after having experienced on their passage the severest weather ever known in those seas, and during which they were in considerable danger of being shipwrecked. Lord Nelson, we understand, in some of his private letters, describes it as the most terrible storm he ever witnessed, and mentions that which he met with off Sardinia, previous to the battle of the Nile, in which the Vanguard was dismasted, as trifling in comparison with the hurricane on the Neapolitan coast. In the course of the voyage, Prince Albert, the youngest son of their Sicilian Majesties died through excessive sickness and fatigue;

and to all the miseries which such a scene must have occasioned in the minds of the Royal sufferers and fugitives, they had to add their affliction for the loss of their child. Sir William and Lady Hamilton accompanied their Majesties, and every Englishman, together with all who were willing to embark, were safely conveyed to Sicily by some of Lord Nelson's squadron. When the Royal Family arrived at Palermo, they were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

The whole annual income of

Great Britain, having been lately stated by Mr. Pitt; our readers will perhaps peruse with some interest, the following comparison of it with that of France, before she had been impaired by the convulsions of the revolution. This statement of the resources of France, is founded on a curious and exact calculation, made by order of the National Assembly, in the year 1790, by the celebrated Monsieur Lavoisier, who was a profound political economist, as well as the first chymist of his age.

Square miles.

The extent of Great Britain (to take round numbers), is	70,000
That of France, at the same, is	160,000
	Souls.
The population of Great Britain, about.....	9000,000
That of France, about	26,000,000
The income of Great Britain, by the calculation of Mr. Pitt, including that part of it not to be taxed, which is under 60 <i>l.</i> per Annum, is....	£. s. d. 135,000,000 0 0
That of France by Mosieur Lavoisier in 1790, was 2,700,000,000 livres, tournois, or	122,500,000 0 0
Absolute superiority of Great Britain per Ann.	12,500,000 0 0
But the comparative superiority is much greater, if the British income could be conceived to be divided in even shares, between every soul in Great Britain, each would have per Annum	15 0 0
If the same division were to take place in France, each individual would have per Annum, only	4 6 8
If we suppose the wealth produced by the land, every square mile produces in France per Ann.	700 0 0
Every square mile in Great Britain produces	1928 9 0
So that the comparative wealth of Great Britain is about triple that of France in 1790.	

DIED,—On the 14th inst. at his seat, at Downing in Flintshire, in his 78rd year, Thomas Pennant, Esq. the celebrated tourist and zoologist. He was born at Downing, the seat of his family for several generations, and the first

indication of his peculiar bent of mind, appeared when he was about twelve years old, when a present was made him by Mrs. Piozzi's Father of Willoughby's Ornithology, at which time he exhibited also a strong taste for fossil and

mineral productions, during a visit to Dr. Borlase, in Cornwall. His literary works, which are too well known to be enumerated here, are principally tours in his own and other countries; and Essays connected with Zoology and natural history, the result of his own personal observations and experience. He was a fellow of various literary and philosophical societies, in this country and at Drontheim, Stockholm, and other places. His last publication was an imaginary tour, entitled "a View of Hindostan," published a very short time previous to his decease. Mr. Pennant was married twice, and has left a son and daughter by his first wife, who was the sister of the late Thomas Falconer, Esq. of Bath. His second lady who survives him, and by whom he had no family, was the sister of his late neighbour, Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart.

Aged 107, Joan Oyle, of Great Torrington, Devon.

25th. At Clovelly, Devonshire, aged 102, Mrs. Mary Clement, who retained her sight entirely perfect, to the last hour of her life.

29th. Mr. William Wale, Master of the Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital, and Secretary to the Board of Longitude. He accompanied Captain Cooke in his first voyage, 1772—1775; and in his last, 1776—1779.

30th. At Tithby, near Bingham, in his 98th year, Mr. Richard Porter, a respectable farmer.—There is now living in the same village, in his 95th year, Mr. Thomas Bell, who has

been the companion and intimate friend of Mr. Porter's, from early childhood, and used to tend cattle with him in the same fields above eighty years ago.

At Litchfield, aged 143, Sarah Cawood, who leaves behind her eleven children, 44 grand-children, and 50 great grand-children, in all, 205.

At his house in Tudor Street Blackfriars, Mr. Humphries coal merchant, but once better known as "Humphries the boxer." His pugilistic encounters with Mendoza, gained him much notoriety. He fought also with Johnston, and distinguished himself by various contests with other professors of the art of pugilism.

Suddenly at Baltimore in America, while walking in his garden, Robert Merry, Esq. Author of several indifferent poetical works, but chiefly remarkable, as the "Della Crusca," of the celebrated "Anna Matilda," or the well known Mrs. Robinson. These two "great luminaries" as they have been *seriously* termed, fell desperately in love with each other, (without having ever met) during a poetical correspondence carried on under the above feigned names, in a silly newspaper of the day; an *interview*, however, produced a total alteration in their sentiments, and put an entire stop to the whole affair. Mr. Merry has received a species of immortality, of which perhaps he was not perhaps particularly ambitious, in the keen and elegant satire of Mr. Gifford in the "Baviad" and the "Maviad," where his false taste and absurd sentimentality are severely and justly stigmatised.

BIRTHS for the Year 1798.

JANUARY.

2. Countess of Dalkeith, a son.
5. Lady Charlotte Strutt, a daughter.
6. The Lady of P. J. Thellusson, Esq. M. P. twin-sons.
8. The Lady of Sir Henry Harpur, Bart. a daughter.
10. The Lady of Alexander Allardyce, Esq. M. P. a still-born son.
21. Mrs. Banting, of Little Rising, Gloucestershire, a daughter, her thirty-second child.
28. Her Imperial Majesty of Russia, a prince; name, Michael Pawlowitsch.
28. Lady Charlotte Greville, a son.
28. Right Honourable Lady Emily M'Leod, a daughter.

FEBRUARY.

2. The Lady of Matthew Montagu, Esq. a son.
25. Right Honourable Lady Petre, a daughter.

MARCH.

1. Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of Germany, an arch-duchess; name, Mary Clementina.
1. The Lady of Sir John Davie, Bart. twin-sons.
3. The Lady of Sir William Elliot, Bart. a son.
19. The Lady of the late Lord Calthorpe, a daughter.
26. Right Honourable Lady Rodney, a son.
27. Countess of Derby, a still-born child.
27. Right Honourable Lady Spencer, a son.

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APRIL.

10. Right Honourable Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.
20. Marchioness of Titchfield, a daughter.
20. The Lady of Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, a daughter.
23. Countess of Albemarle, a daughter.
24. Lady Say and Sele, a son and heir.
26. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Wirtemberg, a still-born child.
29. The Lady of Sir Samuel Fludyer, Bart. a daughter.

MAY.

13. Countess of Aylesford, a son.
25. Lady of Sir John Stirling, Bart. a son.
27. Honourable Mrs. Childers, a son and heir.
29. Honourable Mrs. Forbes, a son.
31. Countess of Euston, a son, who died in two days.
31. Lady Charlotte Nares, a daughter.
31. Lady Harriet Gill, a daughter.

JUNE.

24. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.
27. The Honourable Mrs. Carlton, a daughter.
28. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a son.
28. Honourable Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.

JULY.

2. The Lady of Sir Charles Watson, a daughter.
10. The Lady of the Honourable Newton Fellowes, a daughter.

13. Her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, a daughter; name, Charlotte.

19. Lady of Sir Francis Ford, Bart. a daughter.

21. Lady of William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. a son.

28. Countess Dowager of Mansfield, Lady of the Honourable F. Greville, a daughter.

31. Lady Viscountess Fielding, a son.

31. The Lady of Sir N. B. Gresley, Bart. a daughter.

AUGUST.

3. The Lady of Henry Thornton, Esq. M. P. a daughter, who died in a few hours afterwards.

8. The Lady of Beeston Long, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

10. Mrs. Somerfield, of the Queen's Palace, two sons and a daughter, all living.

16. The Lady of Edmund Wigley, Esq. M. P. a son and heir.

31. The Lady of G. H. Rose, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

SEPTEMBER.

5. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a daughter.

8. Viscountess Chetwynd, two daughters.

13. Lady Grey, a daughter.

17. Lady Charles Ainsley, a son.

18. The Lady of Charles Primrose, Esq. of Barton, two sons and a daughter, all living and doing well.

29. Countess of Banbury, a daughter.

OCTOBER.

1. The Lady of James Buller, Esq. M. P. a son and heir.

5. Lady Louisa Brome, a daughter.

12. The Lady of the Honourable and Reverend A. H. Cathcart, a daughter.

12. Princess of Brazil, a prince; name, Pierre.

12. Lady of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart. a son.

15. The Lady of William Currie, Esq. M. P. a son.

19. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a son.

24. Honourable Mrs. Barnard, a still-born child.

25. Lady Portchester, a daughter.

31. Mrs. Blower, of Down Place, three sons.

31. The Lady of the Bishop of St. David's, a son.

NOVEMBER.

5. Countess of Guildford, a son.

5. Honourable Mrs. Greenfell, a son.

9. Viscountess Dungannon, a son and heir.

14. Lady Anne Vernon, Lady of the Bishop of Carlisle, a son.

15. Madame Desparre, of Welbeck Street, two daughters and a son, all living.

21. Lady of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a son, who died in three days.

21. Archduchess Clementina, Lady of the Hereditary Prince of Naples, a son.

23. Lady Hugh Seymour, a daughter.

DECEMBER.

7. Lady Louisa Hartley, a daughter.

7. Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.

8. Lady Le Despencer, a daughter.

10. Marchioness of Blandford, a daughter.

12. Countess of Errol, a daughter.

12. Lady of the Honourable Mr. Petre, a daughter.

26. Lady of Sir Frederic Morton Eden, a son.

22. Lady Harvey, a daughter.

Remarkable Births in 1798.

The wife of David Cook, weaver, Helpringham, Leicestershire, one son and two daughters, all living.

The wife of a coachman, at Glasgow, one son and two daughters, all living.

In the Commune of Verchocq, Department du Pas de Calais, the wife of Pierre François Duisans, a premature birth of six children, three boys and three girls, alive when born, but died soon after.

The wife of Leigh Longman, labourer, Dewsbury, Lincolnshire, three fine girls, all living and doing well. The mother has had fifteen children, twelve of them in less than eight years, and has now four under a twelvemonth old.

The wife of Walter Middleton, farmer, of Ribton, near Workington, three sons, all living.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1798.

JANUARY.

1. At Petersburg, Sir Charles Gascoigne, Counsellor of State to his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, to Miss Guthrie.

1. Sir John Gordon, Bart. to Miss Pyne Crosbie, daughter of the Honourable and very Reverend Dean of Limerick.

3. Mr. Scott, brother to Lady Oxford, to Miss Ogle, daughter

of Dean Ogle, and sister to Mrs. Sheridan.

4. Lieutenant Colonel Ronald Ferguson, to the daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Monroe, K. B.

4. Reverend Ashton Wade, to Miss Walpole, daughter of the Honourable Richard Walpole.

5. W. Philips Inge, Esq. to Lady Elizabeth Stewart, second daughter to the Earl of Galloway.

15. Sir Francis L. Wood, Bart. to the eldest daughter of Samuel Buck, Esq.

15. Charles Lutwidge, Esq. to Miss Dodgson, daughter of the late Bishop of Elphin.

15. James Trail, Esq. to the youngest daughter of the late Sir James Porter, and sister to Colonel Porter, M. P.

15. Pascoe Greenfell, Esq. to the Honourable Georgina St. Leger, daughter to the late, and sister to the present Lord Viscount Doneraile.

20. Lord Sheffield, M. P. to Lady Anne North, daughter of the late Earl of Guildford.

FEBRUARY.

1. John Payne, Esq. of Wells, to the Honourable Mrs. Hyde.

7. Reverend Henry Wise, to the daughter of the late Sir Stainer Porten.

12. Mr. Holman, of Covent-Garden Theatre, to the daughter of the Honourable and Reverend Frederic Hamilton, grand-daughter of Lord Archibald Hamilton, and great grand-daughter to a late Duke of Hamilton.

12. John Sutton, Esq. eldest son of Sir John Sutton, Bart. of Norwood Park, to Sophia, youngest daughter of the late Charles

Chaplin, Esq. of Tathwell, Lincolnshire.

15. Colonel Leith, to Lady Augusta Forbes, sister to the Earl of Granard.

20. Lord Hervey, to the Honourable Miss Upton, eldest daughter of the Dowager Lady Templetown.

20. Pryse Loveden, Esq. to the Honourable Mrs. Agar, sister to Viscount Ashbrook.

20. Reverend F. North, eldest son of the Bishop of Winchester, to Ester, youngest daughter of the Reverend John Harrison.

22. Reverend Henry Nicholas Astley, son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. to Miss Pitman.

26. Winchcombe Henry Hartley, Esq. to Lady Louisa Lumley, daughter to the Earl of Scarborough.

MARCH.

24. Sir John Trollope, Bart. to Miss Thorold.

28. Joseph Sidney York, Esq. M. P. brother to the Earl of Hardwicke, to the daughter of James Battray, Esq. of Arthurstone, Perth.

29. Charles Smith, Esq. M. P. to Augusta, daughter of Joshua Smith, Esq. M. P.

29. Sir Richard Steele, Bart. to Frances, daughter of the late General Count D'Alton.

APRIL.

9. James Arbuckle, Esq. of Donaghadee, to Lady Sophia Joscelyn, sister to the Earl of Roden.

17. Honourable George Villiers, brother to the Earl of Clarendon, to the Honourable Miss Parker, daughter of Lord Boringdon.

30. Captain Ross, of the 41st

Infantry, to the Honourable Miss Browne, daughter to the late Earl of Kilmaine.

MAY.

8. The Reverend William Gresley, to Louisa, daughter of the late Sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, Bart.

18. Earl of Yarmouth, to Mademoiselle Fagiani.

30. Honourable W. Gore, second son to the Earl of Arran, to Caroline, youngest daughter of the late Sir Thomas Pym Hales, Bart.

31. Honourable Frederic West, brother to the Earl of Delaware, to Maria, second daughter of the late Richard Middleton, Esq.

JUNE.

7. Honourable and Reverend T. J. Twisleton, son of the late Lord Say and Sele, recently divorced from his Lady, to the daughter of Benjamin Ashe, Esq.

16. Edward Morant Gale, Esq. to Miss Townsend, niece to the Earl of Plymouth.

18. Sir Henry Every, Bart. to Penelope, daughter of Sir J. Moseley, Bart.

18. Sir Samuel Brooke, Bart. to Miss Castleboe.

28. George Dering, Esq. youngest son of Sir Edward Dering, Bart. to Elizabeth, only daughter of Charles Dering, Esq.

30. Lord Stanley, only son of the Earl of Derby, to Charlotte Margaret, second daughter of the Reverend Geoffrey Hornby.

30. Lord Boyle, son of Lord Shannon, to Miss Sally Hyde.

30. General Duboyne, to the daughter of the Marquis de Desmond.

JULY.

10. Right Honourable W. Wyndham, Secretary at War, to Cecilia, daughter to the late Admiral Forrest, and sister to the Honourable Mrs. Byng.

12. Honourable Henry Windham, brother to the Earl of Plymouth, to Miss Copson.

16. Honourable John Olmuis, to Maria, daughter of John Morgan, Esq.

19. Busick Harwood, M. D. to the only daughter of the late Reverend Sir John Peshall, Bart.

26. Percival Hart Dyke, son of Sir John Dixon Dyke, Bart. to the daughter of Robert Jenner, Esq.

26. George Blount, Esq. youngest son of the late Sir Walter Blount, Bart. to Courtney, daughter of the late John Chichester, Esq.

AUGUST.

2. Charles Ellis, Esq. M. P. to the Honourable Miss Harvey, daughter of the late Lord Harvey, and grand-daughter to the Earl of Bristol.

2. Honourable Colonel John Vaughan, M. P. to the Honourable Lucy, daughter of the late, and sister to the present Lord Courtney.

7. Honourable Colonel John Hope, M. P. brother to the Earl of Hopetown, to Eliza, daughter of the Honourable Charles Hope.

10. Lieutenant Colonel Brathwaite, to the daughter of the late Sir Edward Boughton, Bart.

16. Captain Sir Edmund Nagle, R. N. to Mrs. Blackman.

16. Robert Haig, Esq. to Caro-

line, fourth daughter of the late Sir William Wolseley, Bart.

16. John Beauclerk, Esq. only son of the Honourable and Reverend Henry Beauclerk, to the eldest daughter of Thomas Fitzhugh, Esq.

20. Honourable Philip Pusey, brother to the late Earl of Radnor, to Lady Lucy Cave, daughter of the Earl of Harborough, and relict of the late Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

21. Richard Norman, Esq. to Lady Elizabeth Manners, sister to the Duke of Rutland.

25. Honourable E. Turner, brother to the Earl of Winterton, to Miss Hester Hayward.

29. Honourable Edward Hawke, eldest son of Lord Hawke, to Frances Anne, daughter of the late Colonel Hervey.

29. Mr. Hardinge, to Lady Anne Gore, daughter of the Earl of Ross.

29. Lord Leslie, to the daughter of the late Colonel Campbell.

30. Robert Moss, Esq. son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Sophia, second daughter of John Weyland, Esq.

30. Lieutenant T. W. Howard, nephew to the Earl of Suffolk, to the daughter of Major-General Rawstorne.

30. Augustus William Handley, Esq. to Mademoiselle de Martilleire, daughter of the late Count de Martilleire, and niece to the Count de la Chatre.

SEPTEMBER.

5. Reverend Henry Maxwell, son of the Bishop of Meath, to Lady Anne Butler, daughter of the Earl of Carrick.

27. Thomas Dowdeswell, Esq. to Magdalene, daughter of Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart.

OCTOBER.

3. Ashley Apreece, Esq. eldest son of Sir Thomas Hussey Apreece, Bart. to Miss Kerr.

6. Sir Edward Baynes, Bart. to the daughter of Thomas Lambert, Esq.

12. His Excellency the Chevalier D'Almeida, to the daughter of the Marquis de Marialva.

18. The Reverend Mr. Corbet, nephew to the Marquis of Bute, to Anne, youngest daughter of the late Thomas King, Esq.

24. Sir Charles Ventris, Field Knight-banneret, to Mrs. Lill, daughter of the late Sir Francis Head, Bart.

NOVEMBER.

9. The Earl of Home, to Lady Elizabeth Scott, third daughter of the Duke of Buccleugh.

10. Lord William Seymour, brother to the Marquis of Hertford, to Martha, daughter of James Clitheroe, Esq.

17. Richard William Wake, Esq. son of the late Sir William Wake, Bart. to Jane Eliza, daughter of Sir William Donkin, Judge at Calcutta.

17. Captain Erskine of the 31st Infantry, to Elizabeth, daughter of the Honourable Thomas Erskine.

DECEMBER.

14. The Honourable Ralph Maude, to the Honourable Frances Anne Agar, daughter to the Archbishop of Cashel.

18. James Strange, Esq. M. P. to Mrs. Drummond.

22. Sir Henry Every, Bart. to the youngest daughter of the late Sir John Parker Mosley, Bart.

24. Peter Pole, Esq. eldest son of Sir Charles Pole, Bart. to the daughter of Richard Buller, Esq.

29. J. Woodcock, Esq. to Amelia, second daughter of the Honourable Sir Beaumont Hoatham, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Lately. Spencer Smith, Esq. British Ambassador at Constantinople, to the daughter of Baron Herbert, the Imperial Internuncio.

Lately. Captain Burnaby, of the 1st Foot Guards, to the daughter of the late Sir Thomas Fowke, Bart.

Lately. Charles Hanbury Tracy, Esq. to the Honourable Henrietta, only daughter of the late Viscount Tracy.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1798.

JANUARY.

4. Right Honourable Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. to be a Member of the Privy Council in Ireland.

5. Right Reverend Dr. John Porter, Bishop of Killaloe, to be Bishop of Clogher, Vice Foster deceased.

8. Lieutenant-Generals: Sir Thomas Shirley, Bart. Patrick Tonyn, Gabriel Christie, John Reid, Sir William Green, Bart. George Scott, Charles O'Hara, — Loftus, Anthony Tottenham, William Rowley, Peter Bathurst, Honourable William Gordon, Robert Prescott, Honourable William

Harcourt, Henry, Earl of Carhampton, William Dalrymple, William Picton, Sir Hector Munroe, K.B. Honourable William Hervey, J. Fletcher Campbell, Francis Lascelles, Sir William Meadows, K. B.—to be Generals in the Army.

Major-Generals: William Sheriff, William Ormfield, Samuel Hulse, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Valancy, John Thomas, Earl of Clanricarde, Sir James Steuart, Bart. Thomas Cartlow, James Marsh, Cavendish Lister, Charles Leigh, James Ogilvie, Sir Robert Laurie, Bart. William Martin, John Archer, William Edmeston, Forbes Macbean, David Horne, Hugh Debriegg, Richard Dawson, Montgomery Agnew, James Stewart, Alexander, Earl of Balcarras, Honourable Charles Steuart, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles Earl of Harrington, Honourable Richard Fitzpatrick, Nesbitt Balfour, Edmund Steevens, Thomas Trigge, Francis, Earl of Moira, Peter Craig,—to be Lieutenant-Generals in the Army.

Colonels: Philip Martin, of the Royal Artillery; William Borthwick, of the same; Eyre Coote, Aid-de-camp to the King; Jefferey Amherst, of the 10th Infantry; Harry Burrard, Aid-de-camp to the King; Charles Lennox, Aid-de-camp to the King; James Adolphus Harris, 60th Foot; Arthur Ormsby, 6th Dragoon Guards; Henry Preade, 1st Life Guards; William John Arabin, 2nd Life Guards; George Don, Aid-de-camp to the King; John Francis Craddock, of the late 127th Foot; Coleraine Nesbitt, Aid-de-camp to the King; Napier Christie Burton, 3rd Foot Guards;

Lord Charles Fitzroy, Aid-de-camp to the King; Richard Rich Wilford, York Hussars; Edward Morrison, Coldstream Guards; Sir Charles Asgill, Bart. 1st Foot Guards; Honourable Charles Monson, Aid-de-camp to the King; Vaughan Lloyd, Royal Artillery; Sir James Sinclair Erskine, Bart.; William Brady, Royal Artillery in Ireland; Lucius Barber, Royal Artillery in Ireland;—to be Major-Generals in the Army.

12. Brevet Colonel: John White-locke, to be Brigadier-General in Guernsey only.

12. Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hope, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Vice, the Earl of Eglintoune, resigned.

19. Reverend Joseph Stock, D. D. to be Bishop of Killala, Vice, Porter.

19. Colonel Charles Handfield, Commissary-General of Stores, &c. to the forces in Ireland.

19. Lord Braybrooke, to be Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Essex.

23. Brevet Colonel: John Murray, to be Brigadier-General in Nova Scotia only.

FEBRUARY.

6. Brevet, the Honourable Colonel Thomas Maitland, 62nd Foot, to be Brigadier-General in the West Indies only.

8. Sir Valentine Browne, Bart. created Baron of Castle Rosse, and Viscount of Kenmare, County Kerry, with remainder to his heirs, male.

14. John, Earl of Westmoreland, appointed Keeper of the

Privy Seal, Vice, the Earl of Chatham, resigned.

8. William Wentworth, Earl Fitz-William, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding of the County of York, and of the City of York, and County of the same, Vice, the Duke of Norfolk, resigned.

8. John Colpoys, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, created a Knight of the Bath, Vice, Sir William Gordon, deceased.

8. Charles Paulet, Esq. (commonly called Earl of Wiltshire), to be Lord-Lieutenant and Custos-rotulorum of the County of Stafford; Vice, Commissioners (The Marquis of Winchester, his father; Sir W. Heathcote, Bart. W. Chute, Esqrs.)

8. Dame Rose Ffrench, widow of the late Sir Charles Ffrench, Bart. created Baroness Ffrench, of Castle Ffrench, county Galway, with remainder of the title of Baron Ffrench of Castle Ffrench aforesaid, to her heirs male, by the said Sir Charles Ffrench, Bart.

8. Right Honourable John Foster, to be Governor of the County of Louth, Vice, the Earl of Clanbrasil, deceased.

17. Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, to be Master of the Horse to his Majesty, Vice, the Earl of Westmoreland.

17. George, Earl of Leicester, and William Lord Auckland, to be his Majesty's Postmasters-General, the latter, Vice, Lord Chesterfield.

17. Colonels John Petre, Thomas Brownrigg, John McGowan, Dugald Campbell, Thomas Trent, Thomas Prendergast, Robert Nicholson, Alexander Hardy, Richard Tolson, Stafford William

Samuel Waddington, Vere Warner Hussey,—to be Major-Generals in the East India Company's Service.

MARCH.

7. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Crawford, 60th Foot, to be Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces in Ireland, Vice, Handfield.

10. Brevet-Colonel: George Prevost, 60th Foot, to be Brigadier-General in the West Indies only.

14. Thomas Strange, Esq. Knighted.

19. The Earl of Ormond, and Viscount Dillon, created Knights of St. Patrick.

19. Major George Smith, Brigade-Major-General.

19. General William Dalrymple, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Chelsea Hospital.

APRIL.

4. Field-Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of York, to be Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's land forces in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

7. Sir John Morshead, Bart. to be Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Chief Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall and Devon, Vice, Viscount Lewisham.

20. John Hay, Esq. created a Baronet.

25. George Edward Henry Arthur, Earl Powis, to be Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Salop, Vice, Lord Clive.

28. Staff: Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stevenson, 8th Foot, to be Brigade Major-General to the troops under the command of

Field-Marshal, his Royal Highness, the Duke of Gloucester.

MAY.

5. Right Honourable John William Anderson, Esq. Lord Mayor of London, created a Baronet.

9. William Beechy, Esq. knighted.

11. Sir John Anstruther, Knight, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Fort William in Bengal, created a Baronet.

22. Honourable Arthur Paget, to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector Palatine, and Minister to the Diet of Ratisbon.

23. Robert Lord Belgrave, to be Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Flint.

JUNE.

5. Staff Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. to be commander of his Majesty's forces in North Britain, vice Sir Adam Gordon, resigned.

13. Charles Marquis of Cornwallis, to be lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland, vice the Earl of Camden.

23. John Williams, Esq. and John Callendar, Esq. created baronets.

Colonels Andrew Cowell, Coldstream guards; James Ferriar, engineers in Ireland; Joseph Duseaux, half pay 86th foot; Colin Mackenzie, 15th foot; Mackay Hugh Baillie, Reay fencibles; John Joinour Ellis, 23d foot; Archibald Robertson; Bryan Blundell, 45th foot; John Dickson, half-pay; Charles Jackman, Marines; Miles Scavely, royal horse guards; Hon. John Knox, 36th

foot; John Money, half pay 91st foot; Thomas Murray, half pay 84th foot. James Edward Urquhart, Essex fencibles; George Churchill, 15th light dragoons; Eyre Power Trench, of the late 102d foot; George Beckwith, 37th foot; William Gooday Strutt, 54th foot; Thomas Roberts, half-pay, 111th foot; Hon. George Ludlow, 1st foot guards; John Moore, 51st foot; Earl of Cavan, Coldstream guards; David Baird, 71st foot; Hon. Henry Astley Bennett, 1st foot guards; Hon. Frederic St. John, late 117th foot; Sir Charles Ross, Bart. late 116th foot; John Whitelocke, 6th West India regiment; Hay M'Dowall, 78th foot; Lord Charles Henry Somerset, half-pay 103d foot; John Despard, royal fuzileers; William Anne Valettes, 1st dragoon guards; William Wemyss;—to be major-generals in the army.

30. Staff. Colonel John Doyle, 87th foot; to be brigadier-general at Gibraltar only.

JULY.

3. Right Hon. Arthur Wolfe, to be chief justice of his Majesty's court of King's Bench, in Ireland, vice, the Earl of Clonmel, deceased. He is also created a baron of that kingdom, by the style and title of Baron Kilwarden, of Newlands, county of Dublin, with remainder to his issue.

14. Brevet Major Gen. Henry Bowyear, to be lieutenant general in the Leeward Islands only.

16. John Toler, Esq. attorney-general of Ireland, vice Wolfe; and John Stewart, Esq. solicitor-general, vice Toler.

18. Jas. Bontein, Esq. knighted.

21. Brevet Colonel Charles Hastings, 61st foot, to be major-general in the army.

28. Sir James Crauford, Bart. to be his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Circle of Lower Saxony, and resident with the Hans Towns.

AUGUST.

6. Sir Robert Calder, Knt. R. N. created a baronet.

25. Staff Colonel Francis Fuller, 59th foot, to be brigadier-general in the island of Newfoundland.

SEPTEMBER.

14. Robert Mann, Esq. rear-admiral of the red, to be one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, vice Lord Hugh Seymour, resigned.

16. Staff Col. Charles Green, 30th of foot; and Colonel Thomas Brady, royal artillery, to be brigadier-generals in the Leeward Islands only.

Col. Baldwin Leighton, to be brigadier-gen. in Portugal only.

28. William Shaw, Lord Cathcart, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

OCTOBER.

6. Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. rear-admiral of the blue, created Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, county of Norfolk.

24. Charles Earl of Harrington, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

27. Sir William Scott, Knt. his Majesty's advocate-general, to be judge of the High Court of Admiralty, vice Sir James Marriott, resigned.

Garrisons.—Lieut. Gen. Sir R. Abercrombie, K. B. to be governor of Fort George and Fort Augustus, N. B. vice Hodgson, deceased. General Sir William Meadows, K. B. to be lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight, vice Abercrombie.

31. Sir William Scott, Knt. sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

Dr. John Nicholl, to be his Majesty's advocate-general, vice Sir William Scott, and knighted.

NOVEMBER.

13. Brevet Lieut. Col. George Frederic Kochler, of the royal artillery, to be brigadier-general in the dominions of the Grand Signior only.

27. Staff. Lieut. Gen. Richard Grenville, to be commandant of the garrison of Plymouth, in the absence of the governor.

DECEMBER.

5. Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

12. Capt. Edward Berry, R. N. knighted.

19. Robert Viscount Castle-reagh, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

20. Right Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, Bishop of Ossory, promoted to the see of Meath, vice Maxwell, deceased.

DEATHS in 1798.

JANUARY.

6. At Carnbee-house, in Flintshire, Sir John Sinclair, Bart. of Longformacus.

8. Sir Ralph Milbanke, Bart. father to Lady Melbourne.

9. At the Hot-wells, Bristol, John Lord Lisle, of the kingdom of Ireland. He succeeded his father, John the first Lord Lisle, 1780, created 1758. His lordship married 1778, Mary Anne, daughter of George Connor, Esq. of Ballybraken, county of Cork, by whom he had issue, John, the present lord, born 1780, and other children.

12. Lady Beauchamp Proctor, relict of the late Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Bart.

13. At Horsens, in Jutland, where he had resided since 1780, the Russian Prince Peter, brother to Ivan, murdered in 1780.

15. The Lady of the Right Hon. Thomas Harley, alderman of the city of London.

16. General Sir John Dalling, K. B. He was the planner of the successful expedition against Omoah, on the Mosquito shore, in October 1779, and retired in 1786, from being governor and commander in chief at Madras, with a pension of 1000*l.* per ann.

17. In her 23d year, Eliza, daughter of Colonel Thomas Bishop, and niece to the Countess of Liverpool.

Thomas Kirkland, M. D. author of several valuable works on the most material branches of medical science.

21. Lady Elizabeth Bellenden, aged 77, relict of John Kerr Lord Bellenden, who died in 1752.

Sir David Williams, Bart. of Goldington, Hertfordshire.

26. Sir William Gordon, Knt. Jane Maxwell, daughter of John Fordyce, Esq. M. P. and niece to the Duchess of Gordon.

29. Lady Chambers, relict of the late Sir William Chambers, surveyor-general of his Majesty's works.

30. The Lady of Samuel William Gaussen, Esq. M. P. for Warwick.

31. William Truscott, Esq. rear admiral of the white.

At Arragon, in his 71st year, the celebrated Count D'Aranda, Spanish Minister.

Mrs. Buller, relict of the late James Buller, Esq. one of the lords of the treasury.

FEBRUARY.

3. At her house in Galloway, the Countess of Stair.

6. At the family residence in Dundalk, in the 68th year of his age, James Hamilton, Earl of Clanbrasil, in the county of Armagh, Viscount Limerick, and Baron Clonboyne, in the county of Down, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, a knight companion of the order of St. Patrick, chief remembrancer of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, and governor of the county of Louth. His lordship, in the year 1743, married Grace, daughter of Mr. Foley, of Stoke Edith, in Hertfordshire, since created a British Peer, now Baron Foley, of Kidderminster. The Earl of Clanbrasil having left no issue, his title becomes extinct, and the heir to his property is the present Earl of Roden, in right of his mother, who was sister to the deceased earl.

7. At her seat, at Cross, near Torrington, Devon, in consequence of breaking a blood-vessel, Lady Clinton, widow of William Robert George Trefusis Lord

Clinton, who died in August last.

12. Mrs. Juliana Mackworth, sister of Sir Herbert Mackworth, Bart.

Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, late King of Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania. Vide "Characters" at the end of the volume.

At his house in May-fair, Joseph Damer, Earl of Dorchester, Viscount and Baron Milton, of Shrone-hill, in Ireland. He is succeeded by his son, Lord Milton, M. P. for the borough of New Malton, York. His lordship married 1742, Caroline, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Dorset, who died in 1775, leaving three sons, John, who died 1776, George, the present earl, and Lionel; and one daughter, Caroline.

21. Ambrose, Marquis du Dresnay, general in the King of France's service, and colonel of the regiment which bears his name in the service of his Britannic Majesty.

22. In the 40th year of his age, Sir William Molesworth, Bart. M. P. for Cornwall.

24. Dame Jane Riddell, widow of the late Sir John Riddell, Bart.

At Constantinople, of the plague, M. Aubert Dubayer, the French ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

27. At Bernè, Lady Keith, relict of Sir Basil Keith, R. N.

Spencer Broughton, Esq. son of Sir Thomas Broughton, Bart.

MARCH.

9. Her Serene Highness, the Dowager Duchess of Wirtemberg.

14. Mrs. Vanneck, privy purse

to the Princess of Wales, and sister to Lord Huntingfield.

Lady Tynte, widow of Sir Charles Tynte, Bart. of Halfwell, Somerset.

16. Henry Lord Calthorpe. His lordship was born 1749, and created Baron Calthorpe, of Calthorpe, county of Norfolk, in 1796; married, 1783, Frances, youngest daughter of the late General Carpenter, by whom he had six sons and four daughters: the eldest son being dead, he is succeeded by Charles, the second son; born 1786.

17. At a very advanced age, Sir Theophilus Biddulph, Bart. of Birdingbury, Warwickshire.

19. At Melville Castle, in her 92d year, Mrs. Anne Gordon, relict of the Right Hon. Robert Dundas, of Arniston, lord president of the court of session.

22. The Countess Dowager of Banbury.

28. In her 32d year, of a decline, Harriet, Baroness Silverhelm.

APRIL.

2. Louisa Lady Willoughby de Broke, daughter of Francis Earl of Guildford, and sister to the Bishop of Winchester.

In his 19th year, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Bart. of Tissington, Derby.

The Lady of Sir William Maxwell, Bart. of Monteath.

5. Clare Gerard, second daughter of the late Sir Thomas Gerard, Bart. of Garswood.

6. At Llanelly, Carmarthen-shire, Sir Edward Mansell, Bart. of Straday, in that county.

9. Henry Noel, sixth Earl of Gainsborough, and Viscount Camp-

den. His lordship was born 1743, and was never married. The title is extinct.

Sir George Allinson Winn, Bart. Baron Headley, in Ireland, and M. P. for Ripon, Yorkshire.

10. Arthur Lord Viscount Harberton, born 1723, and created Baron Harberton, of Carbery, county of Kildare, in 1783; married, 1747, Mary, daughter of Richard Colley, Esq. by whom he had four sons, Henry, who succeeds him; Arthur James; John, and George; and three daughters; Elizabeth died young; Henrietta—Judith, and Mary, who both died in the year 1778.

17. Lady Robert Bertie, relict of Lord Robert Bertie, uncle to the Duke of Ancaster.

19. Dame Elizabeth Dashwood, Bart. of Kirklington-park, Oxfordshire, aged 84. One of her ladyship's daughters is the present Duchess of Manchester, and another married Lord Garlies, eldest son to the Earl of Galway.

29. Sir Robert Palk, Bart. M. P. for Ashburton, Devonshire.

Sir Philip Houghton Clarke, Bart.

MAY.

4. The Hon. Augustus Windsor, youngest son to the Earl of Plymouth.

10. Wilhelmina Countess of Leven and Melville, daughter of William Nesbitt, Esq.

16. In her 12th year, Lady Sophia-Amyntor Lambert, youngest daughter of the Earl of Cavan.

19. At Newsted Abbey, Nottinghamshire, William, fifth Lord Byron. His lordship was born

1792, and married in 1794, Elizabeth, daughter of Chas. Shaw, of Besthorpe, Norfolk, by whom he had four children, of whom only one, (a daughter) survives him.

22. Suddenly, in her 17th year, Lady Emma Maria Wallop, youngest sister to the Earl of Portsmouth.

At Hanover, Sir John O'Carroll, Bart.

Lady Rachael Drummond, daughter of the late Earl of Perth.

23. The Rt. Hon. John Scott, Earl of Clonmell, Baron Earlsfort, chief justice of his Majesty's court of King's Bench, one of his Majesty's privy council, and patentee clerk of the pleas of the court of Exchequer, Ireland.

25. At Vienna, Prince Casimir Sapieha, formerly grand marshal of Lithuania.

28. Sir John Biggs Miller, Bt.

29. In her 16th year, Caroline, second daughter of Sir Edmund Cradocke Harpur, Bart. of Four-oaks-hall, Warwickshire.

On his voyage to Quebec, James Hewitt, Esq. only son of the Hon. and Rev. Dean Hewitt, and grandson to the late lord chancellor of Ireland.

JUNE.

4. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster.

5. Killed, in Ireland, in an action with the rebels, Luke Lord Mountjoy, created Baron Mountjoy in 1789. His lordship married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Montgomery, and sister to the Marchioness of Townsend, by which lady, who died 1783, he had several children;

the eldest of whom, the Hon. Charles Gardiner, succeeds him in his estates and title.

Executed for rebellion, at Carlow, Ireland, Sir Edward Crosbie, Bart.

10. Laura Lady Southampton, lady of the bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, second daughter of the late Bishop Keppel, and niece to the Duchess of Gloucester.

Sir Charles Henry Talbot, Bt.

14. The Right Hon. George James Hay, Earl of Errol, Baron Hay, of Slanes, hereditary lord high constable of Scotland, and one of the sixteen Scotch peers in the present parliament. His lordship was born 1767, and married, 1790, the eldest daughter of John Blake, Esq. of Ardfrey, in Ireland. He is succeeded by his only brother the Hon. William Carr Hay.

16. Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart.

18. The Right Hon. John Viscount O'Neill, assassinated by his own park-keeper near his own dwelling, in Ireland. His lordship married Henrietta, daughter to the Earl of Cork, by whom he had a son, Charles, the present Viscount O'Neill.

21. Sir Jas. Saunderson, Bart. M. P. for Hastings, and an alderman of the city of London.

William Jennens, Esq. Acton-place, Suffolk; considered to be the wealthiest subject in his Majesty's dominions.

23. The Right Hon. Emilia Sophia, Duchess of Leinster. Her grace was only child and sole heir of Usher Lord St. George, and married the Duke 1775, by whom she had a large family; but the

eldest son, the Marquis of Kildare, was born only five years previous to the decease of his mother.

24. The Arch-Duchess Maria Christina of Austria.

26. Lady Barbara Pleydell Bouverie, only daughter to the Earl of Radnor.

27. Hon. Mrs. Charlotte Digby, relict of the Dean of Durham.

Lady Dorothy Hotham, relict of Sir Charles Hotham Thompson, Bart. She was daughter to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

JULY.

6. The Lady of the Hon. Vere George Hobart.

7. The infant son of Sir Lawrence Palk, Bart.

10. Drowned, in crossing the river Don, in Yorkshire, on horseback, the Hon. James Bruce, son of the late, and brother to the present Earl of Elgin, and his Majesty's ambassador at the court of Berlin.

15. Miss Duckett, daughter of Sir George Duckett, Bart.

19. The Hon. John Turnour, youngest son to the Earl of Winterton.

27. In her 22d year, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Hore, daughter of the Countess of Wicklow, and wife to the Rev. Thomas Hore, to whom she had been married only fifteen months.

AUGUST.

3. Aged 23, Viscount Downe, daughter of the late Gen. Scott.

9. In the bloom of youth, owing to a fatal accident from a dray coming in contact with her carriage, the lady of Sir Thomas

Williams, captain of his Majesty's ship *Endymion*. Her ladyship was so dreadfully hurt that she only survived one hour.

Lady James, relict of Sir William James, Bart.

15. Aged 28, Lady Charlotte Disbrowe, daughter to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and wife of Edward Disbrowe, Esq.

18. The Hon. Rich. Walpole, brother to Lord Walpole.

19. Lady Wilmot, relict of the late Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart.

Prince Adam Poninsky, of Poland.

20. Lady Mary Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Selkirk.

27. Lady Mary Eyre, fifth daughter to the Countess of Newburgh; a peeress in her own right.

28. His Excellency Baron de Kutzleben, envoy from the Prince of Hesse Cassel, to this country.

29. Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, Bart.

Sir Edward Uniacke O'Brien, Bart.

SEPTEMBER.

2. In his 76th year, William Lawrence, Esq. M. P. for Ripon.

6. Sir Jonathan Philips, Knt.

7. Sir Peter Soam, Bart. one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's privy chamber.

20. The Hon. Francis Tonson, son of the late and brother of the present Lord Riversdale, Baron of Rathcormue, aged 18.

23. Lord William Hay, fourth son of the Marquis of Tweeddale.

The Hon. Mrs. D. Onslow, lady of D. Onslow, Esq. and daughter of Lord Petre.

26. At Vienna, the Austrian General, Baron de Vins.

27. William Royall Pepperell, Esq. only son of Sir William Pepperell, Bart.

30. Molineux Shouldham, Lord Shouldham, and Admiral of the White. His lordship dying unmarried the title is extinct.

In Tuscany, John Chad, Esq. eldest son of Sir John Chad, Bt.

Hon. and Right Rev. Dr. Maxwell, Bishop of Meath, brother to the Earl of Farnham.

Lady Frances Bulkeley, eldest daughter of the Earl of Peterborough, and wife of the Rev. S. Bulkeley.

Sir Charles Farnaby Radcliffe, Bart. M. P. for Hythe.

Lady Winn, relict of Sir Rowland Winn, Bart.

OCTOBER.

5. Right Hon. Edmund Boyle, Earl of Cork and Ossory, Viscount Dungarvon, Baron Boyle of England and of Ireland. His lordship was born 1742, and married, first, Anne, daughter of Kelland Courtney, Esq. and second, the Hon. Mary Monckton, daughter of the Earl of Galway. By his first lady he had John-Richard Lord Dungarvon, his successor, and several other children.

6. Sir John Parker Moseley, Bart. of Rolleston-house, Staffordshire.

9. Lady Henrietta Roper, daughter of the Earl of Kinnoul, and widow of the late Robert Roper, Esq.

18. Letitia, daughter of the late Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bart.

20. Right Hon. Anne, Countess of Chesterfield.

21. Sir Adam Williamson, K. B. late governor of Jamaica.

22. Right Hon. William Lord

Bagot, born 1728, married 1760, the Hon. Louisa, daughter of John Viscount St. John, by whom he had six sons and three daughters, the two eldest sons dying, his lordship is succeeded by his third son, William.

28. Lady Leonora, relict of the late General Urmston, and daughter to the late Earl Bathurst.

Lady Adair, relict of the late Sir Thomas Adair, Bart.

30. Sir Thomas Byard, Knt. Captain of the Foudroyant.

Lady Stanley, relict of Sir Thomas Stanley, Bart.

NOVEMBER.

5. John Jephaniah Holwell, Esq. formerly governor of Bengal.

7. George Hunt, Esq. nephew of the Earl of Radnor, and many years M. P. for Bodmin, in this and the preceding reign.

8. Martin William Brown, eldest son of Sir M. B. Foulkes, Bart.

17. Sir Richard Reynell, Bart. of the kingdom of Ireland.

22. At Prague, the celebrated Field Marshal Baron Bender.

29. Lady Mary Carnegie, daughter to the Earl of Northesk.

30. Right Hon. John Dawson, Earl of Portarlington, Viscount Carlow, and Baron Dawson; born 1744, married 1778, Lady Caroline Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute, by whom he has left two sons and three daughters.

Right Hon. Maria Countess Dowager of Carhampton, mother of the present Earl, and of the Duchess of Cumberland.

The Princess Sophia Charlotte, reigning Princess of Solms-Lich. Her serene highness was daughter of Alexander Emilius, Bourgrave of Donna Wartenburg, and mar-

ried the Prince of Solms-Lich in 1759.

DECEMBER.

2. Hon. William King, brother to Lord King.

The Lady of Sir Edmund Anderson, Bart.

8. Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. Sir Edward Dering, Bart.

10. Hon. George Charles William Eden, third son of Lord Auckland.

16. Thomas Pennant, Esq. the celebrated naturalist and antiquary.

17. Harriet Elizabeth, daughter of Col. Sir George Cooke, Bt.

18. In his 79th year, Thomas Gilbert, Esq. M. P.

27. Right Hon. Anne, Countess of Airley.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1798.

Berkshire. Richard Palmer, of Hurst, Esq.

Bedfordshire. John Fox, of Dean, Esq.

Bucks. John Penn, of Stoke Park, Esq.

Cumberland. Sir Rich. Hodgson, of Carlisle, Knt.

Cheshire. Robt. Hibbert, Esq. of Berties.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire. John Sharpe, Esq. of Chippenham.

Devonshire. Arthur Tremayne, Esq. of Sydenham.

Dorsetshire. Edward Berkeley Portman, Esq. of Brianstone.

Derbyshire. John Leaper Newton, Esq. of Derby.

Essex. John Perry, Esq. of Moor Hall.

Gloucestershire. Thomas Vernon Delphin, Esq. of Eynford.

Hertfordshire. Felix Calvert, Esq. of Hunsdon House.

Herefordshire. John Stedman, Esq. of Bosbury.

Kent. John Plumtree, Esq. of Fredville.

Leicestershire. — Renny Payne, Esq. of Dunton Basset.

Lincolnshire. Postponed.

Monmouthshire. Joshua Morgan, Esq. of Llanwenarth.

Northumberland. Adam Askew, Esq. of Ellington.

Northamptonshire. Thomas Reeve Thornton, Esq. of Brock-Hall.

Norfolk. George Stone, Esq. of Beddenham.

Nottinghamshire. Nath. Stubbins, Esq. of Holm Pierrepont.

Oxfordshire. John Atkins Wright, Esq. of Oxford.

Rutlandshire. William Shar-rard, Esq. of Langham.

Shropshire. Andrew Corbett, Esq. of Strawberry Park.

Somersetshire. Samuel Rod-bard, Esq. of Ever Creech.

Staffordshire. Richard Dyott, Esq. of Freeford.

Suffolk. John Sheppard, Esq. of Campsey Ash.

Southampton. Richard Meyer, Esq. of Crawley.

Surrey. James Trotter, Esq. of Epsom.

Sussex. Richard Thos. Streat-field, Esq. of Uckfield.

Warwickshire. Robert Harvey Mallery, Esq. of Woodcot.

Worcestershire. John Addin-

brooke Addinbrooke, Esq. of Woolaston-hall.

Wilts. John Bennet, Esq. of Pithouse.

Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Pilk-ington, Bart. of Cheviotte.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen. John Morgan, Esq. of the Furnace, Caermarthen.

Pembroke. John Tasker, Esq. of Upton Castle.

Cardigan. Pryce Loveden, Esq. of Gogerthen.

Glamorgan. Samuel Richard-son, Esq. of Hensal.

Brecon. John Lloyd, Esq. of Dincis.

Radnor. John Benn Walsh, Esq. of Kennanllece.

NORTH WALES.

Gaernarvon. Sir Thomas Mos-tyn, Bart. of Gloddeath.

Anglesea. William Evans, Esq. of Glenclaw.

Merioneth. Robert Watkins Wynne, Esq. of Cwiwmeer, Esq.

Montgomery. Ralph Leake, Esq. of Criggion.

Denbighshire. John Jones, Esq. of Penybrie.

Flintshire. John Jones, Esq. of St. Asaph.

SHERIFF, *Appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1798.*

Cornwall. James Buller, Esq. of Shillingham.

APPENDIX

TO THE

CHRONICLE.

From the London Gazette, April 28.

Admiralty Office, April 28.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at Sea, the 22d inst.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that l'Hercule of 74 guns, was taken by his Majesty's ship Mars last night.

The inclosed copy of a letter from lieutenant Butterfield will best show to their lordships the spirit and judgment manifested upon this occasion. No praise of mine can add one ray of brilliancy to the distinguished valour of capt Alexander Hood, who carried his ship nobly into battle, and who died of the wounds he received in supporting the just cause of his country. It is impossible for me not to sincerely lament his loss, as he was an honour to the service, and universally beloved; he has fallen gloriously,

as well as all those who are so handsomely spoken of by lieutenant Butterfield. I have appointed him to the command of l'Hercule, to carry her into port; and I have given a temporary appointment to captain James George Shirley to command the Mars, and lieutenant George White, first of the Royal George, to command the Megæra. Lieut. Henry Combe, the second, will deliver to you this despatch.

I have the honour to be, sir,
your most obedient

humble servant,

BRIDPORT.

Mars, at Sea, April 22.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that the ship chased by his majesty's ship Mars yesterday, per signal, endeavoured to escape through the passage du Raz: but the tide proving contrary, and the wind easterly, obliged her to anchor at the mouth of that passage; which afforded capt. Hood the opportunity of attacking her, by laying her so close alongside as to unhinge some of the lower-

deck ports, continuing a very bloody action for an hour and a half, when she surrendered.

I lament being under the necessity of informing your lordship, that his majesty has, on this occasion, lost that truly brave man, captain Hood, who was wounded in the thigh late in the conflict, and expired just as the enemy's ship had struck her colours. This ship proves to be l'Hercule, of 74 guns, and 700 men, her first time at sea, from L'Orient, to join the Brest fleet.

I cannot sufficiently commend the bravery and good conduct of the surviving officers and men, who merit my warmest thanks: I must particularly recommend to your lordship's notice Mr. Southey, the signal midshipman.

Lieutenant Argles and Ford are the only officers wounded. Capt. Hood, and captain White of the marines, are killed. Lieut. Argles, though badly wounded, never quitted the deck.

From a number of the people being with lieutenant Bowker in charge of the prize, I cannot at present inform your lordship of the exact number of killed and wounded; but from the best information circumstances afford, I think about 30 killed and as many wounded, most of them dangerously.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,
your lordship's most obedient
humble servant,

W. BUTTERFIELD.

Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. &c.

Admiralty Office, May 12.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Hotham, of his Majesty's ship

Adamant, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at anchor off the Islands of St. Marcou, the 8th of May, 1798.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction of inclosing, for the information of my lords-commissioners of the admiralty, a letter I yesterday received from lieutenant Price, commanding officer on the islands of St. Marcou, in which it will be found, that, by his firm and steady resistance against a very considerable force, those islands have been saved falling into the hands of the enemy.

The calm weather had for some days prevented his majesty's ships under my orders from checking the progress which the flotilla from La Hogue might attempt to make; and, judging from the information I received from lieutenant Price on the morning of the 6th, that it was on its way to the islands, I necessarily approached them as near as the state of the weather would permit me to do. On the same afternoon, however, I was obliged to anchor; but taking advantage of a light breeze in the evening, I again weighed and stood in. At ten o'clock that night, it again falling quite calm, and fearing the flood-tide would carry us too far to the eastward, the ship once more anchored, the islands bearing W. by S. six miles.

A little before the dawn of day, the enemy commenced the attack, and the boats were soon afterwards seen placed, and keeping up a constant fire. A light breeze springing up at that time from the N. N. W. with an ebb-tide, the signal was made to weigh, and captains Talbot of the Eury-

dice, and Hagget of the *Orestes*, were directed by me to stand in as fast as possible, and attack the enemy in the manner they should judge the most effectual towards destroying them, on arriving up. While going down, however, it was perceived the enemy was making his retreat in a very hasty and confused manner; and I am not altogether without hope, that the near approach of his majesty's ships in some measure confirmed the enemy in his inclination of abandoning an enterprise, which, from the very able conduct and well-directed fire of lieutenant Price, he would at all events have been ultimately obliged to do. It again falling calm, and the ships not having steerage-way, rendered pursuit on our side impossible, and enabled them to make their retreat to La Hogue.

It would be great injustice in not joining with him in his very well bestowed commendation on the conduct of several officers and men under his command.

It may not be deemed improper to mention, that I this morning saw some pieces of paper taken from the vessel which has been towed in, and that amongst them there is a sort of return of the crew, by which it appears that it consisted of 144 men; and the total force, therefore, may have been very considerable, and, there is every reason to believe, has suffered great loss.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOTHAM.

Badger, Isles St. Marcou, May 7.

SIR,

I beg leave to represent to you, that, in consequence of the infor-

mation I received yesterday, and the movements of the enemy at La Hogue, I conjectured they would attack us in the night, about high water; I therefore despatched a guard-boat, belonging to the *Sandfly*, with Mr. Moore, midshipman of the *Eurydice*, in her, to watch the motions of the enemy. About twelve o'clock he got amongst them, and made the signal of their being in motion, and about the same time we clearly heard the enemy talk, but it was so dark we could not discover them.

At day-break, I observed their line drawn a-breast of the *S. W.* face of the western redoubt, and having all my guns I could bring to bear well pointed, I began a steady well-directed fire on them, until the flat boats came within musquet-shot, when I observed six or seven of them go down, whilst the others took out the living part of the crews; one I am towing into the islands, and the remainder, consisting of forty-three, are returning into La Hogue. I am clear, from the crowded state of their decks, that they must have received great damage and slaughter; but I am sorry to add, we had one marine killed and three severely wounded, and one seaman wounded.

Lieutenant Bourne took every method in his power to assist me; but from the situation of the attack, the east island was deprived for some time of doing much; but the shells from the 68 pounders, over the length of the west island, latterly did them great damage, by flanking in the *N. W.* side of the west island.

I beg leave to represent likewise to you, that lieutenants

Maughan and Ensor, with the marines, serjeant Henderson and the party of artillery, and the seamen under my command, behaved as well as officers and men could do.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,
CHA. P. PRICE.

Capt. Hotham, senior officer, &c.

Lieutenant Price, in a letter to Mr. Nepean, dated the 9th, repeats the intelligence contained in the above, and concludes thus :

"I am sorry to announce the death of Thomas Hall, private marine, killed; Richard Dunn and Peter Williamson, marines, wounded, and Thomas Banks, seaman, wounded. But considering our receiving the fire of near eighty heavy bow-guns, from 36 to 18 pounders, for upwards of two hours, I look upon our damage as not great. We had four guns dismounted, but I got them fit for service before night. Inclosed I send you lieutenant Bourne's letter to me, the morning after the action.

I am, &c.

CHA. P. PRICE.

Sandfly, East Island, St. Marcou, 7th May, 1798.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that in the affair of this morning, there were no killed or wounded in this island. I cannot speak in terms sufficiently strong, of the firm and manly conduct displayed

on this occasion by the officers and men under my command; and I feel particularly indebted to lieut. Lawrence, of the marines, ensign Carter, of the invalids, Messrs. Trotter and Moor, mates of the Adamant and Eurydice, and Mr. John Mather, commissary of ordnance stores, for their assistance, and ready execution of my orders during the action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICH. BOURNE.

Lieut. Price, &c. &c. Senior officer at the islands of St. Marcou.

Admiralty Office, May 22.

Captain Winthrop, of his majesty's ship *Circe*, arrived here this day with a despatch from captain Home Rigs Popham, of his majesty's ship *Expedition*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following is a copy.

Expedition, Ostend Roads, May 20.

SIR,

I beg you will do me the honour to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty that, in pursuance of their orders of the 8th instant, I proceeded to sea the 14th with the ships and vessels named in the margin*, having on board the troops under the command of major-general Coote, for the purpose of blowing up the basin-gates and sluices of the Bruges canal, and destroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders,

* To anchor to the eastward: Hecla bomb, J. Oughton; Harpy, H. Bazely; Ariadne, J. Bradby; Expedition, H. Popham; Minerva, J. M'Kellar; Savage, N. Thompson; Blazer D. Burgess; Lion, S. Bevel; Circe, R. Winthrop; Vestal, C. White; Hebe, W. Brichall; Druid, C. Aphorpe; Terrier, T. Lowen; Vesuve, W. Elliot; Furnace, M. W. Suckling. To keep to the westward, for the purpose of making a feint to land there: Champion, H. Raper; Dart, R. Ragg; Wolvereene, L. M. Mortlock; Crash, B. M. Praid; Boxer, J. Gilbert; Acute, J. Seaver."

and France. On the 18th P.M. I spoke the *Fairy*, when captain Horton told me he had taken a cutter from Flushing to Ostend; and he understood from the people on board, that the transportschuylts fitting at Flushing were to go round immediately by the canals to Dunkirk and Ostend; and although it was impossible that any information could give additional spirit to the troops forming this enterprise, or increase the energy and exertions of the officers and seamen under my command, yet it convinced major-general Coote and myself that it was of the greatest importance not to lose any time, but to attempt, even under an increased degree of risk, an object of such magnitude as the one in question; and, as the weather appeared more favourable than it had been, I made the signal for captain Bazely, in the *Harpy*, to go a-head, with the vessels appointed to lie as beacons N. W. of the town of Ostend, and for captain Bradby, in the *Ariadne*, to keep between the *Expedition* and *Harpy*, that we might approach as near the coast as possible, without the chance of being discovered from the shore. At one A. M. we anchored; soon afterwards the wind shifted to West, and threatened to blow so much that the general and myself were deliberating whether it would not be better to go to sea and wait a more favourable opportunity, when a boat from the *Vigilant* brought a vessel along-side, which she had cut out from under the light-house battery; and the information obtained from the persons who were on board her, under separate examinations, so convinced us of the small force at

Ostend, Nieuport, and Bruges, that major-general Coote begged he might be landed to accomplish the great object of destroying the canals, even if the surf should prevent his retreat being so successful as he could wish. I of course acceded to his spirited proposition, and ordered the troops to be landed as fast as possible, without waiting for the regular order of debarkation. Many of the troops were on shore before we were discovered; and it was not till a quarter past four that the batteries opened on the ships, which was instantly returned in a most spirited manner, by captain Mortlock, of the *Wolvereene*, lieutenant Edmonds, of the *Asp*, and lieutenant Norman, of the *Biter*. The *Hecla* and *Tartarus* bombs very soon opened their mortars, and threw their shells with great quickness and precision. The town was on fire several times, and much damage was done to the ships in the basin. By five o'clock all the troops ordered to land, except those from *Minerva*, were on shore with their artillery, miners, wooden petards, tools and gunpowder; and, before six, I heard from general Coote, that he had no doubt of blowing up the works. I now became very anxious for the situation of the major-general, from the state of the weather; and I ordered all the gun-boats that had anchored to the eastward of the town to get as near the shore as possible, to cover and assist the troops in their embarkation. The batteries at the town continued their fire on the *Wolvereene*, *Asp*, and *Biter*; and as the *Wolvereene* had received much damage, and the *Asp* had been lying near four

hours within 800 yards of the battery. I made their signal to move, and soon after directed the Dart, Harpy, and Kite, to take their stations, that the enemy might be prevented from turning their guns against our troops; but it being low water, they could not get so near as their commanders wished. At half past nine, the Minerva came in; and as I thought an additional number of troops would only add to the anxiety of the general, from the little probability of being able to embark them; I sent captain Mackellar on shore to report his arrival with four light companies of the guards. In his absence colonel Ward filled two flat boats with his officers and men, and was proceeding with every zeal to join the battalion of guards, without considering the danger he was exposed to in crossing the surf, when captain Bradby fortunately saw him, and advised him to return immediately to his ship. At 20 minutes past ten, I had the pleasure of seeing the explosion take place; and, soon after, the troops assembled on the sand-hills near the shore; but the sea ran so high, that it was impossible to embark a single man; therefore I could only make every arrangement against the wind moderated; and this morning, at day-light, I went on shore, in the Kite, for the purpose of giving every assistance, but I had the mortification to see our army surrounded by the enemy's troops: and as I had no doubt the general had capitulated, I ordered all the ships to anchor farther out, and I sent in a flag of truce, by colonel Boone, of the guards, and captain Brown, of the Kite, with a letter to the

commandant, a copy of which I inclose for their lordships' information. At ten this morning, the general's aid-de-camp, capt. Williamson came on board; and though it was very painful to hear general Coote was wounded, after all his exertions, yet it was very satisfactory to learn, that, under many disadvantageous circumstances, and after performing a service of such consequence to our country, the loss, in killed and wounded, was only between 50 and 60 officers and privates; and that the general capitulated in consequence of being surrounded by several thousands of the national troops. I inclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of such minutes as were left me by captain Williamson, from which their lordships will see the sluice-gates and works are completely destroyed, and several vessels, intended for transports, burnt. I this morning learnt that the canal was quite dry, and that the works destroyed yesterday had taken the states of Bruges five years to finish. I hope their lordships will be satisfied that the enemy was surprised, and every thing they wished was accomplished, although the loss of the troops far exceeded any calculation, except under the particular circumstances of the wind's coming to the northward, and blowing very hard. If the weather had continued fine, the troops would have been embarked by twelve, at which time the return of killed and wounded did not exceed four rank and file. I cannot help again noticing the particular good conduct of captain Mortlock, lieut. Edmonds, and lieutenant Norman, and beg to recommend

them to their lordships' protection. General Coote sent to inform me that he was highly pleased with the uncommon exertions of captains Winthrop and Bradby, and lieutenant Bradby, who had acted on shore as his aid-de-camp: he also noticed the assistance he had derived from captain Mackellar after his landing. I take the liberty of sending this dispatch by captain Winthrop, of the *Circe*, who commanded the seamen landed from the different ships; and, as he had the particular charge of getting the powder and mines up for the destruction of the works, in which he so ably succeeded, he will be enabled to inform their lordships of every circumstance. Captain Mackellar, with the officers and men on shore, were included in the capitulation; but I have not yet been able to collect an exact return of the number of seamen taken. I transmit you a list of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships: and have the honour to be, &c.

"HOME POPHAM."

"*To the Officer commanding the Troops of the National Convention at Ostend; dated on board his Majesty's Ship Expedition, Ostend Roads, May 20.*

"SIR,

"I have just heard with concern that the British troops and seamen under the command of major-general Coote, and captain Mackellar, of the royal navy, have capitulated to the troops of the republic; and I trust they will be treated with that attention which is due to officers and men executing the orders of their sovereign. It has been the invariable rule of the British government to make

the situation of prisoners as comfortable as possible; and I am sure, sir, in this instance, you will do the same to the troops, &c. who have fallen into your hands. It will not be against any rule to exchange the prisoners immediately, but, on the contrary, add to your name by marking it with humanity and liberality; and I give you my word, the same number of troops, or other prisoners, shall be instantly sent from England to France, with such officers as you shall name; or as shall be named by the national convention, provided no public reason attaches against the release of any particular person. I have sent the officers what things they left on board the ship, and I am confident you will order them to be delivered as soon as possible. I beg you will allow the officers and men to write letters to England by this flag, as a satisfaction to their families, it being impossible for me to know who have fallen, or received wounds, which I hope will be very inconsiderable, from the accounts I have received from the shore. I beg your answer to this letter without loss of time; and confide in your liberality towards the troops under capitulation to you.

"HOME POPHAM."

"*Extract from the Minutes left on board the Expedition by Captain Williamson, Aid-de-Camp to General Coote, dated 10 A. M. May 20, Ostend Roads.*

"Sluice gates destroyed in the most complete manner. Boats burnt, and every thing done, and the troops ready to embark by twelve o'clock. When we found

it impossible to embark, took the strongest position on the sand-hills, and about four in the morning were attacked by a column of 600 men to our left, an immense column in front, with cannon, and a very large column on the right. The general and troops would have all been off, with the loss of not more than three or four men, if the wind had not come to the northward soon after we landed, and made so high a sea. We have not been able to ascertain the exact number of men killed and wounded; but it is supposed they amount to about 50 or 60.

“ Killed and wounded in his Majesty’s Ships and Vessels under the command of Captain Home Popham, Ostend Roads, May 19.

“ Seamen, &c. of *Wolvereene*, 1 killed, 10 wounded, 23d regiment, on board the *Wolvereene*, 1 killed, 5 wounded. *Asp*, 1 seaman killed. lieutenant *Edmonds* wounded.

“ HOME POPHAM.”

“ *Parliament-street, May 22.*

“ A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty’s principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-colonel Warde, of the 1st regiment of guards, dated on board the Expedition frigate, eight o’clock, P. M. May 20.

“ SIR,

“ In consequence of the *Minerva* frigate, (on board which were the four light infantry companies of the 1st regiment of foot guards) having unfortunately lost her situation in the squadron under the command of captain

Popham, of the royal navy, during the night of the 18th inst. the command of the remainder of the troops, from that accident, has devolved upon me: and I have the honour to transmit to you the most correct account that I have been able to collect. Early on the morning of the 19th inst. the following troops under the command of major-general Coote, viz. two companies, light infantry, Coldstream guards; two ditto, ditto, 3d guards; 11th regiment of foot; 23d and 49th flank companies, with six pieces of ordnance, disembarked, and effected their landing, at three o’clock in the morning, to the eastward of Ostend, and completed the object of the expedition, by burning a number of boats destined for the invasion of England, and by so completely destroying the locks and basin-gates of the Bruges canal, that it was this morning without a drop of water; and, as I understand all the transports fitting out at Flushing were intended to be brought to Ostend and Dunkirk by the inland navigation, to avoid our cruisers, that arrangement will be defeated, and it will be a long time before the works can be repaired, as they were five years finishing, and were esteemed the most complete works of the kind in Europe. The troops had retreated, and were ready to re-embark by twelve o’clock the same morning, with the loss of only one rank and file killed, and one seaman wounded; but found it impossible, from the wind having increased, and the surf running so high, as entirely to prevent their regaining the boats; upon which they took up a position on

the sand-hills above the beach, where they lay the whole of that day and night upon their arms.—The enemy taking advantage of the length of time and the night, collected in very great force, and, soon after day-break this morning, attacked them on every side, when, after a most noble and gallant defence, I am grieved to add, they were under the necessity of capitulating to a very great superiority of numbers.

"I herewith inclose a list of the killed and wounded, and have every reason to believe it correct: Lieutenant-colonel Hely, 11th foot, killed; major-general Coote, wounded; colonel Campbell, 3d guards wounded; major Donkin, 44th foot, wounded; captain Walker, royal artillery, wounded.

"I am, &c. HENRY WARDE."

"*Admiralty Office, July 14.*

"Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal George, at sea, July 11, 1798.

"The inclosed copies of letters will inform their lordships of the taking of La Seine, and the loss of his majesty's ship La Pique. On both these events I can add nothing more than to express my satisfaction on this important capture, and real concern for the accidents that have attended it. Captain Milne, with all his officers and people, are on board La Seine.

"I am, &c. BRIDPORT."

"*Jason, Pertuis Breton, July 2, 1798.*

"My Lord,

"On Friday last, at seven A. M.

his majesty's squadron under my command, consisting of the ships named in the margin *, gave chase to a French frigate off the Saintes: at 11 at night, the Pique brought her to action, and continued a running fight, till the Jason passed between the two. At this instant the land near the point de la Trenche was seen close on our larboard bow, and before the ship could answer her helm, she took the ground close to the enemy, which, we immediately perceived, had grounded also; most unfortunately, as the tide rose, we hung only forwards, and therefore swung with our stern close to the enemy's broadside, who, although he was dismasted, did not fail to take advantage of his happy position; but a well-directed fire was kept up from a few guns abaft, and at half past two she struck. Our opponent, called La Seine, was commanded by le capitaine Brejot, her force 42 guns, eighteen and nine pounders with carronades, and 610 men, including troops; she sailed from L'Isle de France three months ago, bound to L'Orient.

"In the early part of the battle, I had the mortification to be wounded, and was obliged to leave the deck; but my misfortune is palliated by the reflection that the service did not suffer by my absence: for no man could have filled my place with more credit to himself, and benefit to the state, than my first lieutenant, Mr. Charles Inglis, whom I beg to recommend in the strongest manner for his bravery, skill, and great exertions.

* *Jason, Pique, and Mermaid.*

"I come now, my lord, to the painful part of my narrative, which I am necessitated to make more prolix than I otherwise should, from the peculiar circumstances attending the engagement; and first I mention the loss of the *Pique*, whose officers and crew deserved a better fate. Captain Milne had led her to the fight in an officer-like manner, but it was his misfortune, that, the main-topmast being carried away, he was obliged to drop astern: ardour urging him on to renew the combat, he did not hear me hail him to anchor, and the ship therefore grounded on our off-side, near enough to receive the enemy's shot over us, although very awkwardly situated for returning the fire. In the morning every attempt was made to get the ships off, but the *Jason* was alone successful: I therefore, on finding the *Pique* was bilged, directed the captain to destroy her, and to exert his abilities and activity to save the prize; which he, with great difficulty, got afloat yesterday evening, after throwing her guns, &c. overboard.

"The carnage on board *La Seine* was very great; 170 men were killed, and about 100 wounded, many of them mortally. I inclose a list of the sufferers on board the *Jason*; and it is with great concern that among the killed I place the name of Mr. Anthony Richard Robotier, my second lieutenant, who died fighting gloriously, and by whose fall is lost a most amiable man and excellent officer. Lieutenant Riboleau commanded on the main deck afterwards, and behaved with great spirit; as did Mr. Lockwood, the master, and lieutenant Symes, of the marines;

my other officers of every description behaved vastly well; and the bravery and excellent conduct of the crew deserve much praise.

"The *Pique* was exceedingly shattered in her rigging, and the *Jason* has not one mast or yard but what is much damaged, nor a shroud or rope but what is cut, with all the sails torn to pieces. If our ship could have remained in her first position, or our companion could have occupied the situation he wished, the business must have been sooner finished, without so much injury being done aloft.

"It is but justice to observe that every effort was made on board the *Mermaid*, during our long chase, to approach the enemy; and I feel much indebted to captain Newman for heaving the ship off, as that was the only possible means to save her. So soon as we were afloat, the squadron under captain Stopford was seen in the offing, and being called in by signal, was of infinite service. I have the honour to be, &c.

"CHARLES STIRLING."

A list of killed and wounded on board His Majesty's Ship *Jason*, in the Action with *La Seine*.

Lieutenant Robotier, killed; 1 corporal of marines, killed; 5 seamen, killed; captain Stirling, wounded; Messrs. Bedford and Luscome, wounded; 9 seamen, wounded; total killed, 7; wounded, 12.

(Signed) CHARLES STIRLING.

On board La Seine, late French Frigate, July 3, 1798.

"My Lord,

"It is with real concern I have to

inform your lordship of the loss of his majesty's ship *Pique*, under my command, on the night of the 30th ult. in action with the French frigate *La Seine*, by running on shore in the passage Breton, where, at low water, she was entirely bulged. For the transactions of that day, I leave your lordship to captain Stirling's despatches; but must take the liberty of mentioning the entire satisfaction I had from the steady and cool behaviour of the officers and men I had the honour to command; particularly Mr. Lee, first lieutenant; Mr. Devonshire, second; and Mr. Watson, acting third; and lieutenant M'Donald of the marines; as likewise Mr. Edween, the gunner, whose conduct in his department deserves my warmest praise.

"It is some small satisfaction to me, my lord, for the loss of his majesty's ship, that the prize was got off by the assistance given from the *St. Fiorenzo*; and her being a very strong and nearly new ship, she does not appear to have received any material damage in her hull, except from shot, as she makes very little water.

"I have the honour to inclose a list of killed and wounded of his majesty's ship *Pique*.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"DAVID MILNE."

Right Honourable Lord Bridport,
K. B. &c.

Return of killed and wounded on board His Majesty's Ship *La Pique*, in the Action with the French Frigate *La Seine*, on the 30th of June, 1798.

James Collins, sail maker, killed; Mr. Robinson, boatswain, wounded; Thomas Andrews,

boatswain's mate, wounded; Benjamin Lockwood, seaman, wounded; William Richards, seaman, missing; Benjamin Masland, Robert Sallass, and Joseph Fursman, marines, wounded.

From the London Gazette, July 21, 1798.

Parliament-street, July 21.

The despatches, of which the following are copies, were received on the 17th instant, by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from major-generals Coote and Burrard; no opportunity to transmit them having occurred until the return of Mr. Jobernes, by whom they were forwarded.

Ostend, June 23, 1798.

"Sir,

"Not having had it in my power to send my despatches by my aide-camp, captain Williamson, I take the opportunity by Mr. Jobernes, the staff surgeon, who was ordered to Ostend by his royal highness the commander in chief.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"EYRE COOTE, Major-General."

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

On a Ridge of Sand-Hills, three Miles to the East of Ostend, May 19, 1798.

"Sir,

"I have the most sincere satisfaction to acquaint you of the complete and brilliant success attending the expedition entrusted by his majesty to the care of captain Popham, of the royal navy, and myself. The squadron reached Ostend about one o'clock this morning.

"The able and judicious arrangements of captain Popham, and great exertions of himself, the

officers and seamen under his command, enabled us to disembark the troops at the place from which I have the honour of dating this despatch; and from captain Popham's local knowledge, I gained such information as very much removed the difficulties we had to encounter on shore, and contributed greatly to the success of the enterprise.

"General Sir Charles Grey sent you, sir, an outline of the disposition of the troops, and of the plans, previous to our sailing from Margate; these were carried into execution, with a little alteration, which I was obliged to make, in consequence of the whole of the troops not having landed.

"Soon after we disembarked, I detached major-general Burrard, with four companies of light infantry of the guards, the 23d and 49th grenadiers, and two six-pounders, to take possession of the different posts and passes that it was necessary to occupy to enable us to carry our plans into execution. In effecting this he met with strong opposition from a considerable body of sharpshooters, who were gallantly repulsed with some loss, and by a rapid march cut off from the town of Ostend.

"During the time Lieutenant Brownrigg, of the engineers, was employed in bringing up the powder and other materials to effect the destruction of the sluices of the Bruges canal, the troops were posted as follows: the grenadiers of the 11th and 23d regiments with cannon, &c. at the lower ferry, to prevent the enemy crossing from Ostend. A detachment of colonel Campbell's company of

the guards, under the command of captain Duff, and the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, under the command of captain lord Aylmer, at the upper ferry for the same purpose. The remainder of colonel Campbell's, with three other companies of the guards, under the command of colonel Calcraft, at the sluices and country around, to cover the operation.

"The 11th regiment on the south-east front, to secure a safe retreat for the troops, if pressed.

"The light infantry companies of the 11th and 23d regiments, under major Donkin, to cover the village of Bredin, and extend to the Blankenburg road near the sea, as well as to co-operate with the 11th regiment.

"The greater part of the 23d regiment remained on board the ships of war, stationed to the westward of the town, as well to divert the enemy's attention to that point, as to land and spike the cannon, should an opportunity offer.

"By the time the troops were properly posted, the necessary materials were brought up to the sluices by the indefatigable exertions and extraordinary good conduct of captains Winthrop, Bradby, and M'Kellar, and lieutenant Bradby, of the royal navy, whose services on shore cannot be too highly praised.

"Lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, in about four hours made all his arrangements, and completely destroyed the sluices; his mines having in every particular the desired effect; and the object of the expedition thereby attained; and, which, I have the satisfaction to add, was accomplished with the trifling loss

of only five men killed and wounded. Several vessels of considerable burden were also destroyed in the canal near the sluices.

“No danger even for an instant abated the ardour of the seamen and soldiers. To their unanimity his majesty and the country are indebted for our success.

“No language of mine can do justice to the forces employed upon this occasion; and, as it is impossible to name each individual, I beg leave to state the great exertions of a few.

“To that excellent officer, Major-general Burrard, I shall feel everlasting obligation: to his counsel, exertions, and ability, I am in a great measure to attribute the success of the enterprise.

“His Majesty’s guards, conspicuous upon all occasions, on this service have added to their former laurels. To Colonel Calcraft, who commanded them; Colonels Cunningham and Campbell, of the same corps; Major, Skinner, of the 23d regiment, commanding the grenadiers; Major Donkin, of the 44th regiment, commanding the light infantry; and Captain Walker, commanding the royal artillery; I feel myself much indebted for their good conduct in the various services in which I employed them.

“In Lieutenant Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, I found infinite ability and resource. His zeal and attention were eminently conspicuous; and in my opinion this gentleman bids fair to be of great future service to his country.

“I should not do justice to the zeal and spirit of Lieutenant Gilham, of the Sussex militia, if I did not state to you, that, anxious

to be employed in the service of his country, and to learn his profession, he applied to his commanding officer at Dover, the night before we sailed, for permission to join our force. He left Dover in a violent gale of wind, and came on board the morning we got under weigh. I attached him to Colonel Campbell’s company of the battalion of guards, where he acquitted himself much to his honour.

“Captain Visscher, Sir Charles Grey’s aid-de-camp, Capt. Williamson, my aid-de-camp, and Major of Brigade, Thorley, I sent to attend the guards, light infantry, and grenadiers in their different positions, as well to give their assistance to the respective commanding officers, as to apprise me of any circumstance that might occur, so as to require my immediate information, they being thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the expedition. They conducted themselves to my most perfect satisfaction, as did Lieutenant Cliften, of the royal artillery, who attended me, Capt. Cumberland, of the 83d regiment, and Cornet Nixon, of the 7th light dragoons, who acted as aid-de-camp to Major-general Burrard.

“In my letter of the 13th inst. I had the honour to inform you of my having accepted the services of Mr. Jarvis, a surgeon of Margate. His great attention was unremitting, and his conduct upon this occasion is highly praiseworthy.

“To Colonel Twiss I shall ever feel great obligation for the able assistance he gave me at Dover, in preparing the necessary instru-

ments for destroying the sluice-gates, as well as for the instruction he was so kind to give Lieutenant Brownrigg for his service.

"As a feint to cover the operation of bringing up the materials, and of destroying the sluices, Capt. Popham and myself sent a summons to the commandant of Ostend to surrender the town and its dependencies to his Majesty's forces under our command; which had the desired effect. I have the honour to inclose you a copy of the summons, with the commandant's answer.

"By an unavoidable accident, the four light companies of the 1st guards, under the command of Lieut.-cols. Warde and Boone, were not landed in the morning; I think it however but justice to declare, that every thing that brave men then could attempt was done at the imminent risk of their lives to accomplish it; and I am conscious the zeal and courage they manifested to partake in the dangers of their brother soldiers, would have made them ample sharers in any honour to be acquired, or danger to be encountered, on shore, had they been able to reach it.

"I have sent a despatch to Sir Charles Grey by his aide-de-camp, Capt. Visscher; and Capt. Williamson, my aide-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver you this. Both these gentlemen are well qualified to give you any farther information; and I beg leave to recommend them to your notice and protection.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"EYRE COOTE, maj.-gen."

Right Hon. Henry Dundas,

&c. &c. &c.

Copy of the summons sent for the town of Ostend, &c. to surrender. Dated east of the harbour of Ostend, May 19, 1798.

"Sir,

"We, the officers commanding the sea and land forces of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, think it necessary to apprise you, that we shall be obliged to bombard and cannonade the town of Ostend, unless you, as commandant, shall immediately surrender the same, with its dependencies, troops, and military stores belonging to the republic, to the arms of our sovereign.

"We leave to you to take into your serious consideration the very formidable force now lying before the town and port of Ostend, as you cannot but be responsible for the consequences of a vain and fruitless resistance.

"We are willing to grant half an hour for your full consideration of the above terms, and are convinced that your humanity and good sense will point out the necessary steps to be taken to accede to our proposals, as, in default thereof, we shall be under the necessity of immediately commencing hostilities.

"We have the honour to be, &c.

"EYRE COOTE, maj.-general.

"HOME POPHAM, capt. R. N."

To his excellency the commandant of Ostend.

Translation of the commandant of Ostend's answer to the summons.

Liberty.

Equality.

Garrison of Ostend, 30th Floreal, 6th year of the Republic.

Muscar, commandant of the gar-

riſon of Oſtend, to the commander in chief of the troops of his Britannic Maſteſty.

“ General,

“ The council of war was ſitting when I received the honour of your letter; we have unanimouſly reſolved not to ſurrender this place until we ſhall have been buried under its ruins.

“ (Signed) MUSCAR,

“ Commandant of the gariſon.”

Oſtend, May 20, 1798.

“ Sir,

“ Major-gen. Coote, in his deſpatch yeſterday, had the honour to inform you of the brilliant ſucceſs of the enterpriſe of which he had the command, as far as related to the deſtruction of the gates and ſluices of the canal of Bruges.

“ The general having been ſeverely wounded this morning, I have the painful taſk of detailing our unavoidable ſurrender ſoon after.

“ On our return yeſterday to the beach at eleven o’clock A. M. where we had diſembarked, we found, that, from an increaſe of wind and ſurf, our communication with the fleet was nearly cut off, and that it was impoſſible to reimbarc the troops. The general, well aware of the riſk we ran in ſtaying in an enemy’s country, naturally exaſperated againſt us for the damage we had recently done them, attempted to get off ſome companies: but the boats ſoon filled with water, and it was with extreme difficulty the lives of the men were ſaved. It then became neceſſary to examine carefully the ground we were likely to fight upon; and ſuch a

choice was made as might have insured us ſucceſs, had any thing like an equal force preſented itſelf.

“ Major-gen. Coote took every precaution the evening and the night afforded, to make our poſt among the ſand-hills upon the ſhore as tenable as poſſible, by directing Lieut. Brownrigg, of the royal engineers, to make ſmall entrenchments where it was neceſſary, and, by planting the few field-pieces and the howitzer we had on the moſt favourable ſpots, to annoy the enemy in their approach to attack us.

“ In momentary expectation of them, we impatiently looked for a favourable opportunity to get into our boats; but unfortunately it never preſented itſelf.

“ About four o’clock this morning, (the wind and ſurf having increaſed during the night) we perceived plainly two ſtrong columns of the enemy advancing on our front; and ſoon after we found ſeveral other columns upon our flanks.

“ The action began by a cannonade from their horſe-artillery, which was answered from our field-pieces and howitzer with great animation. Our artillery was ſerved admirably; and, had not the enemy ſoon after turned our flanks, which, from their very great numbers, could not be prevented, they would have paid dear indeed for any advantage their ſuperiority of numbers gave them. The force they employed, we have ſince found, was aſſembled from Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk; and General Coote and myſelf were very ſoon convinced that our caſe was deſperate, and that we had no choice left but to

defend our post, such as it was, for the honour of his Majesty's arms, as long as we were able. We maintained this very severe and unequal conflict for two hours, in which extreme hot fire was interchanged, particularly on our left flank, which, as well as our right, was now completely turned. Wishing, however, to make one strong effort, Major-gen. Coote ordered Major Donkin, of the 44th regiment, on the left, with a company of light infantry, to endeavour to turn that flank of the enemy which had made most impression upon us, and Colonel Campbell, with his own light company of the guards, to effect the same purpose by a concealed and rapid march round the Sand Hills. The uncommon exertions of these two invaluable officers, when the signal was made for them to advance, are above all praise; their companies, in the attempt, were much cut down, and Col. Campbell and Major Donkin, with one subaltern (Captain Duff), were wounded. About this time Major-general Coote perceived that part of the 11th regiment, towards our left, had given way, and was likely to distress the other parts of the front nearest to it. At the moment he was endeavouring to rally them, and had put himself at their head to regain the lost and advantageous ground from which they had retreated, at that most critical period, when most conspicuous for gallantry and conduct, he received a very severe wound in his thigh; and being unable to go on, he sent for me from the right, where I was stationed.

"We both found that our front

was broken, and our flanks completely turned, the enemy pouring in upon us on all sides, and several valuable officers and many of our best men killed and wounded. It was evident we could not hold out for ten minutes longer; and therefore we thought it more our duty to preserve the lives of the brave men we commanded, than to sacrifice them to what, we conceived, was a mistaken point of honour. Had we acted differently, it is probable that in less time than what I have just mentioned, their fate would have been decided by the bayonet.

"Major-gen. Coote, by whose bed I am writing, has enjoined me to repeat the praises (and I am witness he has justly bestowed them) on the officers and men which he had the honour to mention in his despatch of yesterday. And we hope, that, although we have not been finally successful in re-embarking, our conduct and exertions, in having effected the object of the enterprise, will be deemed honourable by his majesty and our country; and we rely upon his gracious acceptance of our endeavours and zeal in the attempt to extricate the troops entrusted to our charge from difficulties both unavoidable and insurmountable.

"Major-gen. Coote and myself would willingly bestow praise where it is due; but, among many competitors, it is difficult to select without appearing to overlook others well deserving. We have, Sir, however, the honour of mentioning to you Colonel Campbell, of the third guards light infantry, and Major Donkin, of the 44th, whose conduct, if any thing could have protracted our fate, had been

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equal to the difficulty of effecting it. Capt. Walker, commanding the royal artillery, Captains Wilson and Godfrey, and Lieutenants Simpson, Hughes, and Holcroft, all of the same distinguished corps, after having done every thing which men could do, spiked their guns, and threw them over the banks, at the moment the enemy were possessing themselves of them. The latter gentleman, Lieut. Holcroft, when all his men were wounded except one, remained at his gun doing duty with it to the best of his ability. Captain Gibbs of the 11th, and Captain Halkett, of the 23d light infantry, eminently distinguished themselves by their cool intrepid conduct during the whole time.

"All the gentlemen of the staff conducted themselves much to the satisfaction of Major-gen. Coote, and myself.

"To Capt. Cumberland, of the 83d, and Cornet Nixon, of the 7th light dragoons, who flatteringly offered to accompany me, and who acted as my aid-de-camp, I am much indebted; their attention and activity I found of most material service.

"Mr. Lowen, volunteer, attached to the 23d light infantry, was twice wounded, and was particularly conspicuous, and remarked as a most promising soldier. We think it but justice to the enemy to say, that our wounded are treated with humanity: many of them are in the hospital of this town, and are well attended by their surgeons.

"Our numbers on shore were about 1000 men, of which we are afraid there are from 100 to 150 killed and wounded. The enemy, by all accounts, have lost about the

same number; but it is impossible to give any just return of the number we have lost till we hear from Bruges, where the prisoners were sent.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) HARRY BURRARD,
Major-general.

*To the Right Hon. Henry,
Dundas, &c. &c. &c.*

P. S. A return of the killed and wounded is now more regularly transmitted by Major-gen. Coote.
(Signed) EYRE COOTE, M. G.
Ostend, June 17, 1798.

Return of officers, non-commissioned officers, rank and file, and seamen, killed, wounded, and missing, on the Sand Hills near Ostend, 20th May, 1798.

Royal Artillery.—6 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 5 rank and file wounded; 20 rank and file missing.

Royal Engineers.—2 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.

17th light dragoons.—1 rank and file wounded.

1st. guards.—1 rank and file wounded.

2d guards.—4 rank and file killed; 2 drummers missing.

3d guards.—6 rank and file killed; 1 colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file wounded; 25 rank and file missing.

11th regiment of foot.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 28 rank and file wounded.

23d regiment of foot.—4 rank and file killed; 11 rank and file wounded.

44th regiment of foot.—1 major wounded.

49th regiment of foot.—1 rank and file wounded.

Royal navy.—11 seaman killed; 3 seamen wounded.

Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 serjeant, 31 rank and file, 11 seamen killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 59 rank and file, 3 seamen wounded; 2 drummers, 45 rank and file, missing.

Names and rank of officers killed and wounded.

Major-gen. Coote, badly wounded.

Col. Campbell, 3d guards, badly wounded (since dead).

Colonel Hely, 11th regiment of foot, killed.

Major Donkin, commanding battalion of light infantry, wounded slightly.

Capt. Walker, commanding royal artillery, wounded (since dead).

Captain Duff, 3d guards, slightly wounded.

Volunteer Lowen, attached to the 23d light infantry, wounded severely.

Royal Navy.

Mr. Wisdom, Mr. Belding, master's-mates of his Majesty's ship *Circe*, killed.

From the best accounts,

M. THORLEY, Major of Brigade.

Ostend, June 10, 1798.

Return of Officers, non-commissioned, and rank and file, under the command of Major-general Coote, surrendered prisoners of war on the Sand Hills, near Ostend, 20th May, 1798.

Lisle.—Royal artillery.—2 cap-

tains, 5 lieutenants, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 60 rank and file.

Lisle and Ostend.—Royal engineers.—1 second lieutenant.

Lisle.—17th light dragoons.—1 serjeant, 8 rank and file.

Ditto.—Four companies of guards.—2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 16 serjeants, 9 drummers, 260 rank and file.

Douay, Fort L'Escarpe.—11th regiment of foot.—1 major, 6 captains, 11 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon, 40 serjeants, 16 drummers, 400 rank and file.

Lisle.—23d regiment grenadiers and light infantry.—1 lieutenant colonel, 1 major, 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 8 serjeants, 4 drummers, 160 rank and file.

Ditto.—44th regiment.—1 major.

Ditto.—49th grenadiers.—1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 surgeon, 4 serjeants, 2 drummers, 78 rank and file.

Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 14 captains, 30 lieutenants, 1 second lieutenant, 4 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 3 surgeons, 77 serjeants, 33 drummers, 966 rank and file.

Royal Artillery.

Captains, Wilson and Godfrey.

Lieutenants, Simpson, Clifton, Hughes, Holcroft, and Hilbert.

Second Lieutenant, Brownrigg, royal engineers.

Four companies of guards.

Colonels, Calcraft and Cunningham.

Cpts. and Lieuts. Wheatley, acting adjutant; Armstrong, Bean, Duff, and Stephens.

Surgeon, Fullelove.

11th regiment.

Major Armstrong.

Captains, Sirce, Martin, and Evans; Aylmer, capt.-lieut.

Lieutenants, Blair, adjutant; Collyer, M'Lean, Newman, Ogilvie, and Armstrong.

Ensigns, Simpson, Miller, Cromie, and M'Kenzie.

11th Flank Companies.

Captains, Knight, grenadiers; Gibbs, light infantry.

Lieutenants, Hely, Grant, and Campbell, grenadiers; Fenwick, Maxwell, and Elton, light infantry.

Surgeon, Parlet.

23d Regiment.

Lieutenant-colonel Talbot.

Major Skinner.

Captains, Bradford and Bury, grenadiers; Halket, light infantry.

Lieutenants, Hanson, Visscher, and Lloyd, grenadiers; Cotton, Cortland, and Roberts, light infantry.

44th Regiment.

Major Donkin, 49th regiment.

Captain Lord Aylmer, grenadiers.

Lieutenants, Martin, Purson, and Williams, ditto.

Surgeon, Cobb.

General Officers and staff.

Major-general Coote.

Aides-de-camp, Capt. Williamson, Capt. Visscher, and Lieutenant Gilham.

Captain Thorley, Major of Brigade.

Major-general Burrard.

Aides-de-camp, Capt. Cumberland and Cornet Nixon.

From the best accounts,

M. THORLEY, Major of Brigade.

Ostend, May 27, 1798.

" Sir,

" It is with inexpressible con-

cern that I am to acquaint you, that Colonel Campbell, of the 3d guards, died this morning of the wound he received in the action of the 20th instant. The loss of this invaluable officer to the service is irreparable, and by his country ever to be lamented.

" Major-gen. Burrard, with all the officers (three or four excepted that were left with me) and soldiers, are removed to Lisle, where I expect to be sent as soon as I am sufficiently recovered of my wounds.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" EYRE COOTE, M. G."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 18.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Earl St. Vincent to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, August 20.

" Sir,

" I inclose a letter from Capt. Dixon, of his Majesty's ship the Lion, acquainting me with his success in capturing his Catholic Majesty's frigate El Dorothea. Captain Dixon seems to have displayed great judgment and cool courage on this occasion.

" ST. VINCENT."

Lion at Sea, July 16.

" My Lord,

" It is with the greatest pleasure I have the honor to inform your lordship, that yesterday morning at nine o'clock, Carthage bearing N. 79 W. distant 29 leagues, I had the good fortune to fall in with a squadron of Spa-

nish frigates, as per margin*, and that, after having brought them to close action about a quarter past 11 o'clock, which lasted with great warmth till past one, P. M. the enemy was totally defeated and put to flight, leaving the Dorothea to her fate, having hoisted an English ensign, and with the union downwards: and as I considered her in the greatest distress, I lost not a moment in taking possession, which was done in the face of the three remaining frigates, distant about two miles on my weather-bow.

"In detailing the particulars of the above affair, I have to inform your lordship, that at the hour the frigates were descried in the S. E. quarter, the Lion was steering east with a crowd of sail, the wind moderate at W. S. W. and as I soon discovered by their signals and other manœuvres they were enemies, I immediately cleared ship for action: which being effected in the shortest time I ever recollect to have seen, I acquainted the officers and ship's company with my intention of immediately bringing the frigates to the closest action possible; and observing the cheerfulness with which it was received, I determined not to lose a moment to profit thereby, and accordingly took in studding-sails, and first reefs of the top-sails, in order to secure the fighting of the lower battery, and hauled up towards the frigates, which were steering

for the Lion. Having secured the weather-gage, I bore down on the enemy, who was forming in a close order of battle, on the larboard line of bearing: the third frigate from the van had lost her fore-top-mast. It immediately occurred to me that the crippled ship was my object, in order to secure a general action, supposing that a Spaniard, (from the nobleness of his character) would never, with so superior a force, forsake a friend in distress. In this I fortunately succeeded; and steering for and closing with the crippled ship, which was now become the sternmost in the line of battle, the other three frigates tacked in succession, and passed the Lion very gallantly within musket-shot; but as their line after tacking was by no means a close one, they each received a well-directed broadside from the Lion, the good effect of which was very visible by their standing a considerable time on that tack. I still continued to steer for the crippled ship, who, nearly sailing as well as the Lion, galled her very considerably in the rigging by her stern chases.

The three frigates made a second close attempt, but not so close as the former, to support her, and each fully repaid by an exchange of broadsides. At length we closed with the crippled ship, and poured in a destructive fire, the yard-arms being just clear of each other; she nevertheless did

* Pomona, of 42 guns and 350 men, Felix O'Neil commodore, don Francis Villamil, captain.

Dorothea, of 42 guns and 370 men, don Manuel Gerraro, captain.

Cassilda, of 42 guns and 350 men, don Deam. Ferrara, captain.

Proserpine, of 42 guns and 350 men, Quaj. Bial, captain.

They all sailed from Carthage on the 8th inst. on a cruise.

not strike for some time after. At this period I found the *Lion* totally ungovernable, having all her braces, brollings, clue garnets, &c. shot away, the fore-sail nearly rendered useless, and the other sails much torn.

"The three frigates a third time made a distant and feeble effort to protect and cover the distressed frigate, but in vain; they did not dare to approach within the distance to do so: and by great exertions being enabled to wear round on the same tack with the frigate that had now struck her colours, and substituted the English ensign in its place, I closed with, and took possession of her as before related.

"During the remainder of the day we were lying to, fully employed in repairing the rigging, bending new canvas, and securing the prize, in order to enable me, if possible, to go in pursuit of the three frigates, which were making off close by the wind to the N. W.

"Now, my lord, it is with the greatest and most heart-felt pleasure to me, that this service has been effected with the probable loss of only one poor man, who has had his thigh amputated, as likewise Mr. Patey, midshipman, slightly wounded in the shoulder; this youth did not quit his quarters in consequence of the wound, and was, from first to last, particularly active. But, my lord, there have been several miraculous recoveries in the *Lion*, owing to the great ability and humane attention of the surgeon, Mr. Young, I therefore never despair of a man while there is life.

"I have now the satisfaction

of declaring to your lordship, that nothing could exceed the cool and collected bravery and determined resolution of every individual in the *Lion*. I have taken the *Dorothea* in tow, as she has her mizen-mast and fore-top-mast carried away, and sails and rigging cut to pieces, her rudder and main-mast much damaged, as well as on account of the necessary attendance of the surgeon to the relief of the wounded men on board; the surgeon of the *Dorothea* being an inexperienced man, and without the necessary instruments.

"I can get, my lord, but an imperfect account of the killed on board the *Dorothea*; their complement, at the commencement of the action, was called three hundred and fifty, and now there are victualled on board the *Lion* three hundred and fifty-one; many volunteers embarked on board at Carthage: the captain and officers suppose there might be from twenty to forty killed in the action, and the wounded now on board the *Lion* are thirty-two.

"I am, &c. &c.

"MANLEY DIXON."

Admiralty Office, Oct. 2, 1798.

The Hon. Captain Capel, of his Majesty's sloop *Mutine* arrived this morning with despatches from Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies:

*Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,
Aug. 7, 1798.*

"Sir,

"Herewith I have the honor to transmit you a copy of my letter to the earl of St. Vincent, toge-

ther with a line of battle of the English and French squadrons, also a list of killed and wounded. I have the pleasure to inform you, that eight of our ships have already top-gallant-yards across, and are ready for any service; the others, with the prizes, will soon be ready for sea. In an event of this importance, I have thought it right to send Captain Capel with a copy of my letter (to the commander-in-chief) over-land, which I hope their lordships will approve; and beg leave to refer them to Captain Capel, who is a most excellent officer, and fully able to give every information; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordship's notice.

"I have the honor to be, &c,

"HORATIO NELSON."

P. S. The island I have taken possession of, and brought off the two thirteen-inch mortars, all the brass guns, and destroyed the iron ones.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Aug. 3, 1798.

"My Lord,

"Almighty God has blessed his Majesty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sun-set on the 1st of August, off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy were moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay (of Shoals) flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your lordship did me the honor to place under my command.

Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible.

"Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleasure: but that is impossible.

"I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott, of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your lordship's pleasure is known.

"The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape; nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it: but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in.

"The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck; but the service suffered no loss by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the *L'Orient*.

"Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and

the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"HORATIO NELSON."

To Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, commander-in-chief, &c. off Cadiz.

English Line of Battle.

1. Culloden, T. Trowbridge, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
2. Theseus, R. W. Miller, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
3. Alexander, Alex. J. Ball, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
4. Vanguard, rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. Edward Berry, captain, 74 guns, 595 men.
5. Minotaur, T. Louis, captain, 74 guns, 640 men.
6. Leander, T. B. Thompson, captain, 50 guns, 343 men.
7. Swiftsure, B. Hallowell, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
8. Audacious, D. Gould, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
9. Defence, John Peyton, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
10. Zealous, Samuel Hood, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
11. Orion, Sir J. Saumarez, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
12. Goliath, Thos. Foley, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
13. Majestic, Geo. B. Westcott, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
14. Bellerophon, Henry D. E. Darby, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.

La Mutine brig.

HORATIO NELSON.

French Line of Battle.

1. Le Guerrier, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.
2. Le Conquérant, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.

3. Le Spartiate, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.
4. L'Aquilon, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.
5. Le Souverain Peuple, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.
6. Le Franklin, Blanquet, first contre-admiral, 80 guns, 800 men, taken.
7. L'Orient, Brueys, admiral and commander-in-chief, 120 guns, 1010 men, burnt.
8. Le tonnant, 80 guns, 800 men, taken.
9. L'Heureux, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.
10. Le Timoléon, 74 guns, 700 men, burnt.
11. Le Mercure, 74 guns, 700 men, taken.
12. Le Guillaume Tell, Ville-neuve, second contre-admiral, 80 guns, 800 men, escaped.
13. Le Généreux, 74 guns, 700 men, escaped.

Frigates.

14. La Diane, 48 guns, 300 men, escaped.
15. La Justice, 44 guns, 300 men, escaped.
16. L'Artémise, 36 guns, 250 men, burnt.
17. La Sérieuse, 36 guns, 250 men, dismasted and sunk.

HORATIO NELSON.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Aug. 3. 1798.

A return of the killed and wounded in his Majesty's ships under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. Rear-Admiral of the Blue, in Action with the French at Anchor, on the 1st August, 1798, off the Mouth of the Nile.
Theseus—5 seamen killed; 1

officer, 24 seamen, 5 marines wounded; total 35.

Alexander—1 officer, 13 seamen killed; 5 officers, 48 seamen, 5 marines wounded; total 72.

Vanguard—3 officers, 20 seamen, 7 marines killed; 7 officers, 60 seamen, 8 marines wounded; total 105.

Minotaur—2 officers, 18 seamen, 3 marines, killed; 4 officers, 54 seamen, 6 marines wounded; total 87.

Swiftsure—7 seamen killed; 1 officer, 19 seamen, 2 marines wounded; total 29.

Audacious—1 seaman killed; 2 officers, 31 seamen, 2 marines, wounded; total 36.

Defence—3 seamen, 1 marine killed; 9 seamen, 2 marines wounded; total 15.

Zealous—1 seaman killed; 7 seamen wounded; total 8.

Orion—1 officer, 11 seamen, 1 marine killed; 5 officers, 18 seamen, 6 marines wounded; total 42.

Goliath—2 officers, 12 seamen, 7 marines killed; 4 officers, 28 seamen, 9 marines wounded; total 62.

Majestic—3 officers, 33 seamen, 14 marines killed; 3 officers, 124 seamen, 16 marines wounded; total 193.

Bellerophon—4 officers, 32 seamen, 13 marines killed; 5 officers, 126 seamen, 17 marines wounded; total 197.

Leander—14 seamen wounded.

Total—16 officers, 156 seamen, 46 marines killed; 37 officers, 562 seamen, 78 marines wounded; total 895.

Officers Killed.

Vanguard—Captain Taddy, marines, Mr. Thomas Seymour, Mr. John G. Taylor, midshipmen.

Alexander—Mr. John Collins, lieutenant.

Orion—Mr. Baird, captain's clerk.

Goliath—Mr. William Davies, master's mate; Mr. Andrew Brown, midshipman.

Majestic—George B. Westcott, captain; Mr. Zebedee Ford, midshipman; Mr. Andrew Gilmore, boatswain.

Bellerophon—Mr. Robert Savage Daniel, Mr. W. Launder, Mr. George Joliffe, lieutenants; Mr. Thomas Ellison, master's mate.

Minotaur—Lieut. J. S. Kirchner, master; Mr. Peter Walters, master's-mate.

Officers Wounded.

Vanguard—Mr. N. Vassal, Mr. J. Adye, lieutenants; Mr. J. Campbell, Admiral's secretary; Mr. M. Austin, boatswain; Mr. J. Weatherston, Mr. George Antrim, midshipmen.

Theseus—Lieutenant Hawkins.

Alexander—Alexander J. Ball, Esq. captain; Captain J. Cresswell, marines; Mr. W. Lawson, master; Mr. G. Bully, Mr. Luke Anderson, midshipmen.

Audacious—Mr. John Jeans, lieutenant; Mr. Christopher Font, gunner.

Orion—Sir James Saumarez, captain; Mr. Peter Sadler, boatswain; Mr. Phil. Richardson, Mr. Charles Miell, Mr. Lanfesty, midshipmen.

Goliath—Mr. William Wilkinson, lieutenant; Mr. Law. Greaves, midshipman; Mr. P. Strachan, school-master; Mr. James Payne, midshipman.

Majestic—Mr. Charles Seward, Mr. Charles Royle, midshipmen; Mr. Rob. Overton, captain's clerk.

Bellerophon—H. D. Darby, Esq. captain; Mr. Ed. Kirby, master; Captain John Hopkins, marines; Mr. Chapman, boatswain; Mr. Nicholas Bettson, midshipman.

Minotaur—Mr. Thomas Irwin, lieutenant; lieutenant John Jewell, marines; Mr. Thomas Foxten, second master; Mr. Martin Wills, midshipman.

Swiftsure—Mr. William Smith, midshipman.

HORATIO NELSON.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of Nile, Aug. 11, 1798.

"Sir,

"Herewith I send you a copy of my letter to the Earl of St. Vincent, of this date.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"HORATIO NELSON."

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Aug. 11, 1798.

"My Lord,

"The Swiftsure brought in this morning la Fortune, French corvette, of 18 guns and 70 men.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"HORATIO NELSON."

Earl St. Vincent.

The Hon. Capt. Capel waited on the right hon. the Lord Mayor, on the 4th of October, with the sword of the French admiral, M. Blanquet, which was surrendered in the late naval combat to Sir Horatio Nelson, and intended by that gallant commander as a present to the city of London, accompanied by the following letter:

Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile, Aug. 8, 1798.

"My Lord,

"Having the honor of being a freeman of the city of London, I take the liberty of sending to your lordship the sword of the commanding French admiral (M. Blanquet) who survived after the battle of the 1st, off the Nile; and request that the city of London will honor me with the acceptance of it, as a remembrance that Britannia still rules the waves; which that she may ever do, is the fervent prayer of

"Your lordship's

"Most obedient servant,

"HORATIO NELSON."

London Gazette Extraordinary,

October 21, 1798.

Admiralty-Office.

Lieutenant Waterhouse arrived here late last night, with the duplicate of a despatch from Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. and K. B. Captain of his Majesty's ship Canada, to Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, of which the following is a copy.

Canada, Lough Swilly, Ireland, 16th October.

"Sir,

"In pursuance of the orders and instructions I received by the Kangaroo, I proceeded with the ships, named in the margin*, off Achill Head; and, on the 10th inst. I was joined by his majesty's ships Melampus and Doris, the latter of which I directed to look out for the enemy, off Tory Island

* Canada, Robust, Foudroyant, and Magnanime.

and the Rosses. In the evening of the same day, the *Amelia* appeared in the offing, when Captain Herbert informed me he had parted with the *Ethalion*, *Anson*, and *Sylph*, who, with great attention, had continued to observe the French squadron, since their sailing on the 17th ult. In the morning of the 11th, however, these two ships also fell in with us, and, at noon, the enemy were discovered in the N. W. quarter, consisting of one ship of eighty guns, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig. I immediately made the signal for a general chase, and to form in succession, as each ship arrived up with the enemy, who, from their great distance to windward, and a hollow sea, it was impossible to come up with before the 12th.

"The chase was continued, in very bad and boisterous weather, all day of the 11th, and the following night, when at half past five, A. M. they were seen at a little distance to windward, the line of battle-ship having lost her main-topmast.

"The enemy bore down, and formed their line, in close order, upon the starboard tack; and, from the length of the chase, and our ships being spread, it was impossible to close with them before seven A. M. when I made the Robust signal to lead, which was obeyed with much alacrity, and the rest of the ships to form, in succession, in the rear of the van.

"The action commenced at twenty minutes past seven o'clock, A. M. the Rosses bearing S. S. W. five leagues, and at eleven, the *Hoche*, after a gallant defence, struck; and the frigates made

sail from us. The signal to pursue the enemy was made immediately, and, in five hours afterwards, three of the frigates hauled down their colours also; but they, as well as the *Hoche*, were obstinately defended, all of them being heavy frigates, and, as well as the ship of the line, entirely new, full of troops and stores, with every necessary for the establishment of their views and plans in Ireland.

"I am happy to say, that the efforts and conduct of every officer and man in the squadron seemed to have been actuated by the same spirit, zeal, and unanimity, in their king and country's cause; and I feel myself under great obligations to them, as well as to the officers and men of this ship, for their exertions upon this occasion, which will, I hope, recommend them to their lordships favour.

"I left captain Thornborough, after the action, with the *Magnanime*, *Ethalion*, and *Amelia*, with the prizes; and am sorry to find he is not arrived, but trust they will soon make their appearance. I have the honour to remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient

"Humble servant,

"JOHN B. WARREN."

P. S. The ships, with us in the action, were, the *Canada*, *Robust*, *Foudroyant*, *Magnanime*, *Ethalien*, *Melampus*, and *Amelia*.

The *Anson* joined us in the latter part of the action, having lost her mizen-mast in chase the day before.

I have sent my first lieutenant, *Turguand*, to take the command of the *Hoche*.

By a letter from Lord Viscount Castlereagh, to Mr. Wickham, under-secretary of state for the home department, dated Dublin Castle, the 18th instant, it appears that the *Melampus* had arrived off Lough Swilly, with another French frigate in tow, in pursuit of which she had been sent.

The following is the copy of an official bulletin published in Dublin :

Dublin Castle, October 18.

Extract of a Letter received this morning from Sir John Borlase Warren, to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, dated from his Majesty's ship the *Canada*, in Lough Swilly, the 16th instant.

" My Lord,

" I take the liberty of communicating to you, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that I fell in with the enemy's squadron, on the 12th inst. the *Rosses* bearing S. S. W. five leagues; and, after an action which continued most of the day, four of their ships struck their colours.

" I believe a brig, with *Napper Tandy* on board, was in company, as she left the French at the commencement of the business. The enemy's ships had numbers of troops on board, arms, stores, and ammunition; and large quantities of papers were torn and thrown overboard, after they had struck.

" I am of opinion that few of frigates, which escaped, will arrive in France, as they had received much damage in their masts and rigging; and, from the violent gales that followed the next day, they must be in a crippled state, and may, in all probability, be

picked up by some of the squadrons on the coast of France, or by Admiral Kingsmill's cruizers. They had thrown every thing overboard, boats, spars, arm-chests, &c

" I left the prizes with the *Robust*, *Magnanime*, *Ethalion*, and *Amelia*. The *Hoche*, of eighty-four guns, was one of the ships taken.

" I am, &c.

" J. B. WARREN."

It appears, by a letter from Major-General the Earl of Cavan, of a later date, that the *Ethalion* had arrived off Lough Swilly, with another frigate in tow, which she had been sent in pursuit of; so that the number of prizes amount to seven.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 23, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Graham Moore, Commander of his Majesty's ship *Melampus*, to Sir John Borlase Warren, dated at Sea, off Lough Swilly, the 16th instant.

" Sir,

" I have the honour to inform you, that on the 13th instant, at midnight, being well up towards St. John's Point, we discovered two large ships close to us on our weather-beam: on seeing us, they hauled up on the opposite tack: as I had not the least doubt of their being two of the enemy's frigates, we tacked and closed with the nearest in an hour, going ten knots. After hailing and ordering her to bring to without effect, she trying to get away athwart our stern, we opened such a fire upon her, as completely unrigged her in about twenty-five minutes, and forced her to bring to, and

surrender; she proved to be *La-Resolue* French frigate, commanded by Jean Pierre Barqueau, mounting 40 guns, and 500 seamen and troops on board, the other frigate was *L'Immortalité*, of 44 guns, twenty-four pounders, on the main deck, and 600 seamen and soldiers: she made several signals whilst we were occupied with her consort, but gave us no disturbance.

"Both on this occasion, and during the action of the 12th, the officers, seamen, and marines, of his Majesty's ship under my command, displayed the utmost degree of zeal, alacrity, and gallant spirit; Mr. Martin (the first lieutenant, an old and good officer), with lieutenants Price, Ellison, and Hole, of the marines, conducted themselves much to my satisfaction; and I experienced very great assistance from the steady good conduct of Mr. Emery, the master.

"As a very heavy gale of wind came on immediately after our boarding *La Resolue*, the second lieutenant, Mr. John Price, with twenty-one men, were all that could be thrown on board of her, with the loss of our two cutters. That officer deserves very great credit for his active exertion in clearing her of the wreck of her masts and rigging, and in keeping company in so violent a storm; as our object was to disable our antagonist before her consort could assist her. *La Resolue* had only ten men killed, and a great number wounded; but I am inexpressibly happy to add, that in the action of the 12th, we had only one man wounded; and the affair of the 13th did not deprive

their country of the services of a single man of the brave crew of the *Melampus*.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"GRAHAM MOORE."

Admiralty Office, Oct. 27.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Spithead, the 24th instant.

"Sir,

"The inclosed copy of a letter which I received this morning will manifest to their lordships the courage, skill, and intrepidity, of captain Martin, his officers, and ship's company, in the capture of the French frigate *L'Immortalité*, after a persevering and brilliant action against a ship of such superior force.

"BRIDPORT."

Fishguard, Plymouth-Sound, Oct. 22.

"My Lord,

"In compliance with your orders of the 17th inst. I proceeded with all possible dispatch to the southward, and on the 20th inst. having arrived in latitude 48 deg. 23 min. north, long. 7 deg. west, I had the satisfaction to fall in with a large French frigate, and, after an hour's running fight, came to close action with her, which lasted for 25 minutes, when the *Fishguard* became perfectly ungovernable; the bowlines, braces, topsail-ties, backstays, and the whole of the running-rigging, being cut to pieces. At this critical moment she endeavoured to make off; but the activity of the officers and ship's company, in repairing the damages and making

sail, soon enabled us to close with her again, and the fight was renewed and continued with great spirit and resolution for an hour and fifty minutes, when she surrendered to his majesty's ship, and proved to be *L'Immortalité*, a new frigate, mounting 42 guns, twenty-four pounders, on the main deck, and nine-pounders, with forty-two pound carronades, on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, commanded by citizen Le Grand, who was killed in the action. She was one of the squadron that composed the expedition to Ireland; and at the commencement of the expedition had on board 580 men, including general Menage, second in command of the troops (who was also killed in the action), adjutant-general Craze, and some soldiers. I should wish to recommend the steady good conduct of Mr. Carden, first-lieutenant of the *Fishguard*, on this occasion, but not to the prejudice of any other person, as every officer and man on board behaved with that courage and intrepidity which at all times distinguish his majesty's subjects in the presence of the enemy. Annexed is a list of killed and wounded. I am sorry to say thirteen of our wounded men have suffered so much as to preclude all hope of their recovery.

"J. B. MARTIN."

List of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's Ship *Fishguard*.

Killed—William Bennett, Richard Wallis, John Caird, Edward Paine, Thomas Sketton, George Snalum, George Morton, Solomon M'Cormick, John Maxworthy,

John Williams.—Wounded, lieutenant Gerrard, marines; seamen 23, marines 2.

Total killed and wounded 36.

Killed and wounded on board

L'Immortalité.

Killed—Officers 10, men 44.—

Wounded 61.

Total killed and wounded 115.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 30.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Durham, Commander of his Majesty's Ship *Anson*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Plymouth Sound.

I beg leave to inclose you a copy of a letter sent by this post to the Right Honourable Admiral Lord Bridport.

Anson, Plymouth-Sound, Oct. 27.

"My Lord,

"From the disabled state of his majesty's ship under my command in the action of the 13th instant, and the wind remaining to the S. W. I was unavoidably separated from the squadron under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B. and drove considerably to the N. W. of Ireland. I have great satisfaction in informing your lordship, that on the 18th, at day-light in the morning, I discovered a large ship to leeward, fortunately for me, with the loss of her fore and main-top-masts (the *Anson* being by no means in a situation to chase), her mizen-mast gone; main-yard and main-cross-trees; the bowsprit and fore-yard shot through in several places. I immediately bore up, and got alongside of her. After an action of one hour and a quarter, most gallantly disputed, which does the

highest honour to citizen Joseph Andrien Segone, her commander, she struck; proved to be La Loire, one of the largest and finest frigates belonging to the republic, presented by the city of Nantes, quite new, and never before at sea, pierced for 50 guns, mounting forty-six 18 pounders, having on board 664 men (troops included), among whom are a number of artillery, état-major for three regiments. La Loire had 48 men killed, and 78 wounded, was one of the four frigates which the Anson engaged the 13th, and was making her escape from the coast. I beg leave particularly to acknowledge the steady and good behaviour of my officers and petty officers; and cannot avoid recommending to your lordship's notice my first lieutenant, Mr. John Hinton, whose conduct, not only upon this occasion but many others, has met with my fullest approbation; not derogating from the behaviour of lieutenants Meager, Manderson, and Mr. William Chrishop, the master. I have also to acknowledge the services of lieutenants Bell and Derring, of the marines, who commanded the carronades: as to my ship's company, they have been faithful companions during four years in pretty active service, and their conduct upon all occasions merits my warm approbation. Having fallen in, the night before the action, with his majesty's brig Kangaroo, I ordered captain Brace, from the Anson's disabled state, to continue in company, and am much indebted to him for the services he has rendered me in taking possession of La Loire. Herewith I send a list of the killed and wounded.

" Killed; Alexander Duncan, quarter-master; Matthew Birch, seamen.

" Wounded; Mr. W. A. Bell, first lieutenant of marines; Mr. William Robilliard, Mr. Francis R. Payler, midshipmen; Henry Wilson, James Davis, John Adams, John Houston, William Shaw, Peter Wilman, William Thomas (second), Patrick Kelly, seamen; James Cummings, Robert Dillon, marines.

" Inclosed is a list of the stores, &c. found on board La Loire republican frigate.

" Clothing complete for 3000 men, 1020 muskets in cases, 200 sabres, 360 pouches, 25 cases of musket ball-cartridges, 1 brass field-piece, with a great quantity of ammunition of different kinds, intrenching tools, &c.

" H. DURHAM."

Admiralty Office, Nov. 6, 1798.
Copy of a Letter from Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Kent, Yarmouth Roads, Nov. 5, 1798.

" I have the satisfaction to inclose you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter I received last night from captain King, of his majesty's ship Sirius, acquainting me of his having captured two Dutch frigates, in which he has displayed equal spirit and address.

" I am, &c. &c.

" DUNCAN."

Sirius, Grimsby Roads, Nov. 1, 1798.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour to inform your lordship, that, in pursuance of orders I received from Vice-

Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. I parted company with the fleet on the evening of the 23d ult. to reconnoitre the force of the enemy in the Texel. At eight A. M. on the following morning, the Texel bearing S. by E. ten leagues, I fell in with the two Dutch frigates named in the margin*, at that time about two miles distance from each other.

"Passing within gun-shot of the leewardmost of them, I stood on until I could (upon tacking) nearly fetch the weathermost (the *Waakzaamheid*), my object being to prevent their junction; and by this means, that being accomplished, I had the satisfaction to cut off the latter, and bring her to about nine o'clock, when she hauled down her colours and fired a gun to leeward; as soon as the prisoners were exchanged, I made sail after the other; and, although nearly out of sight, I had the good fortune before five P. M. to bring her to a kind of running action, which continued about half an hour, within musket-shot, at times, during which she kept a smart but ill-directed discharge of cannon and musketry, when she struck to his majesty's ship; she is called the *Furie*, and under the orders of the captain of the *Waakzaamheid*, and had the commandant of the troops and a number of officers on board. I am happy to add, there was only one man wounded by a musket-ball, and that his majesty's ship

suffered but little, one shot through her bowsprit; her rigging, &c. but little cut. The loss on board the *Furie*, was eight killed and fourteen wounded: her hull, masts, &c. have suffered much.

"I should be wanting in gratitude, were I not to express my acknowledgements of the spirited conduct manifested by all my officers and ship's company on this occasion; particularly so on account of the reduction of numbers, by manning the other prize (in which I sent Mr. Gosset, my senior lieutenant), and in securing the officers, troops, &c. taken out of her.

"This expedition has been waiting an opportunity of sailing since the 21st of July last. They left the Texel at eleven o'clock the preceding night.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"RICHARD KING."

Admiralty Office, Nov. 10.

Extract of a Letter from Captain George Countess, Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Æthalion*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Plymouth Sound, Nov. 8, 1798.

"I have to request you will be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, since my letter of 22d September by captain White, of the *Sylph*, I continued to watch the motions of the French squadron in his majesty's ship under my command (having with me the *Anson* and

* *Waakzaamheid*, captain Neirrop, senior captain, mounting 26 guns, 24 nine-pounders on the main deck, 2 six-pounders on the fore-castle, having 100 Dutch seamen and 122 French troops (total 222) on board, also 2000 stand of arms, besides other ordnance stores.

Furie, captain Pletz, of 36 guns, 26 twelve-pounders on the main deck, and 10 six-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, with 153 Dutch seamen and 165 French troops (total 318) on board, also 4000 stand of arms, besides other ordnance stores.

Amelia), until the 4th of October at noon, when a hard gale of wind coming on, we lost sight of them in lat. 53 deg. 13 min. north, and long. 16 deg. 15 min. west, Sligo Bay bearing north 77 east, distance 91 leagues. The wind being off shore, we carried sail to get in with the land, to give the necessary information. The Amelia separated on the night of the 8th. I had previously desired, in case of separation, each ship to make the best of her way to give the alarm. On the 11th we fell in with the squadron under Sir J. B. Warren; but, it blowing strong, could not get on board to communicate any intelligence; but seeing the Amelia with him, I was satisfied he had all the information I could give. Soon after our joining the above squadron, the Anson made the signal for the enemy, whom we discovered coming down: but they hauled to the wind on observing us. We chased and kept close to them during the night, and next morning the attack commenced, which no doubt you have been fully informed of by Sir J. B. Warren. After the Hoche struck, we pursued the weathermost frigate, who was making off, and sailed very fast. After a considerable chase we came up with and engaged her; she made an obstinate resistance for an hour and fifty minutes after we got abreast of her, when she struck her colours, most of her sails having come down, and five feet water in her hold. She proved to be the Bellone, of 36 guns, twelve-pounders, having 300 soldiers on board, besides her crew. The squadron chased to leeward, and of course

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we separated, being obliged to remain by the prize, and have been under the necessity of keeping the sea ever since.

"I cannot speak too highly of the bravery and conduct of all my officers during the action, as well as of their extreme vigilance in watching them for seventeen days. Mr. Sayer, first lieutenant, is in the prize, and I can with pleasure say, his majesty has not a more zealous or a better officer. We had one man killed and three wounded. The enemy appear to have had twenty killed.

London Gazette, Nov. 24.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Thomas Thompson, of his Majesty's late Ship Leander, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Lazarette, at Trieste, the 14th of October, 1798.

"Sir,

"Upon my arrival at this place, I immediately acquainted Sir Horatio Nelson with the capture of his Majesty's ship Leander, under my command, and beg leave to inclose a copy of my letter to the rear-admiral, for the quicker information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"THOMAS THOMPSON."

Copy of a Letter from Captain Thompson, late Commander of his Majesty's Ship Leander, to Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. dated Trieste, Oct. 13, 1798.

"Sir,

"It is with extreme pain I have to relate to you the capture of his Majesty's ship Leander, late under my command, by a French

*M

74 gun ship, after a close action of six hours and a half. On the 18th of August last, being within five or six miles of the west end of Goza, near the island of Candia, we discovered at day-break, a large sail on the S. E. quarter, standing directly for the Leander; we were then becalmed, but the stranger bringing up a fine breeze from the southward, we soon made him to be a large ship of the line. As the Leander was in officers and men upwards of 80 short of her complement, and had on board a number who were wounded on the 1st, I did not consider myself justified in seeking an action with a ship that appeared of such considerable superiority in point of size; I therefore took every means in my power to avoid it: I, however, soon found that our inferiority of sailing made it inevitable, and I therefore, with all sails set, steered the Leander a course which I judged would receive our adversary to the best advantage, should he bring us to battle. At 8 o'clock the strange ship (still continuing to have the good fortune of the wind) had approached us within a long random shot, and had Neapolitan colours hoisted, which he now changed to Turkish; but this deception was of no avail, as I plainly made him to be French. At nine he had ranged up within half gun-shot of our weather quarter; I therefore hauled the Leander up sufficiently to bring the broadside to bear, and immediately commenced a vigorous cannonade on him, which he instantly returned. The ships continued nearing each other until half past ten, keeping up a constant and heavy firing. At this

time I perceived the enemy intending to run us on board; and the Leander being very much cut up in rigging, sails, and yards, I was unable, with the light air that blew, to prevent it. He ran us on board the larboard bow, and continued alongside us for some time; a most spirited and well-directed fire, however, from our small party of marines (commanded by the serjeant) on the poop and from the quarter-deck, prevented the enemy from taking advantage of his good fortune, and he was repulsed in all his efforts to make an impression on us. The firing from the great guns was all this time kept up with the same vigour; and a light breeze giving the ships way, I was enabled to steer clear of the enemy, and soon afterwards had the satisfaction to luff under his stern, and passing him within ten yards, distinctly discharged every gun from the Leander into him.

"All from henceforward was nothing but a continued series of heavy firing within pistol-shot, without wind, and the sea as smooth as glass. I feel it unnecessary to give you the detail of the effects of every shot, which must be obvious from our situation; I shall therefore content myself with assuring you, that a most vigorous cannonade was kept up from the Leander, without the smallest intermission, until half past three in the afternoon. At this time, the enemy having passed our bows with a light breeze, and brought himself on our starboard side, we found that our guns on that side were nearly all disabled by the wreck of our own spars that had all

fallen on this side. This produced a cessation of our fire, and the enemy took this time to ask us, if we had surrendered? The *Leander* was now totally ungovernable, not having a thing standing, but the shattered remains of the fore and main-masts and the bowsprit, her hull cut to pieces, and the decks full of killed and wounded; and perceiving the enemy, who had only lost his mizen-top-mast, approaching to place himself athwart our stern; in this defenceless situation, I asked Captain Berry if he thought we could do more? He coincided with me, that further resistance was vain and impracticable; and, indeed, all hope of success having for some time vanished, I therefore now directed an answer to be given in the affirmative, and the enemy soon after took possession of his Majesty's ship.

"I cannot conclude this account without assuring you how much advantage his Majesty's service derived during this action from the gallantry and activity of Captain Berry of the *Vanguard*: I should also be wanting in justice, if I did not bear testimony to the steady bravery of the officers and seamen of the *Leander*, in this hard contest, which, though unsuccessful in its termination, will still, I trust, entitle them to the approbation of their country. The enemy proved to be the *Genereux*, of 74 guns, commanded by M. Lejoille, chef de division, who had escaped from the action of the 1st of August, and, being the rearmost of the French line, had received little or no share of it, having on board 900 men, about 100 of whom we found had been

killed in the present contest, and 188 wounded. I inclose a list of the loss in killed and wounded in the *Leander*, and have the honor to be, &c.

"THOMAS THOMPSON."

A Return of Officers and Men killed and wounded on board his Majesty's Ship *Leander*, on the 18th of August, 1798.

Officers killed—Mr. P. Downs, midshipman; Mr. Gibson, midshipman of the *Caroline*; Mr. Edward Haddon, midshipman.

Twenty-four seamen killed.

Marines killed—Serjeant Dair, and 7 privates.

Total—3 officers, 24 seamen, 1 serjeant, 7 marines, killed.

Officers wounded—Captain Thompson, badly; lieutenant Taylor; lieutenant Swiney; Mr. Lee, master; Mr. Mathias, boatswain, badly; Mr. Lacky, master's-mate; Mr. Nailor, midshipman.

Forty-one seamen, 9 marines.

Total—7 officers, 41 seamen, 9 marines, wounded.

THOMAS THOMPSON.

Downing-street, Dec. 23, 1798.

Captain Gifford, first aid-de-camp to General the Hon. Charles Stuart, arrived this afternoon at the office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, with a despatch from the General, of which the following is a copy:

Ciudadella, Nov. 18, 1798.

"Sir,

"I have the honor to acquaint you, that his Majesty's forces are in possession of the island of Mi-

norca, without having sustained the loss of a single man.

“As neither commodore Duckworth nor myself could procure any useful information relative to the object of the expedition at Gibraltar, it was judged advisable to despatch the Peterell sloop of war off the harbour of Mahon for intelligence; where, after remaining a few days, she joined the fleet near the Colombrites, without having made any essential discovery. So circumstanced, it was agreed to attempt a descent in the bay of Addaya; and the wind proving favorable on the 7th inst. a feint was made by the line of battle ships at Fornelles, and boats were assembled for that purpose under the direction of Captain Bowen, Captain Polden, and Captain Pressland. Previous to the landing of the troops, a small battery at the entrance of the bay was evacuated, the magazine blown up, the guns spiked, and shortly after the first division, consisting of eight hundred men, was on shore. A considerable explosion to the westward indicated that the Spaniards had also abandoned the works of Fornelles. Nearly at the same moment 2000 of the enemy's troops approached in several different directions, and threatened to surround this inconsiderable force, but were repulsed with some loss on the left, while the guns of the *Argo* checked a similar attempt on the right flank, and the post was maintained until the disembarkation of the different divisions afforded the means of establishing a position, from whence the enemy's troops would have been attacked with considerable

advantage, had they not retired in the beginning of the night.

“The strength of the ground, the passes, and the badness of the roads in Minorca, are scarcely to be equalled in the most mountainous parts of Europe; and what increased the difficulty of advancing upon this occasion, was the dearth of intelligence; for although near 100 deserters had come in from the Swiss regiments, and affirmed that the remaining force upon the island exceeded 4000 men, no particular account of the enemy's movements was obtained. Under this uncertainty it was for a few minutes doubtful what measure to pursue, but as quickly determined to proceed by a forced march to Mercadal, and thereby separate the enemy's force by possessing the essential pass, in the first instance, and from thence advancing upon his principal communications to either extremity of the island, justly depending upon commodore Duckworth's zeal and exertions to forward from Addaya and Fornelles such supplies of provisions and ordnance stores as might favour subsequent operations.

“To effect this object, Colonel Graham was sent with 600 men, and by great exertion arrived at Mercadal in a very few hours after the main force of the enemy had marched towards Ciudadella, making several officers and soldiers and prisoners, seizing various small magazines, and establishing his corps in the front of the village.

“The persevering labour of 250 seamen, under the direction of Lieutenant Buchanan, during the night, having greatly assisted

the artillery in forwarding the battalion-guns, the army arrived at Mercadal on the 9th, where, learning that Mahon was nearly evacuated, a disposition was instantly made to operate with the whole force in that direction, and Colonel Paget detached under this movement with 300 men to take possession of the town: upon his arrival, he summoned Fort Charles to surrender, and made the lieutenant-governor of the island, a colonel of artillery, and 160 men, prisoners of war, removed the boom obstructing the entrance of the harbour, and gave free passage to the Cormorant and Aurora frigates, which were previously sent by commodore Duckworth to make a diversion off that port. But these were not the only advantages immediately resulting from this movement; it favoured desertion, intercepted all stragglers, and enabled the different departments of the army to procure beasts of burden for the further progress of his Majesty's arms.

“ Having ascertained that the enemy's troops were throwing up works and entrenching themselves in front of Ciudadella, it was resolved to force their position on the night of the 13th instant; and, preparatory to this attempt, Colonel Paget with 200 men was withdrawn from Mahon; Colonel Moncrief sent forward with the detachment to Ferarias; three light twelve pounders, and five and a half inch howitzers, and 90 marines landed from the fleet; when, in consequence of its having been communicated to commodore Duckworth, that four ships, supposed of the line, were seen between Majorca and Mi-

norca, steering towards the last-mentioned island, he decided to pursue them, requested that the seamen and marines might re-embark, and signified his determination of proceeding with all the armed transports to sea; but weighing the serious consequences which would result to the army from the smallest delay on the one hand, and the advantages to be reasonably expected from a spirited attack on the other, it was thought advisable to retain them with the army; and, on the 12th inst. the whole force marched to Alpiuz, and from thence proceeded on the 13th to Jupet, Colonel Moncrief's detachment moving in a parallel line on the Ferarias road to Mala Garaba. These precautions, and the appearance of two columns approaching the town, induced the enemy to retire from their half-constructed defences within the walls of Ciudadella; and in the evening of the same day, a small detachment under Captain Muter was sent to take possession of the Torre den Quart, whereby the army was enabled to advance on the 14th, apparently in three columns, upon Kane's, the Ferarias, and Fornelles roads, to the investment of the town at day-break, occupying ground covered by the position the enemy had relinquished: thus stationed, in want of heavy artillery, and every article necessary for a siege, it was judged expedient to summon the governor of Minorca to surrender; and the preliminary articles were immediately considered; but doubts arising on the part of the enemy, whether the investing force was superior in number to the garri-

son, two batteries of three twelve-pounders, and three five and a half inch howitzers were erected in the course of the following night within eight hundred yards of the place, and at day-break the main body of the troops formed in order of battle considerably to the right of Kane's road, leaving the piquets to communicate between them and Col. Moncrief's post. This line, partly real and partly imaginary, extended four miles in front of the enemy's batteries, from whence two eighteen pound shot were immediately fired at the troops; but a timely parley, and a distant appearance of the squadron, occasioned the cessation of hostilities, and renewed a negociation, which, through the address of Major-General Sir James St. Clair Erskine, terminated in the annexed capitulation.

"Four weeks' salt provisions for the garrison, besides the inclosed list of ordnance stores, were found in the town of Ciudadella.

"The assistance received from commodore Duckworth, in forwarding the light artillery and provisions, greatly facilitated the rapid movements of the army; and I am happy in the opportunity of declaring my obligations to Lord Mark Kerr and Captain Caulfield for the supplies they sent from Mahon, and their exertions to land two mortars, which, in the event of further resistance, might have proved of the utmost importance in securing the army, or compelling the enemy to surrender.

"The support I have experienced from Major-General Sir James St. Clair Erskine, Briga-

diers-General Stuart and Oakes, the exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, my adjutant-general, the zeal, spirit, and perseverance of both the officers and men of the different regiments under my command, have eminently contributed to the success of the expedition, and authorise me to represent their services as highly deserving his Majesty's most gracious approbation.

"Captain Gifford, my first aide-camp, who is perfectly acquainted with every circumstance concerning the capitulation of Ciudadella, and the reduction of the island of Minorca, will have the honor to deliver this dispatch.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"CHARLES STUART."

*To the Right Honorable
Henry Dundas.*

Terms of Capitulation, demanded for the Surrender of the Fortress of Ciudadella to the Arms of his Britannic Majesty.

I. The garrison shall not be considered as prisoners of war, but shall march out free, with arms, drums beating, colours flying, with twelve rounds of cartridge per man.—Answer. The town and fortress of Ciudadella, and the fort of St. Nicholas, together with all artillery, ammunition, stores, provisions, or effects, the property of his most Catholic Majesty, shall be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty's arms, and the gate of Mahon, and the fort of St. Nicholas, shall be delivered up to the British army to-morrow at noon.

II. They shall be preceded by four brass four-pounders and two two-inch howitzers, with lighted

matches, and twelve rounds for each.—Answer. The garrison shall march out as proposed in the first and second articles, but the guns must be left with the artillery.

III. The said garrison shall be sent with all due convenience to Spain, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, to one of the nearest posts of the Peninsula, excepting the first battalion of the Swiss regiment of Yann, and the detachment of the dragoons of Numancia, with their horses and furniture, who shall be sent to Majorca, as belonging to corps which garrison that island.—Answer. The garrison shall be conveyed to the nearest port of his most Catholic Majesty.

IV. The officers in this island and fortress shall keep their arms, horses, and equipages, with the funds of their regiments, and shall be permitted to go to Mahon, for the purpose of bringing away their families, and removing or disposing of their property there.—Answer. Admitted, they paying their just debts; and the officers who have occasion to go to Mahon, to bring away their families, or dispose of their property, will have passports on applying to the British commander-in-chief.

V. The officers of the war department, the revenue, and marine, together with the persons employed in every branch thereof, shall be permitted to follow the garrison, and are to be included in the articles III. IV. and V.—Answer. Admitted.

VI. Whatever officers and troops have been made prisoners in Mahon, or other parts of the island, since the 7th inst. are compre-

hended in the above five articles.

—Answer. People who have already surrendered cannot be included in the above capitulation.

VII. The deserters from this army who have given themselves up to the protection of his Britannic Majesty since the said 7th inst. shall be restored to our army.—Answer. Refused.

VIII. Beasts of burden, both great and small, shall be granted at the ordinary prices, for those who may be desirous of going to Mahon.—Answer. Admitted.

IX. During the time the garrison may remain in this island, their necessary wants shall be supplied at the expense of Spain.—Answer. There will be no obstacle to the garrison's being supplied with provisions by its own officers while it remains, which will be as short a time as possible, and be regulated by the commander-in-chief.

X. The sick and wounded shall remain in the hospitals; and their treatment be at the expense of their regiments.—Answer. Admitted.

XI. The inhabitants of this island shall be allowed to continue in the free exercise of their religion, enjoying peaceably the revenues, property, and privileges, which they possess and enjoy at present.

XII. The episcopal see of the island shall remain established in it, according to the bull for its new creation, enjoying the honors, authority, and rents belonging to the bishopric, and subsisting with its ecclesiastical chapter, and as suffragan to the archbishop of Valencia.

XIII. The universities (or cor-

porations) of the island shall be maintained in the enjoyment of the particular privileges and franchises which have been granted to them by the ancient kings of Spain, as they now possess them, and as they have been allowed to them in the treaties which have taken place as often as this island has passed from one dominion to another.

Answer. XI. XII. XIII. are articles which do not properly belong to this capitulation, but of course due care will be taken to secure the peaceable inhabitants in the enjoyment of their religion and property.

XIV. The merchant ship named *Experiencia*, which is in Mahon, coming from Smyrna, and belonging to the consulate of Cadiz, and its cargo, shall remain free, and a passport be granted for its safe conduct to Spain.—Answer. Refused.

XV. Commissioners will be appointed on both sides to settle the detail of the execution of this treaty, and to receive and deliver all stores, &c. the property of his most Catholic Majesty.

(Signed) CHARLES STUART,
General and Commander-in-Chief.

J. T. DUCKWORTH,
Commodore and naval Commander-in-Chief.

JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA.
Ciudadella, 15th Nov. 1798.

Return of Ordnance taken in the
Island of Minorca.

Camp, opposite Ciudadella, Nov.
18, 1798.

Ciudadella and Forte St. Nicholas—Five brass $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers. Brass ordnance, four 4 pounders, mounted. Iron ordnance, six 18, ten 12, eight 9, and two 6 pounders, mounted.

Mahon—One 13 inch, three brass $10\frac{1}{4}$ inch mortars; three brass $6\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers. Iron ordnance, fifteen 32, twelve 18, seventeen 12, and three 6 pounders, mounted. Three brass $8\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers. Brass ordnance, three 24, four 12 pounders. Iron ordnance, two 24, one 18, and five 12 pounders, dismounted.

Lower Musquito—Iron ordnance, one 6 pounder, mounted.

Upper Musquito—Iron ordnance, three 9, two 6 pounders, mounted.

Calacolins—Iron ordnance, four 12 pounders, mounted.

St. Teresa—Brass ordnance, four 12 pounders, mounted.

Fornelles—Iron ordnance, fourteen 18 pounders, mounted.

Pointa Prima—Iron ordnance, four 12 pounders, mounted.

Calacousa—Iron ordnance, four 12 pounders, mounted.

Total—One 13, three $10\frac{1}{4}$ inch mortars; three $8\frac{1}{2}$, three $6\frac{1}{2}$, five $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers; fifteen 32, five 24, thirty-three 18, fifty-two 12, eleven 9, eight 6, four 4 pounders.

Return of the Ammunition and stores taken on the Island of Minorca.

Fifty 13, one hundred $10\frac{3}{4}$, one hundred and eighty $8\frac{1}{2}$, seventy-eight $6\frac{1}{2}$ inch shells.

One thousand nine hundred and eighty 32, three thousand one hundred and thirty-one 18, four thousand four hundred and sixty 12, one thousand four hundred and forty 9, one thousand four hundred and thirty-three 6, seven hundred and sixty-four 4 pound round shot.

Sixty-eight 32, three hundred and twenty 12 pound grape shot.

Forty-seven 32, sixty 18, one

hundred and sixty-eight 12, six 9, forty-eight 6 pound double-headed shot.

Ninety-nine four pound round shot, fixed ammunition.

One hundred and forty-four hand-grenades.

Two hundred and seventy thousand musquet ball-cartridges.

Two thousand flints.

Six hundred and ninety-eight 18, one thousand and ten 12, one hundred and sixty 9, two hundred and thirteen 6 pound cartridges, filled.

Eight hundred and twenty-one whole, and three-half barrels of gunpowder.

HAYLORD FLAMINGHAM,
Captain, commanding the Royal
Artillery.

*His Excellency General the
Honorable Charles Stuart,
Commander-in-Chief, &c.
&c. &c.*

Copy of an Embarkation Return delivered by his Excellency Don Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, to his Excellency General the Honorable Charles Stuart, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in the island of Minorca.

*Fortress of Ciudadella, in the
island of Minorca.*

General state of the Spanish Troops who are to embark for the Evacuation of this Island.

153 officers.

3528 serjeants, drummers, and rank and file.

56 horses.

General staff 16, including 1 governor, 1 lieutenant-governor, 1 major-general, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) PEDRO QUADRADO,
Major-General.

Ciudadella, Nov. 17, 1798.

I certify the above to be a true copy; and that since the landing of the British forces, and previous to the surrender of Ciudadella on the 16th inst. nearly three hundred deserters have come over to the British army.

RICHARD STEWART,
Adjutant-General.

N.B. The corps composing the Spanish force in this island are as follows, viz. regiment of Valencia, 3 battalions.—Swiss regiment of Yann, 1 battalion.—A detachment of the dragoons of Numanzia: and a detachment of artillery.

*Admiralty Office, Dec.
23, 1798.*

Lieutenant Jones, of his Majesty's ship Leviathan, arrived here this afternoon with a despatch from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, to Mr. Nepean, of which the following is a copy:

*Le Souverain, Gibraltar,
Dec. 6, 1798.*

"Sir,

"I enclose the copy of a letter from Commodore Duckworth, with other documents relating to the conquest of the island of Minorca; upon which important event I request you will congratulate the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

"Lieutenant Jones, first of the Leviathan, is the bearer of this despatch, who, from the report of Commodore Duckworth, and my own observation while my flag was on board that ship, is highly deserving their lordships' favour and protection.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.
ST. VINCENT."

*Leviathan, off Fournelles, Minorca,
19th November, 1798.*

“ My Lord,

“ In pursuance of your lordship’s instructions to me of the 18th and 20th of October, I proceeded with the ships under my orders, and the troops under the command of the honourable General Charles Stuart, to the rendezvous off the Columbrettes; and after having been joined by his Majesty’s sloop Peterell, and the arrangements for landing had been completed, on the 5th in the afternoon I stood for Minorca, but in consequence of light winds I did not make that island till day-break on the 7th, then within five miles of the port of Fournelles; where finding the wind directly out of that harbour, and the enemy prepared for our reception, I (having previously consulted the general) made the signal for Captain Bowen, of the *Argo*, accompanied by the *Cormorant* and *Aurora*, to assist in covering the landing, to lead into the creek of Addaya, there not being water or space enough for the line of battle ships; which he executed in a most officer-like and judicious manner: and in hauling round the northern point, a battery of four 12-pounders fired one gun, but on seeing the broadside, the enemy left it, blowing up their magazines, and spiking the guns, when the transports were got in without damage, though there was scarcely room for stowing them in tiers. During this service, which was rapidly executed, the *Leviathan* and *Centaur* plied on and off Fournelles, to divert the attention of the enemy; but knowing an ex-

pedition landing to be our greatest object, as soon as I observed the transports were nearly in the creek, I bore away, and anchored with the *Leviathan* and *Centaur* off its entrance, to see that service performed. One battalion was put on shore by eleven o’clock, and directly took the height, which proved fortunate, as the enemy very quickly appeared in two divisions, one of which was marching down towards the battery before mentioned, when I ordered the covering ships to commence a cannonade, which effectually checked their progress, and the general kept them at bay with the troops he had; and by six o’clock in the afternoon the whole were on shore, with eight six-pounders, field-pieces, and eight days provisions, and also two howitzers. On the same evening, after ordering the *Cormorant* and *Aurora* to proceed off Port Mahon, with seven transports, to form a diversion, I got under weigh with the *Leviathan* and *Centaur*, and turned up to Fournelles with an intent to force the harbour; but on my entering the passage, I found the enemy had evacuated the forts, and the wind throwing out caused me to anchor, when I made the *Centaur*’s signal (which was following me) to haul off, landed the marines of the *Leviathan*, took possession of two forts of four guns each, and one of six: but soon after the general requesting I would not enter this port, I ordered Captain Digby to embark the marines, and to put to sea, and cruize under the command of Captain Markham, who was employed in covering the port of Fournelles and Addaya, and pre-

venting succour being thrown in, whilst my pendant was hoisted on board the *Argo*, where I continued two days, aiding and directing the necessary supplies for the army. In this I was ably assisted by Captain Bowen. During these two days I visited head-quarters to consult with the general; when it was decided, as the anchorage at Addaya was extremely hazardous, and the transports in hourly risk of being lost, to remove them to Fournelles, which was executed under cover of the *Leviathan* and *Centaur*. On the 12th, I ordered the *Centaur* off Ciudadella to prevent reinforcements being thrown in, and anchored the *Leviathan* at Fournelles, landed some twelve-pounder field-pieces and howitzers, the sailors drawing them up to the army, shifted my pendant to the *Leviathan*, and left the *Argo* at Addaya, ordering Capt. Bowen to continue there till all the depôts were re-embarked and removed, which was effected that day. Late that evening I received information from the general, that four ships, supposed to be of the line, were seen between Minorca and Majorca. In the middle of the night the general sent me another corroborating report from the look-out man, of the four ships seen being of the line. I instantly put to sea (though one-fifth of the crews were on shore) with two ships of the line, a forty-four, and three armed transports, and stood towards Ciudadella; when at daylight the next morning, that place bearing s. e. by s. eight or nine miles, five ships were seen from the mast-head standing directly down for Ciudadella. I instantly made the signal for a general

chace, when I soon observed the enemy haul their wind for Majorca; but I continued the pursuit to prevent the possibility of their throwing in succour to Minorca; and at noon I discovered the enemy from the fore-yard to be four large frigates and a sloop of war; this latter keeping her wind, I made the *Argo*'s signal to haul after her; and Capt. Bowen, by his letter of the 15th, informs me he took her at half past three that afternoon, and proved to be his Majesty's ship *Peterell*, which had been captured the preceding forenoon by the squadron of frigates I was in chace of. For further particulars on that head I shall refer you to Capt. Bowen's letter, where I am convinced you will observe with great concern the very harsh treatment the officers and crew of the *Peterell* met with when captured; and he has since added, that one man, who resisted the Spaniards plundering him of forty guineas, was murdered and thrown overboard. I continued the chace till eleven o'clock that night, when I was within three miles of the sternmost frigate; but finding the wind become light, I feared it would draw me too far from the island of Minorca; I therefore hailed the *Centaur*, and directed Capt. Markham to pursue the enemy, steered directly for Ciudadella, which I made the subsequent afternoon (the 14th) with the *Calcutta* and *Ulysses*. The next morning (the 15th) at day-break, the *Argo* joined us off Ciudadella. Having had no communication from the general, I sent the first lieutenant, Mr. Jones, though a very hazardous night, in the ship's

cutter, with a letter to the general, proposing to cannonade Ciudadella, if it would facilitate his operations. In the morning of the 16th, Lieutenant Jones returned with duplicates of two letters I had previously received by Capt. Gifford, the general's aid-de-camp, acquainting me that he had summoned the town on the 14th, and that terms of capitulation were agreed upon on the 15th to surrender to his Majesty's arms. When I went on shore, I signed the capitulation the general had made, on which fortunate event I most truly congratulate your lordship. The Centaur joined, not having been so fortunate as to capture either of the Spanish frigates, though within four miles of the sternmost; Capt. Markham being apprehensive the continuance of the chase would carry him to a great distance from more essential service. From the 10th in the morning, when Fort Charles was put into our possession, and Lord Mark Kerr, in the Cormorant, with the Aurora, Captain Caulfield, entered the port, those ships have been employed for the defence of the harbour, guarding the prisoners; and I have the pleasure to assure your lordship, in the performance of the various services incident to the movements I have stated, I cannot pass too high encomiums on the captains, officers, and seamen, under my command. From Captains Poulnden and Pressland, agents of transports, I received every possible assistance in their departments; and when it was necessary I should proceed to sea to bring to action a reputed superior force, they shewed great spirit, and used every

exertion to accompany me in their armed transports, as did Lieutenant Simmons, the other agent, in his. I must now beg leave to mention my first lieutenant, Mr. George Jones, who, in the various and hazardous services he had to undergo during the attack of the island, has proved highly deserving of my praise; I have therefore put him to act as commander of the Peterell, which ship I have presumed to re-commission to convey the present dispatches. There is also high merit due to my second lieutenant, Mr. William Buchanan, whom I landed as second in command under Captain Bowen, with more than two hundred and fifty seamen; there were likewise the Leviathan's and Centaur's marines with the army, to the number of one hundred; but other essential service calling Captain Bowen on board his ship, the command of the seamen devolved on Lieutenant Buchanan; and, as will appear by the strongest accompanying testimony given him from the commander in chief of the army, he performed the services with the army with the greatest ability and exertion. I should feel myself remiss was I to close this without noticing to your lordship the particular exertions, activity, and correctness of Lieutenant Whiston, of the Constitution cutter, in the various services and messages he had to execute.

"The general having signified his wish that his despatches should be sent without delay, I have not yet been able to visit the port of Mahon, to obtain a return of the state of the dock-yard, or vessels captured in that place; but I understand from Capt. Lord Robert

Mark Kerr, that there are no ships of war, and only one merchant ship of value; the particulars of which I will transmit by the earliest opportunity.

I have the honour to be, &c.
J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Argo, at Sea, Nov. 15, 1798.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that at half past three P. M. on the 13th instant, I had the good fortune to come up with the ship that I hauled the wind after round Cape Rouge, conformable to your signal; she proved to be his Majesty's ship Peterell, in possession of Don Antonio Franco Gandrada, second captain of the Spanish frigate Flora, who, in company with the three others named in the margin*, captured her the day before.

"These frigates had come from Carthagena, had touched at Barcelona, sailed from thence on Saturday last bound to Mahon, with eight millions of rials to pay the troops.

"Deeming it absolutely necessary to make the Peterell useful until your return, I took all the Spaniards out (72 in number), and gave her in charge of my first lieutenant, Mr. Lyne, with a mate, two midshipmen, thirty seamen, and twelve marines, directing them to land an officer and guide at Fournelles, with a letter for Gen. Stuart, and to return here immediately.

"I am sorry to inform you the Spaniards behaved very ill to the officers and seamen of the Peterell, having robbed and plundered them of every thing. Great part

of the captain's and officers' clothes I have recovered. I returned off this place yesterday, but being calm I could not get near the shore.

I have, &c.

J. BOWEN."

Commodore Duckworth.

*Before Ciudadella,
Nov. 18, 1798.*

"Sir,

"I have the honour to return you, and the gentlemen employed on shore under your command, my sincere thanks for your activity, zeal, and assistance, in forwarding the light artillery of the army: neither can too much praise be given to the seamen for their friendly and cheerful exertions under very hard labour; exertions which were accompanied with a propriety of behaviour which I greatly attribute to your management, and which will ever merit my acknowledgments, and affords me the satisfaction of assuring you that I am, with sincere regard,

Your's, &c.

CHARLES STUART."

Lieutenant Buchanan.

A List of Stores found in the Arsenal at Port Mahon.

The keel and stern frame for a man of war brig, on the stocks, with all the timbers, and part of the clothing, all the rigging, &c.

14 gun-boats, hauled up, with all their rigging in good order, but boats very old.

13 boats from 36 to 20 feet in length, all their rigging in good order, and fit for service.

2 cables of 17 inch.

* Casilda, of 40 guns; Pomona, of 40; and Proserpine, of 40.

2 cables of 9 inch.
 2 cables of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch.
 Rope of 5 inch, 400 fathoms.
 Rope of 3 inch, 400 fathoms.
 Rope of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 600 fathoms.
 Rope of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 400 fathoms.
 Rope of 1 inch, 300 fathoms.
 Rope of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, 400 fathoms.
 Old junk, 6000 pounds.
 Six anchors, from 14 to 17 hundred weight.
 Seven grapnels, of seven hundred weight.
 A large quantity of all sorts of iron work.
 A brass mortar of 13 inch.
 Three ditto of 12 ditto.
 Some shells of 13 and 8 inch.
 Two topmasts for 74 gun ships.
 Three lesser ones.
 Several caps and spars.
 1000 fir planks.
 Several knees, and some oak plank.
 Twenty tons of nails of all sorts.
 Thirty bolt of new, and about 400 yards of old canvas.
 Fourteen Spanish pendants.
 Blocks for the sheers and heaving ships down of all descriptions, with various other small articles.

J. WOOLRIDGE,
 Lieut. of the Cormorant.

List of Ships and Vessels found at Port Mahon, and taken Possession of.

A ship of 540 tons, partly laden with cotton, gum, and drugs.
 A ship of 200 tons, in ballast.
 A xebec of 60 tons, laden with horn.
 And four small tartans.

J. WOOLRIDGE,
 Lieut. of the Cormorant.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 25, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral

Earl of St. Vincent, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board *Le Souverain*, Gibraltar, Nov. 7, 1798.

"Herewith you will receive the copy of a letter from Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, inclosing one from Capt. Ball, of his Majesty's ship *Alexander*, with the capitulation of the island of Goza."

Vanguard, at Sea, Nov. 1, 1798.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to transmit you a letter received from Capt. Ball, dated October 30, together with the capitulation of the castle of Goza, and a list of ordnance, &c. found in it. The prisoners are now embarked in the *Vanguard* and *Minotaur* till I can get a vessel to send them to France. Capt. Ball, with three sail of the line, a frigate, and fire-ship, is entrusted with the blockade of Malta, in which are two sail of the line and three frigates ready for sea; and from the experience I have had of Capt. Ball's zeal, activity, and ability, I have no doubt but that in due time I shall have the honour of sending you a good account of the French in the town of Valetti.

I am, with the greatest respect,
 your lordship's
 most obedient servant,
 HORATIO NELSON."

Admiral Earl of St. Vincent.

*Alexander, off Malta,
 Oct. 30, 1798.*

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that the commandant of the

French troops in the castle of Goza signed the capitulation the 28th inst. which you had approved. I ordered Captain Creswell, of the marines, to take possession of it in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and his Majesty's colours were hoisted. The next day the place was delivered up in form to the deputies of the island, his Sicilian Majesty's colours hoisted, and he acknowledged their lawful sovereign.

"I embarked yesterday all the French officers and men who were on the island of Goza, amounting to 217.

"I inclose the articles of capitulation and an inventory of the arms and ammunition found in the castle, part of which I directed to be sent to the assistance of the Maltese, who are in arms against the French. There were three thousand two hundred sacks of corn in the castle, which will be a great relief to the inhabitants, who are much in want of that article.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. JOHN BALL."

Rear-Adm. Sir Horatio Nelson.

Articles of Capitulation between Alexander Ball, Esq. Captain of his Britannic Majesty's Ship Alexander, appointed to conduct the Blockade of Malta, under Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. on the Part of Great Britain, and Lieutenant-colonel Lochey, Adj. de Bat. Commander of the French Troops in the Castle of Goza.

1. The French troops shall march out of the castle of Goza with the honours of war, and shall

lay down their arms as they get out of the gate.

2. The castle of Goza, with all the military implements and stores, shall be delivered up to the British officer appointed to take charge of them.

3. The French officers and troops shall be protected in their persons and effects, and the officers allowed to retain their side-arms; they shall be embarked immediately on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, and sent to France in transports, at the expence of the French government. They are not to serve against his Britannic Majesty, or his allies, during the war, until regularly exchanged.

Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. has entered into articles with the inhabitants of Goza, that if the French surrender to the British, they shall be considered as under their protection, and they will not offer them the smallest insult or molestation.

Signed the 28th October, 1798.

ALEXANDER JOHN BALL,
Captain of his Britannic Majesty's
ship Alexander.

LOCHEY, adj. de battalion.

Approved—HORATIO NELSON."

Extract of Articles found in the
Castle of Goza, 28th Oct. 1798.

50 barrels of powder.

9000 ball cartridges.

1000 musquet cartridges without
ball.

1700 flints.

38 eighteen-pound cartridges,
filled.

140 twelve-pound ditto.

450 six-pound ditto.

268 four-pound ditto.

25 three-pound cartridges filled
 88 two-pound ditto.
 18 eighteen - pounder guns,
 good, and 200 shot.
 2 twelve-pounder guns, good,
 and 900 shot.
 4 six-pounder guns, good, and
 2985 shot.
 400 hand-granades, filled.
 90 pikes and 90 halberts.
 3200 sacks of corn.

N. B. No small arms, except
 those laid down by the French
 troops.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
 June 26, 1798.

Whitehall, June 26.

Copy of a Despatch from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Dublin-Castle, June 24.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to transmit to your grace a despatch received by Lord Viscount Castlereagh, this day, from Lieutenant-general Lake, dated Wexford, the 22d instant, together with a letter from Brigadier-general Moore, containing an account of his important successes.

"I also enclose a copy of the proposals made by the rebels in the town of Wexford, to Lieutenant-general Lake, and his answer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

*His Grace the Duke of Portland,
 &c. &c. &c.*

Wexford, June 22.

"My Lord,

"Yesterday afternoon I had the

honour to despatch a letter to your lordship, from Enniscorthy, with the transactions of the day, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information; and the enclosed copy of a letter from Brigadier-general Moore to Major-general Johnson, will account for my having entered this place without opposition. General Moore, with his usual enterprize and activity, pushed on to this town, and entered it so opportunely, as to prevent it from being laid in ashes, and the massacre of the remaining prisoners, which the rebels declared their resolution of carrying into effect the next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above seventy prisoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

"Enclosed is a copy of my answer to the proposal of the inhabitants of this town, transmitted in my letter of yesterday to your lordship. The evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unnecessary. I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the subscriber of the insolent proposals, Mr. Keughe, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roach, with a few others, are in my hands, without negotiation. The rebels are reported to be in some force within five miles of this place; it is supposed for the purpose of submission, to which the event of yesterday may strengthen their inclination. I have reason to think that there are a number so disposed, and that I shall be able to secure some more of their leaders; but, should I be disappointed in my expectation, and find they

collect in any force, I shall lose no time in attacking them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE."

P. S. From inquiry, the numbers killed yesterday were very great indeed.

Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Camp above Wexford, June 22.

"Dear General,

"Agreeable to your order I took post, on the evening of the 19th, near Fooke's Mills, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I sent a strong detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed me to join from Duncannon. The lieutenant-colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile when a considerable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the sixtieth regiment, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were advanced to a cross road above Goff's Bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them, under Lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson. The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived, at the same time, moving towards my left. Major

Aylmer, and afterwards Major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The sixtieth regiment, finding no farther opposition in front, had, of themselves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes; they were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

"Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent, but they seemed to be numerous. I enclose a list* of ours. The troops behaved with great spirit; the artillery and Hompesch's cavalry were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

"The business, which began between three and four, was not over till eight. It was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the second and twenty-ninth regiments, under Lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the 21st, we were proceeding to Taghmon, where I was met by an

* This list was omitted.

officer of the North Cork from Wexford, with the enclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town; by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled, upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your farther orders. Lord Kingsborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants. I have declined entering upon the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or General Lake.

"I received your pencilled note during the action of the 20th: it was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded, at Enniscorthy, with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off. He has sent to Lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary.

I am, &c.

JOHN MOORE."

Major-general Johnson.

P. S. It is difficult to judge of the numbers of rebels, they appear in such crowds and so little order. Information states those we beat to have been between five and six thousand.

PROPOSALS OF THE REBELS.

June 21.

"That Captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the King's troops that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, Captain M'Manus will be able to procure. Signed, by order of the inhabitants of the town of Wexford,

MATTHEW KEUGHE."

ANSWER.

Enniscorthy, June 22.

"Lieut.-gen. Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction.

"To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) G. LAKE."

To the inhabitants of Wexford.

London Gazette, June 30, 1798.

Whitehall.

Copy of a Despatch from the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland. L. 16

Dublin-Castle, June 25.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour of inclosing to your grace the copy of a letter received this day by Lord Castle-reagh, from Major-general Sir Charles Asgill, and a return of the killed, wounded, and missing; in the attack on Vinegar-hill and the town of Enniscorthy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS."

His Grace the Duke of Portland.

Kilkenny, June 24,

9 o'clock, P. M.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform you, that early in the morning of the 23d inst. I received information that the rebels, amounting to several thousands, had escaped from the county of Wexford, and formed a camp at Killymount, and were proceeding to Gore's Bridge; I instantly assembled all the force I could collect, and marched towards them. I did not arrive in time to prevent their defeating a detachment at that place, and taking 24 men of the Wexford militia prisoners. They marched off rapidly towards Leighlin. The troops from thence, consisting of a small party of the 9th dragoons, commanded by Lieut. Higgins, Lieut.-col. Rochfort's, and Capt. Cornwall's yeomanry, killed 60 of them. Night coming on, I could not pursue them any farther. By the position they took up near Sharkill, I conceived their intentions were to form a junction with the colliers at Castlecomer. As soon as the troops were able to

move, I marched with 900 men to attack them, and was sorry to find they had burnt the whole town, and forced the soldiers, who were in it to retire before my arrival. Having cleared the town with the guns, I attacked them on all sides; about 400 were killed, the remainder fled. They were commanded by a priest called Murphy, and their numbers were said to amount to 5000. Our loss was inconsiderable. My force consisted of the Wexford and Wicklow militia, under the command of Lord Loftus and the Hon. Col. Howard. The dragoons were commanded by Major Donaldson of the 9th dragoons, and Major Barnard, of the Romney fencibles, with several yeomanry corps from this county and Carlow, who, as well as the other troops, are entitled to my warmest praise for their bravery and alertness, on this and every occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. ASGILL, Maj.-gen."

London Gazette, July 3, 1798.

Whitehall.

Copies of Despatches from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland.

Kilkenny, June 26.

"My Lord,

"Fearing the consequences that must result from allowing the rebels who fled from Wexford to remain any length of time in this country, I preferred attacking them with a small number of men to waiting till a reinforcement arrived. My force amounted to eleven hundred men. The rebels consisted of about five thousand.

I attacked them this morning at six o'clock, in their position at Kilconnel-hill, near Gore's Bridge, and soon defeated them. Their chief, called Murphy, a priest, and upwards of one thousand men, were killed. Ten pieces of cannon and two swivels, the colours, and quantities of ammunition, arms, cattle, &c. were taken; and I have the pleasure to add, that some soldiers who were made prisoners the day before, and who were doomed to suffer death, were fortunately released by our troops.

"Our loss consisted of seven men killed and wounded.—The remainder of the rebels were pursued into the county of Wexford, where they dispersed in different directions.

"I feel particularly obliged to major Mathews, of the Downshire militia, who at a short notice, and with great alacrity, marched with 400 men of his regiment, and captain Poole's and captain Gore's yeomanry corps, from Maryboro', to co-operate with me. Lord Loftus and colonel Ram, of the Wexford militia; lieutenant-colonel Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Radcliffe, of the Wicklow; major Donaldson, of the 9th dragoons, who commanded the cavalry, as well as all the officers and privates, are entitled to my thanks for their spirited exertions. Nor can I withhold the praises so justly due to all the yeomanry corps employed on this occasion.

"I also beg leave to mention my aid-de-camp, captain Ogle, and lieutenant Higgins, of the 9th dragoons who has acted as my brigade-major.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CHARLES ASGILL, maj.-gen."

Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Dublin, June 25.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint your grace, that this day advices were received from lieutenant Gardner, of the Antrim militia, dated from Baltinglass, the 26th instant, which state, that early on the morning of the 25th, a very large body of rebels attacked his post at Hacketstown. They were in number many thousands. Lieutenant Gardner's force consisted of 50 Upper Talbotstown, and 24 Shebagh cavalry, 50 of the Antrim regiment, 46 Hacketstown, and 30 Coolattin yeomen infantry. He at first took an advantageous situation in front of the town; but after a few shots without effect, the rebels filed off in every direction to surround him. He then retreated into the town to defend the barracks. A contest took place in the midst of flames, for near nine hours, for the rebels set fire to the town. They were at last repulsed with considerable loss; many dead were found in the streets and ditches, and 30 cart-loads of killed and wounded were carried off in their retreat.

"Lieutenant Gardner speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry of his whole detachment. He particularly praises lieutenant Rowan, of the Antrim, captain Hume, of the Upper Talbotstown cavalry, captain and Lieutenant Charnley, of the Coolattin, lieutenants Saul and Thomas of the Hacketstown cavalry, and lieutenants Bradbelt and Taylor of the Shebagh cavalry; and he strongly mentions the good conduct of serjeant Nixon, of the Antrim regiment.

"He severely laments the loss of a good officer, captain Hardy,

of the Hacketstown yeoman infantry, who fell early in the action. His other loss consists of ten privates killed, and one serjeant, and 19 privates wounded.

"I enclose to your grace a farther account of the action near Gore's Bridge, and a return of the killed and wounded, which has been received from major-general Sir Charles Asgill.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CORNWALLIS."

His Grace the Duke of Portland,
&c.

Kilkenny, June 27.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to send you enclosed a return of the killed and wounded in the action with the rebels at Kilconnel-hill, on the 26th of June, and a return of the ordnance, ammunition, &c. &c. taken on that day. I have the pleasure to assure you, that every thing they possessed has fallen into our hands, and, from subsequent accounts, the loss they sustained was much greater than I had the honour of stating to you in my former despatch. I have no doubt but this victory will restore the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow to peace and tranquillity.

"I have the honour to be,

"CHARLES ASGILL, maj.-gen."

Right Honourable Viscount Castlereagh.

Return of Ordnance, Colours, and Ammunition taken.

One colour, five four-pounders, five one-pounders, four swivels, a few guns, and a number of pikes, which were destroyed as soon as taken. A number of shot of different sizes, with a quantity of lead and moulds.

Return of Stores taken :

Black cattle	170
Sheep	100
Horses	700

Total . 970

Also a vast quantity of bedding, blanketing, and wearing apparel.

J. LEWIS HIGGINS,

Lieutenant of 9th Dragoons,
Acting Brigade-Major.

The following are the official Notes respecting the Arrival, &c. of the French troops in Ireland.

Whitehall, Aug, 26.

"My Lord,

"I think it right to inform your lordship, that by official accounts received this morning from the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, it appears, that three French frigates, unaccompanied by any transports, appeared in the bay of Killala, on the evening of the 22d. instant, and landed about seven hundred men, who immediately took possession of the town of Killala, and made a small party of the Prince of Wales's fencible regiment, consisting of an officer and twenty men, and some yeomen, prisoners: a large force was collected from different quarters, and every necessary preparation made for attacking the enemy.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"(Signed) PORTLAND."

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor.

(A true Copy, for Lloyd's.)

(Signed) ANDERSON, Mayor.

Dublin Castle, Aug. 29, 1798.

"Sir,

"In the absence of my lord-lieutenant, I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of his Grace the Duke of Portland, that early on the 27th instant the French attacked lieutenant-general Lake, in a position he had taken at Castlebar, before his forces were collected, and compelled him to retire. The lieutenant-general reports, that his loss of men is not considerable, but that he was obliged to leave behind him six pieces of cannon. It appears, by a letter I have received this day from my lord-lieutenant, that the French have advanced upon Tuam. His Excellency was assembling forces at Athlone. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"CASTLEREAGH."

William Wickham, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

Whitehall, Aug. 30, 1798.

"My Lord,

"I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that despatches have been received at Dublin Castle; from major-general Hutchinson, dated Castlebar, the 25th instant, which state, that the French troops who disembarked at Killala, had not attempted to march into the country, nor had they been joined by any number of the inhabitants; and that the major-general was proceeding to act against the enemy with the king's troops, who were receiving every assistance from the people of the country.

"Before the arrival of the major-general's despatches, the lord-lieutenant had left Dublin, and proceeded to take the command of the army.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"(Signed) PORTLAND."

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor.

London Gazette Extraordinary,

September 14, 1798.

Whitehall, September 14.

Copy of a Despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Camp, near St. John's Town,

Sept. 8.

"My Lord,

"When I wrote to your grace on the 5th, I had every reason to believe, from the enemy's movement to Drumahain, that it was their intention to march to the north; and it was natural to suppose, that they might hope that a French force would get into some of the bays in that part of the country; without a succour of which kind every point of direction for their march seemed equally desperate.

"I received, however, very early in the morning of the 7th, accounts from lieutenant-general Lake, that they had turned to their right to Drumkeirn, and that he had reason to believe that it was their intention to go to Boyle, or Carrick on Shannon; in consequence of which, I hastened the march of the troops, under my immediate command, in order to arrive before the enemy at Carrick, and directed major-general Moore, who was at Tubercurry, to be prepared, in the event of the enemy's movement to Boyle.

"On my arrival at Carrick, I

found that the enemy had passed the Shannon, at Balintra, where they attempted to destroy the bridge; but lieutenant-general Lake followed them so closely, that they were not able to effect it.

“Under these circumstances, I felt pretty confident that one more march would bring this disagreeable warfare to a conclusion; and having obtained satisfactory information, that the enemy had halted for the night at Cloone, I moved with the troops at Carrick, at ten o'clock on the night of the 7th. to Mohill, and directed lieutenant-general Lake to proceed at the same time to Cloone, which is about three miles from Mohill; by which movement I should be able either to join with lieutenant-general Lake in the attack of the enemy, if they should remain at Cloone, or to intercept their retreat, if they should (as it was most probable) retire on the approach of our army.

“On my arrival at Mohill, soon after day-break, I found that the enemy had begun to move towards Granard; I therefore proceeded with all possible expedition to this place, through which I was assured, on account of a broken bridge, that the enemy must pass in their way to Granard, and directed lieutenant-general Lake to attack the enemy's rear, and impede their march as much as possible, without bringing the whole of his corps into action. Lieutenant-general Lake performed this service with his usual attention and ability; and the enclosed letter, which I have just received from him will explain the circumstances which produced

the immediate surrender of the enemy's army.

“The copy of my orders, which I enclose, will show how much reason I have to be satisfied with the exertions of my troops; and I request that your grace will be pleased to inform his majesty, that I have received the greatest assistance from the general and staff officers who have served with the army.

“I have the honour to be, &c.
“CORNWALLIS.”

P. S. I am sorry to find that the wounds of lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers, are more dangerous than they had been reported.

His Grace the Duke of Portland, &c.

Letter from Lieutenant-General Lake, to Captain Taylor, private Secretary to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, dated Camp, near Ballinamuck, September 8:

“Sir,
“I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the lord-lieutenant, that finding, upon my arrival at Ballaghy, that the French army had passed that place from Castlebar, I immediately followed them, to watch their motions. Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, who commanded my advanced corps, composed of detachments of Hompesch's and the first fencible cavalry, by great vigilance and activity, hung so close upon their rear, that they could not escape from me, although they drove the country, and carried with them all the horses.

“After four days and nights

most severe marching, my column, consisting of the carabineers, detachments of the 23d light dragoons, the first fencible light dragoons, and the Roxburgh fencible dragoons, under the command of colonel Sir Thomas Chapman, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, earl of Roden, and captain Kerr, the third battalion of light infantry, the Armagh, and part of the Kerry militia, the Reay, Northampton, and prince of Wales's fencible regiment of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, of the 64th regiment, lord viscount Gosford, earl of Glandore, major Ross, lieutenant-colonel Bulkeley, and lieutenant-colonel Macartney, arrived at Cloone, about seven o'clock this morning, where, having received directions to follow the enemy on the same line, whilst his excellency moved by the lower road, to intercept them, I advanced, having previously detached the Monaghan light company, mounted behind dragoons, to harass their rear.

"Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, on coming up with the French rear-guard summoned them to surrender; but as they did not attend to his summons, he attacked them, upon which upwards of 200 French infantry threw down their arms: under the idea that the rest of the corps would do the same thing, captain Packenham, lieutenant-general of ordnance, and major-general Craddock, rode up to them. The enemy, however, instantly commenced a fire of cannon and musketry, which wounded general Craddock; upon which I ordered up the third battalion of light infantry, under the

command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, and commenced the attack upon the enemy's position. The action lasted upwards of half an hour, when the remainder of the column making its appearance, the French surrendered at discretion. The rebels, who fled in all directions, suffered severely.

"The conduct of the cavalry was highly conspicuous. The third light battalion, and part of the Armagh militia (the only infantry that were engaged), behaved most gallantly, and deserve my warmest praise. Lieutenant-colonel Innes's spirit and judgment contributed much to our success.

"To brigadier-general Taylor I have to return my most sincere thanks, for his great exertions and assistance, particularly on this day; also to Lord Roden, Sir Thomas Chapman, major Kerr, and captain Ferguson, whose example contributed much to animate the troops. I ought not to omit mentioning lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, major Packenham, and captain Kerr, whose conduct was equally meritorious; and I feel infinitely thankful to all the commanding officers of corps, who, during so fatiguing a march, encouraged their men to bear it with unremitting perseverance.

"To captain Packenham, lieutenant-colonel Clinton (who came to me with orders from lord Cornwallis), and major-general Craddock (who joined me in the morning), I am highly indebted for their spirited support; the latter, though early wounded, would not retire from the field during the action.

"I acknowledge, with gratitude,

the zeal and activity displayed, on all occasions, by lieutenant-colonel Meade, Major Hardy (assistant-quarter-master-general), captains Taylor and Eustace, of the engineers, captain Nicholson, and my other aid-de-camps.

"I cannot conclude my letter without expressing how much our success is to be attributed to the spirit and activity of lieutenant-colonel Crawford; and I beg leave to recommend him as a most deserving officer.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"G. LAKE."

General Orders.

Head-quarters, near St. John's Town, September 9.

Lord Cornwallis cannot too much applaud the zeal and spirit which have been manifested by the army from the commencement of the operations against the invading enemy, until the surrender of the French forces.

The perseverance with which the soldiers supported the extraordinary marches, which were necessary to stop the progress of the very active enemy, does them the greatest credit; and lord Cornwallis heartily congratulates them on the happy issue of their meritorious exertions.

The corps of yeomanry, in the whole country through which the army has passed, have rendered the greatest services, and are peculiarly entitled to the acknowledgements of the lord-lieutenant, from their not having tarnished that courage and loyalty which they displayed in the cause of their king and country, by any

act of wanton cruelty towards their deluded fellow-subjects.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the King's Forces at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

Officers, 1 wounded; privates, 3 killed, 12 wounded, 3 missing; horses, 11 killed, 1 wounded, 8 missing.

Ordinance, Arms, and Ammunition taken.

3 light French 4-pounders; 5 ditto ammunition-waggon, nearly full of made-up ammunition; 1 ditto tumbril; 700 stand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes.

Officers wounded, lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers.

Returns of the French Army taken Prisoners, at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

General and other officers	96
Non-commissioned officers	} 746
and soldiers	
Horses, about	100

N. B. Ninety-six rebels taken, three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling.

* * * The enemy, in their retreat before the troops under my command, were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his majesty's forces.

G. LAKE, Lieut-Gen.

Names of the principal Officers of the French Force, taken at the Battle of Ballinamuck, September 8.

Humbert—général en chef.
 Sarazin—général de division.
 Fontaine—général de brigade.
 Lasserre—chef de brigade attaché
 à l'état-major.
 Dufour—ditto.
 Autly—chef de bataillon.
 Demanche—ditto.
 Toussaint—ditto.
 Babin—ditto.
 Silbermon—ditto.
 Menou—commissaire ordonnateur.
 Brillier—commissaire de guerre.
 Thibault—payeur.
 Puton—aid-de-camp.
 Framair—ditto.
 Moreau—capitaine waguemestre-
 general
 Ardouin—chef de brigade.
 Serve—chef de bataillon.
 Hais—ditto.
 Mauchaud—ditto.
 Trand, }
 Bassonnet, } officiers de santé.

Recapitulation.

Sous-officiers	96
Grenadiers	78
Fusiliers	440
Carabiniers	33
Chasseurs	60
Canonnières	41

Total . 748

Officers 96

844

Certifié par le chef de brigade,
 P. ARDOUIN.

The Trial of James O'Coigley,
 otherwise called James Quigley,
 otherwise called James John
 Finey, Arthur O'Connor, Esq.
 John Binns, John Allen, and
 Jeremiah Leary, for High
 Treason.

On the 10th of April the Special Commission was opened at Maidstone.—Present; the Right Honourable Lord Romney, Lord-Lieutenant of the County; the Honourable Sir Francis Buller, Bart.; and the Honourable John Heath, Esq. two of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas. After which the Court adjourned till the following morning.

On the 11th of April, the Court met, pursuant to adjournment; the Sheriff delivered in the pannel of the Grand Jury, which was called over, when the following gentlemen were sworn.

THE GRAND JURY.

Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart.
 Sir John Gregory Shaw, Bart.
 Sir John Dixon Dyke, Bart.
 Sir William Geary, Bart.
 Charles Townsend, Esq.
 Henry Oxendon, Esq.
 William Hammond, Esq.
 George Polhill, Esq.
 Nicholas Roundhead Toke, Esq.
 Lewis Gage, Esq. junior.
 Edward Austen, Esq.
 George Grote, Esq.
 George Children, Esq.
 Francis Motley Austen, Esq.
 Edward Hussey, Esq.
 John Larkin, Esq.
 Thomas Brett, Esq.
 Edward Peach, Esq.
 Henry Woodgate, Esq.
 William Francis Woodgate, Esq.
 James Chapman, Esq.
 George Smith, Esq.
 George Talbot Hatley Foote, Esq.

Mr. Justice Buller.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

As we are convened here under a commission which his Majesty

has been pleased to direct for a special purpose, and not in the ordinary course of an Assize, it may naturally be expected, that I should say something on the occasion of our being thus assembled. To enable me to do that, I have no guide but the commissions which I bear, for no depositions are returned here according to the universal practice of an assize. Probably that has arisen from the circumstance, that indictments for treason are usually prepared by the immediate officers of the crown, and not by the officers of this court. In many cases a different practice might be useful, because it is as material in treason as in felony, that the court should be enabled to point out to the Grand Jury, the leading features of the cases which are submitted to their consideration, and the circumstances to which it is most essential for them to apply their attention, when they consider the effect and bearing of the evidence which may be brought before them.

At present, I know not any of the circumstances which are likely to be adduced against the prisoners, and therefore I can only deliver the law to you in general terms, as I find it laid down in our books, with the hope that some observations or other may be useful to you in the inquiries which you will have to make. If they should be found not applicable to the cases brought before you, and any questions should arise on which you may be desirous of obtaining information, the court will be at all times ready to give you every assistance in its power.

From the commissions we learn that our enquiries are to be confined to the crimes of high treason, and misprision of treason. It was the happiness of this country for a considerable series of years, to be almost a stranger to the crime of treason, until the new principles and opinions which have been adopted in France, unfortunately misled the minds of many unthinking people, and also furnished the discontented of this country with what they thought the probable means of subverting our existing laws and constitution, and introducing the system of anarchy and confusion, which has fatally prevailed there. Powerful as these opinions have been in their effect in France, they cannot make way with the considerate part of this country; because they would destroy a constitution, under which experience has shewn that men may live happily if they please; and they would establish nothing in its room which can secure the freedom, the liberty, or the property of the members of the community.

In our present state we have no danger to fear from the power of the supreme magistrate; he must on all occasions act by the advice or intervention of others, who can derive no authority from him which the laws do not sanction, and who are responsible for the advice they afford, and punishable for the evil counsel they may give. No law can be made here to which the legislature themselves will not be equally liable with every other subject; and no better security can be devised against oppressive laws, than the certainty that if

they be so, their makers will suffer by them.

There is not in this country one law by which the rich are governed, and another for the poor. No man has justice meted out to him by a different measure, on account of his rank and fortune, from what would be done if he were destitute of both. Every invasion of property is judged of by the same rule; every injury is compensated in the same way, and every crime is restrained by the same punishment, be the condition of the offender what it may. It is in this alone that true equality can exist in society. Different degrees are necessary for every government, and greater talents and industry will in the course of things give one man a superiority over another; and without some distinction of rank, the magistrate would want authority; virtue would be without one of its strongest incentives, and the prudent and industrious would remain on a footing with the idle and dissipated.

If this be a fair description of the advantages of our Constitution, it may be thought impossible that any number of persons in this country should wish to adopt any other form of government. But it is the observation of a very wise man, that "he who goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable hearers, because they know the manifold defects to which *every kind* of regimen is subject; but the secret lets and difficulties which in public proceedings are innumerable and in-

evitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider."

Among the unthinking and those who do not take a comprehensive view of the subject, much mischief may be done by artful and designing men, who aggravate the defects of our Constitution, and dwell only on the advantages of others, and notwithstanding the imperfections of human wisdom, require unerring conduct from their Governors, imputing every mischief of chance to ill design and corruption; and as a correction of all those evils, they teach the people that the government ought to be in their hands. They whom this latter argument may allure, would do well to consider, whether any change of government would really better the condition of the body of the people. The actual exercise of power must from its nature be vested in a few; it may shift where there is no monarchy, from the hands of one contending party to those of another; but the mass of the people must remain as they are, employed at the plough, the anvil, or the loom, or in some occupation which will afford a maintenance and support. There is nothing which prevents men of abilities, equal to great situations, from obtaining in this country the highest offices and honors, of which the instances are numerous in every department.

But as no state can gratify the ambition and views of every one, who may feel his fortune wearing away, think his merit neglected, or his abilities employed on subjects below them; men of this description will look for times of trouble and confusion, as afford-

ing them opportunities which in the regular course of settled government cannot arise; when they may obtain in a day, what no length of labour could have procured without the assistance of chance; when they may rise to sudden elevation by the downfall of others; and when from the general misery of their country, they may by possibility advance their own private interest. To guard against the machinations of such restless and turbulent spirits, the common law and the statute law of the land have made various provisions, at the head of which the code of criminal law, relating to High Treason, is to be found.

The learned Judge here entered into a brief and perspicuous detail of the various offences which come under the denomination of treason, particularly those enumerated in the statute of the 25th of Edward III. the Act of the 33rd of the present King's reign, chap. 37. and an Act of the 36th of the reign of his present Majesty, and concluded thus:

"Gentlemen, If these observations should in any degree tend to afford you relief or information in the course of your enquiries, the end and object of them will be fully answered: and if they do not, I hope I have not occupied any inordinate portion of your time."

On the same day, the Grand Jury returned a true Bill against the Prisoners. On the 28th of April, at the request of the prisoners, Mr. Plumer was assigned as Counsel for James O'Coigley and Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. Dallas as Counsel for all the prisoners. The Court then adjourned.

On Monday, April the 30th, the Court met according to adjournment, present—The Right Hon. Lord Romney, the Hon. Sir Francis Buller, Bart. and the Hon. John Heath, Esq. two of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas. Sir Soulden Laurence, Knt. one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench; and Samuel Shepherd, Esq. one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law.

The prisoners being set to the bar, Mr. Plumer, on the part of Mr. O'Connor and Mr. O'Coigley, insisted that neither of the prisoners ought to answer the indictment, because, the copy required to be delivered to them by Act of Parliament, differed in several instances from the original. He pointed out two very trifling inaccuracies, adding, that his reason for taking the objection was, because the prisoners were really not prepared to enter upon their defence, and that if the objection was over-ruled, he should apply to the Court to grant further time. He would shew the affidavits to the Attorney-General, and trust to his candor for postponing the trials after he had seen them. A conversation ensued between the Attorney-General, Mr. Plumer, and Mr. Dallas, which ended in an agreement to postpone the trials, provided the prisoners waived all objections to form in the copies of the indictment. The Court was accordingly adjourned till Monday the 21st of May.

On the 21st of May the Court met pursuant to adjournment, and the persons summoned as jurors were called. The crown challenged twenty-five, and the pri-

soners the full number allowed by law. Three hours and a half elapsed before the jury was chosen, and a considerable part of this time was taken up in challenging persons "*with cause*," and producing evidence to shew that they had used strong expressions against the prisoners. Some of these challenges were admitted, and others refused. The Jury was composed of the following persons :

Charles Haskins.
William Small.
William Crouk.
Richard Ray.
James Chapple.
Michael Saxby.
Silas Newman.
Isaac Tomlyn.
Thomas Henham.
Walter Barton.
John Miller.
John Simmons.

The indictment was opened by Mr. Abbott.

The Attorney-General then addressed the Court and Jury, and after some preliminary observations, proceeded to detail the circumstances which were to be substantiated by evidence as follow.

You will find, that on the afternoon of the 27th of February, the prisoners O'Coigley, Allen, and Leary, came from Whitstable to the King's-head, Margate. O'Coigley under the name of Captain Jones, Allen as his servant, which he is not, and Leary, the servant of O'Connor, to be in readiness for the arrival of his master. Soon after they had reached the King's Head, O'Connor accordingly arrived with the prisoner Binns; the former bearing the appellation of Colonel Morris, the latter calling himself

by the name of Williams. Under these feigned names, the whole party continued the remainder of that day and the night following at the King's Head. In the course of the next morning they were arrested by the two officers, Fugion and Revett. Mr. O'Coigley was then sitting in a room at breakfast, and upon a chair in that room hung a great-coat, the pocket of which contained the black leather pocket-book which I now have in my hand. At the same time that the prisoners were taken into custody, the officers seized all the baggage they had with them, consisting of deal boxes, portmanteaus, mahogany boxes, leather cases, and other matters of that sort, which will be brought before you, and I need not therefore particularly describe. This large quantity of luggage the prisoners O'Coigley, Allen, and Leary, had brought with them to the inn the preceding evening in a cart, driven by a man of the name of Thomsett, who will be produced in evidence. O'Connor and Binns brought no luggage, but the whole of the contents of the cart were placed under the especial care of Allen and Leary as the servants of the pretended Colonel Morris and Capt. Jones.

After all the circumstances I have stated respecting this baggage, and the meeting of the parties at the inn, it is hardly necessary to add, that to all appearance the prisoners were well known to each other; but upon their apprehension you will find that they positively denied all knowledge of each other, and affirmed that no article of the aforesaid luggage belonged to any one of their party,

every individual of which strenuously denied any acquaintance with its contents.

The course of narrative which I am now pursuing, brings me to a paper found in this pocket-book, which it will be proved to you belonged to the prisoner O'Coigley. It is indispensable that this paper should be read to you: it is addressed thus, "The Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France."

"Citizen Directors—We are called together on the wing of the moment to communicate to you our sentiments. The citizen who now presents them to you, and who was the bearer of them before, having but a few hours to remain in town, expect not a laboured address from us, but plainness is the great characteristic of Republicans.

"Affairs are now drawing to a great and awful crisis: tyranny, shaken to its basis, seems about to be buried in its own ruins. With the tyranny of England, that of all Europe must fall: haste then, great nation! pour forth thy gigantic force; let the base despot feel the avenging stroke, and let one oppressed nation carol forth the praises of France at the altar of liberty. We saw, with rapture, your proclamations. They met our warmest wishes, and remove doubts from the minds of millions. Go on, Englishmen will be ready to second your efforts. The system of borrowing, which has hitherto enabled our tyrants to disturb the peace of a whole world, is at an end: they have tried to raise a kind of forced loan, '(i.e. the voluntary contributions,)' it

has failed. Every tax diminishes that revenue it was intended to augment, and the voluntary contributions produce almost nothing. The aristocracy pay their taxes under that mask; the poor workmen, in large manufactories, have been forced to contribute, under the threat of being turned out of employ. Even the army have been called on to give a portion of their pay to carry on the war; by far the greatest part have peremptorily refused to contribute to so base a purpose; and the few who have complied have in general been cajoled, or reluctantly compelled to it.

"Englishmen are no longer blind to their most sacred claims; no longer are they the dupes of an imaginary constitution; every day they see themselves bereft of some part of the poor fragment of democracy they have hitherto enjoyed; and they find, that in order to possess a Constitution, they must make one. Parliamentary declaimers have been the bane of our freedom, national plunder was the object of every faction, and it was the interest of each to keep the people in the dark; but the delusion is past, the government has pulled off its disguise, and the very men, who, under the semblance of moderate reform, only wish to climb into power, are now glad to fall into the ranks of the people. Yes, they have fallen into the ranks, and there they must for ever remain, for Englishmen can never place confidence in them.

"Already have the English fraternized with the Irish and Scots, and a delegate from each now sits with us. The sacred

flame of liberty is rekindled, the holy obligation of brotherhood is received with enthusiasm; even in the fleets and armies it makes some progress: disaffection prevails in both, and united Britain burns to burst her chains.

“ Fortunately we have no leader. Avarice and cowardice have pervaded the rich, but we are not therefore the less united: some few of the opulent, have indeed, by speeches, professed themselves the friends of democracy, but they have not acted, they have considered themselves as distinct from the people, and the people will in its turn consider their claim to its favour as unjust and frivolous. They wish, perhaps, to place us in the front of the battle, that, unsupported by the wealth they enjoy, we may perish; when they may hope to rise upon our ruin: but let them be told, though we may fall through their criminal neglect, they can never hope to rule; and that Englishmen, once free, will not submit to a few political impostors.

“ United as we are, we only wait with impatience to see the hero of Italy, and the brave veterans of the Great nation; myriads will hail their arrival with shouts of joy, they will soon finish the glorious campaign, tyranny will vanish from the face of the earth, and, crowned with laurel, the invincible army of France will return to its native country, there long to enjoy the well-earned praise of a grateful world, whose freedom they have purchased with their blood.” This paper was sealed, and is dated the sixth Pluviose, A. R. P. G. 6. meaning the sixth year of the Gallic Republic.

I shall now proceed to state the facts, in the prisoner's conduct, prior to their arriving at Margate, which, connected with those already detailed, will sufficiently prove their intention of leaving the country.

On the 21st of February the prisoner Binns left London, on the Thursday following arrived at Canterbury, and on the Friday morning, applied to the two witnesses, Claris and Mahoney, and expressed a wish to have a recommendation to certain persons at Whitstable, representing himself to have some concerns in the smuggling line. Upon this, several names of owners of vessels were mentioned to him, and he went to Whitstable on the same day, and saw several persons in consequence, who will all appear as witnesses. To these witnesses he applied in order to procure a boat to go to some French port, and the extreme hazard of such an undertaking being pointed out to him, he endeavoured to obviate this objection by every argument he could make use of, and finally agreed that three hundred guineas should be deposited in the Canterbury bank as a security for the return of the vessel, and the sum of one hundred and fifty guineas be given for the use of it. After completing the bargain, Mr. Binns returned to Canterbury, from whence he proceeded to Deal, where, from some motive not material to the narrative, he made propositions of a similar nature to other persons, and it appearing from what they said that the delay of a few days might effect the purpose he contemplated on much more reasonable terms, he left

Deal and returned to London on the Saturday night in the hope of arriving in time to prevent his colleagues' departure thence, having told the witnesses, both at Deal and Whitstable, that three or four persons concerned in the transaction would be at the latter place by Sunday evening. These persons, however, namely, the pretended Col. Morris and Capt. Jones, and their respective servants, had already quitted town in pursuance of their common agreement, and Binns left London directly, and following their steps joined them at Canterbury.

A doubt now arose as to the best means of conveying the baggage, brought by O'Connor and O'Coigley to Margate; and after some conversation on the subject a cart was procured belonging to, and driven by the witness Thonsett, who thus carried it to the King's Head, Margate; the prisoners O'Coigley, Allen, and Leary, walking by the side of the cart the whole way. Meanwhile Mr. O'Connor and Binns went to Deal, and had much intercourse with the witnesses from thence of the same nature as at Mr. Binns's first visit thither. A delay occurring about the boat, they departed from Deal, having had a slip of paper given them with the name of one Launcelot Hayman, written in pencil upon it, to whom they were to apply when they should come a second time to Deal from Margate. They arrived at the latter place, as had been previously related, and also their apprehension by the officers on the following morning, when it will be proved they denied all

knowledge either of each other, or of the contents of the baggage they had brought with them.

The Attorney-General then adverted to a letter in the handwriting of Mr. O'Connor, addressed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and found in the possession of that nobleman: part of this letter is couched in mysterious terms which were wholly unintelligible until he produced a second paper, found in a part of Mr. O'Connor's razor case, and containing the key to a kind of cypher which explains the aforesaid terms, and with this assistance the learned gentleman went on to prove from this letter Mr. O'Connor's connection with O'Coigley, and the transactions he was engaged in, and that he was privy to the purpose of sending the address to the Executive Directory, which was found in Mr. O'Coigley's great-coat pocket, and after reading two other letters to different persons in the hand-writing of the latter, each signed by a different feigned name, he concluded in the following manner:

"Gentlemen, it may be, and certainly is the fact, that in this general opening I have omitted many material circumstances, but with these, the course of evidence will make you acquainted. When you have heard this evidence it will be your duty, the duty you have sworn to discharge, to make a true deliverance, according to the evidence, between the prisoners at the bar and the public. I am persuaded, gentlemen, that, speaking to you in a British Court of Justice, you would treat with horror and indignation any man who could venture to press for

your verdict, if your consciences are not perfectly satisfied that the prisoners are guilty. On the other hand, it is incumbent upon me to put you in mind, that if you owe a great duty to the prisoners, you owe also a great duty to the public. I question not but that you will discharge that duty satisfactorily to your consciences, to your country, and to your God."

The evidence for the Crown was now entered upon, and a number of witnesses called, to prove the correctness of the detail given by the Attorney-General. These witnesses underwent a strict cross-examination by the counsel for the prisoners, but no material contradictions were elicited thereby. By the time the evidence for the Crown had concluded, it being near 12 o'clock, the officers were sworn in the usual manner to attend the Jury, who all slept in one large room; and the Court adjourned till 8 o'clock the next morning.

On Tuesday, May the 22d, the Court met, pursuant to adjournment, at 8 o'clock in the morning. Mr. Plumer then addressed the Court, on behalf of the prisoners O'Connor and O'Coigley, in a most luminous and argumentative speech which lasted several hours. After some opening remarks upon the serious nature of the charge itself, and a clear and concise explanation of the offences designated by the terms of High Treason, he proceeded to admit all the principal facts detailed in the narrative given by the Attorney-General, and confirmed by the evidence for the Crown. He agreed with his learned friend, that every step taken by the prisoners proved their intention of

leaving this country, but he contended that this intention was all that could be brought home to the prisoners, more particularly to Mr. O'Connor, who having from circumstances unconnected with the present enquiry become an object of suspicion to the government, was anxious to get abroad, and of course took his measures to do so, with secrecy and every necessary precaution. The question, therefore, resolved itself simply into, for what purpose they were about to quit the kingdom, and if it were to be the bearers of the address to the Executive Directory of France which had been produced in evidence, weak, ridiculous, and contemptible as it was, he would not hesitate to say, that such an intention constituted High Treason in almost as strong a sense as the words can be made use of—but he would venture to affirm, without the slightest fear of contradiction, that there was not a single incident in the narrative, a single deposition of any witness, or a single scrap of paper produced, amid all the immense mass of evidence for which both kingdoms had been ransacked in every corner, which could connect that address with Mr. O'Connor. The learned gentleman here quoted several curious cases, in which the most apparently unquestionable presumptive evidence had been the means of convicting an innocent person, and then entered at considerable length both into the circumstances under which the paper in question was found, and an ingenious and accurate examination of its contents. He concluded a most eloquent and impressive speech by an appeal to the candour of the Court, and an

expression of his entire reliance upon the verdict of the jury. Mr. Gurney then spake in behalf of the prisoner Binns, Mr. Ferguson for the prisoner Allen, and Mr. Scott for the prisoner Leary. The evidence for the defence was then entered upon, in the course of which the Hon. Thomas Erskine, the Hon. Charles James Fox, the Earl of Suffolk, R. B. Sheridan, Esq. the Duke of Norfolk, Michael Angelo Taylor, Esq. the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Thanet, the Earl of Oxford, and Samuel Whitbread, Esq. gave the highest testimonies to the good character of Mr. O'Connor, with whom they had all been in habits of intimacy for several years, and several of them for a much longer period. Mr. Grey, Lord Lauderdale, and many other gentlemen of equal respectability, were in readiness to give their evidence to the same effect, but the Court thought it unnecessary to call them. Mr. Justice Buller remarked, that the witnesses produced on the part of Mr. O'Connor, had "gone as far as character could go."

Mr. Dallas then recapitulated the evidence, and in a long and eloquent speech went over every argument which could be adduced in favour of the prisoners, concluding by some solemn and affecting comments upon the awful duty which the jury had to perform in deciding whether the several persons before them were to live or die, and a short but fervent prayer to the great Judge of all, that their verdict might be such as should prove to themselves a source of comfort in

life, of consolation in death; of happiness here, and of hope hereafter.

The Attorney-General then replied at great length; and when he had finished, Mr. Justice Buller summed up the evidence, and commented upon it distinctly as it related to each separate prisoner. His lordship concluded in the following words: "Having said thus much, I trust I have discharged my duty both to the public, the prisoners, and to you. As to the law, I have stated that clearly and explicitly; because it is clear, and admits of no doubt. As to the fact, I have stated what has been proved on each side; I have stated where it seems to me, the evidence which has been given me may admit of different constructions, which I have done in order to lay the case fairly before you for your consideration. Perhaps as to the prisoner O'Coigley, I have stated my own opinions pretty strongly; I have done that because I have not been able to find any doubts upon the evidence. It is my duty to state my opinion to you, because you have a right to know it, but you are not bound to follow it. The Court are bound to give an opinion, but having done that, it is for you to exercise your judgment upon the different parts of the evidence, and remember it is your verdict, not mine. Let your opinion be what it may, pronounce it upon the evidence that has appeared against the different prisoners at the bar; and I am satisfied, that when you turn the evidence in your own minds, you will pronounce that verdict which is consistent with the truth and justice of the case."

The jury withdrew at fifty minutes after twelve o'clock at night, and returned into Court at twenty-five minutes past one, with a verdict finding,

James O'Coigley—*Guilty*.

Arthur O'Connor—*Not Guilty*.

John Binns—*Not Guilty*.

John Allen—*Not Guilty*.

Jeremiah Leary—*Not Guilty*.

Mr. Justice Buller then addressed a short and impressive admonitory speech to the prisoner O'Coigley, and passed judgment in the following terms:

"I am bound to pronounce the judgment of the law upon you, which is, and this Court does adjudge—

"That you be taken from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence you be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, but not until you are dead; but that you be taken down again, and that whilst you are yet alive, your bowels be taken out and burnt before your face, and that afterwards your head be severed from your body; your body be divided into four quarters, and your head and body be at the King's disposal.—And may God Almighty have mercy on your soul."

Mr. Arthur O'Connor was detained on a charge of High Treason, by virtue of a warrant from the Duke of Portland, dated March the 22nd.

John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary, were discharged the next day.

James O'Coigley was executed on Penningdon Heath, on Thursday the 7th of June. After having been suspended about ten minutes, he was cut down, when his

head was severed from his body, (the King having graciously remitted the remainder of the sentence) and the head and the body were immediately buried under the gallows.

Trial of John Bond, for the wilful murder of his wife, Old Bailey, October 26, 1798, before Mr. Baron Hotham.

John Bond was indicted for the wilful murder of his wife; and the indictment charged, that the prisoner, on the 29th of September last, gave his wife divers blows on the side of her head, of the wounds of which she instantly died. He stood charged, on the Coroner's inquisition, with the wilful murder of the deceased.

Mr. Knowles opened the case on behalf of the prosecution, and proceeded to call evidence.

Margaret Huddleston said she lived at No. 4, Dean-street, Tothill-fields, Westminster. The prisoner and his wife were lodgers there, and lived on the one pair of stairs, over the room of the witness. Mrs. Bond, the deceased, came home about half past six o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th of September, which was on the Saturday, having been out charring; the prisoner was not then at home. She came to the room of the witness, and about ten minutes afterwards the prisoner came home and they went up stairs together. About ten minutes after they had been in their own room, the witness heard a bustle, in which some blows appeared to pass. As soon as the scuffle ceased the prisoner came down stairs, but Sarah Shaw, who lived in the two pair of stairs over the prisoner's room, said the

villain had murdered his wife, and then laid hold of him. He said he only wanted to go out to get some beer, but witness and Mrs. Shaw seized him and forced him up stairs to his own room, when they immediately saw his wife lying on the floor, weltering in her blood, which had issued in great quantities from her head and nostrils, and from her mouth and ears. The prisoner said his wife had killed herself by falling against a bedstead. The witness then took measures, in conjunction with another, to secure the prisoner, and delivered him to the care of an officer.

Sarah Shaw said she lodged over the room of the prisoner. She heard them quarrelling about some money. Mrs. Bond had an income settled on herself; she heard the prisoner say it was his money as well as hers, to which she replied that it was not; presently after this the witness heard screams of murder, and five or six blows given. She ran down stairs, and saw the prisoner coming out of his own door. She said to him, "You have killed your wife." He said he had done nothing to her; the witness desired him to come back and see what was done, but he said he was going for some beer; however, she, with Mrs. Huddleston, forced him back to the room, as he is an old man more than seventy, and not strong. When the witness saw Mrs. Bond she was so terrified she knows not what she said or did, but when her recollection returned she ran immediately for a surgeon.

Another female lodger in the same house gave testimony nearly

the same as the two first witnesses; and Mr. Franks, the surgeon, fetched by the witness Shaw, and who examined the body deposed, that he found several dreadful wounds on the left side of her head, which he had not the remotest doubt were the cause of her death. The blows which produced these wounds could not possibly have been given by the fist, or occasioned by any fall. They were evidently the effect of some heavy weapon, and a bloody iron bill having been found inside the fender, the size of which corresponded with the wounds, he had no hesitation in saying, that her death was occasioned by the infliction of several violent blows with that instrument.

The witnesses all gave the unfortunate woman an excellent character; she was of quiet industrious habits, and must have gone to work immediately upon entering her apartment, as a stocking was found upon her arm and a thimble on her finger.

Here ended the case on behalf of the prosecution.

On the part of the prisoner several witnesses were called, the drift of whose testimony was to prove him insane.

The learned Judge summed up the whole of the evidence, and when he came to that part of it which stated that the prisoner when accused of the murder said, "She had killed herself by a fall against the bedstead," he said these words were very material to the Jury to consider. It was impossible to find a reason for alleviating the crime, or to soften it to any other appellation than murder, if the witnesses for the

prosecution were to be credited, and if the prisoner had failed in setting up a satisfactory defence. Nothing passed between these persons but an altercation respecting some property of her's. She was mending stockings at that time, and in a few minutes was heard by the whole house to cry out murder; and blows were distinctly heard. The attempt made to satisfy the jury that she was killed by falling against a bedstead was too improbable to be listened to for a moment, and was completely disproved by the evidence of the surgeon. The bill, the dreadful weapon with which the blows were given to this unfortunate creature, was found in a bloody state in the apartment. All these circumstances made it unnecessary for him to waste the time of the jury in explaining to them that in point of law this was murder.

The defence to this the jury had heard from the witnesses examined in behalf of the prisoner, namely, that he was and is in a state of mind which made him incapable of knowing what he did; if the jury were of opinion that his mind was so deranged he did not actually know what he was doing, God forbid they should attempt to say he should be answerable for the crime of murder; for he could not be guilty of that or any other crime by the law of England, under such mental derangement. But it is not enough to say that a man is in a melancholy state, of a gloomy temper, or disturbed in his mind, or that he is unhappy or discontented, or tired of life, in order to excuse a crime of so tremendous a nature. The jury

must be satisfied that his mind was so far deranged that he was not a free agent, and that he did not know what he was doing.

The witnesses for the defence had deposed, that nine years ago the prisoner had attempted to hang himself, and had acted in a wild incoherent manner; yet it appeared that he was in the daily habit of doing his work, and that the people in the house where he lodged had never considered him as at all deranged in his faculties. The learned Judge said, he could not conscientiously close what he was saying without remarking; that if the prisoner was so deranged that he did not know what he was about, his conduct would have been very different from what it was when he was discovered. He acted precisely as any man in his senses would have done who had committed the deed and knew its consequences; he denied the fact; he told the parties accusing him, not the truth of the case which repeated instances have proved that a madman would have done, and probably rejoiced and gloried in it, but he said, "I did nothing to her; she fell against a bedstead;" and endeavoured to get away. Under these circumstances, the learned Judge left it to the jury to say whether they thought the prisoner knew what he was about or not. If they thought his real state of mind was that of an unhappy man, gloomy, melancholy, and discontented from any cause or causes, but that he knew what he was doing, it would then be their duty to the public to pronounce him guilty. But if they thought he was in utter ignorance of the nature and conse-

quence of his actions, and that he knew no difference between killing his wife, and killing his cat, God forbid he should be convicted.

The jury withdrew, and in a short time brought in their verdict, *Guilty*.

The officer of the court having asked him what he had to say for himself, and why the court should not give judgment according to law; he said the witnesses had been telling falsehoods, he never used the bill, as he was a sinner, and hoped for mercy through Christ.

The Recorder then passed sentence of death and execution on him in the usual form, to take place on the following Monday.

Trial of Messrs. David Wilkinson and Joseph Adamson, for forgery, at the Old Bailey, April 21, 1798, before Lord Kenyon and Mr. Judge Buller.

David Wilkinson was indicted for having feloniously and falsely made, forged, and counterfeited, a certain bill of exchange for 273*l.* purporting to have been accepted by Messrs. Favell and Co. and for having uttered and published the same, knowing it to be forged and counterfeited, with intent to defraud the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. There was another count, alledging it to have been done with intent to defraud Messrs. Favell and Co.

Mr. Garrow observed, this was a prosecution instituted by the Bank of England, for the protection of that paper credit so essential to the existence of this great commercial country. The case appeared to him one of the shortest and most conclusive against the prisoner that he had ever consi-

dered. The bill in question, the forgery of which was imputed to the prisoner, was drawn by himself, payable to his own order, on a respectable house, Messrs. Favell, Bousfield, and company, and purporting to have been accepted by them. It might happen that a forged promissory note, bill of exchange, or other instrument of such nature, might, after passing through various hands, be presented by a person ignorant of the fact of the forgery; but in this case he was afraid it was impossible for the most charitable person to entertain a doubt whether the prisoner could have had the note in question in his possession without the most perfect knowledge of its being forged. There were but three grounds on which a man could have a right to draw a bill on another; either that he had some transactions in trade with him; or that he had made a deposit of money, which, through the medium of the bill he sought to withdraw, or that without such deposit he had his permission to draw upon him as an indulgence or accommodation. It would, therefore, be for the prisoner to shew that he had one of these grounds for drawing on the house of Favell and Co. and it would be incumbent on him to shew farther, that having so drawn the bill, it was presented to, and accepted by them. It was to be observed that the prisoner was the sole indorser of the bill, and was the only hand through which it had passed from the first making of it until it was presented at the bank to be discounted. On the subject of hand-writing, it might, perhaps, be difficult to prove it, where initial letters only were

used, unless by some person who actually saw them written, yet he had no doubt that he should be able to offer evidence that the acceptance was in the hand of the prisoner himself, as well as the body of the bill; but even if he could not prove so far, still if he could prove that any one else had forged the acceptance, and that the prisoner knew the initials of F. B. and Co. importing to be the names of Favell, Bousfield, and Son, were not their writing, he would be guilty of a capital offence, and it would be the bounden duty of the jury to find him so. The prisoner had been a considerable linen-draper, and had credit on the Bank for bills accepted by good houses to a considerable amount, and made use of that credit to discount the bill in question. It was the course of the business of discounting at the Bank for every person to deliver in a list the day before of the bills he wished to have discounted. Such a list had been delivered by the prisoner in his own hand-writing, including the bill, with the forgery of which he was charged; and this circumstance was, in his mind, conclusive, that he uttered it, well knowing it to be forged.

William Cuel, a clerk in the discount-office at the bank, proved that the bill in question had been discounted for the prisoner in the month of February last. He said he was acquainted with the prisoner's hand-writing, and believed the list of the bills delivered in by the prisoner, among which was this particular bill, to be his hand-writing, as well as the bill itself and the acceptance of it. He had never seen the prisoner write, but knew the writing by its being simi-

lar to other bills and papers on which he had transacted business at the bank. The witness produced the warrant made out by himself, and passed to the drawing office, authorising the prisoner to draw for the amount of the bills discounted, which was 635*l.* 18*s.* In this warrant the bills were enumerated, and the one in question among the rest.

Isaac Wilson, clerk to Smith, Payne, and Smith, the prisoner's bankers, said he believed the bill, indorsement, and acceptance, to be in the hand-writing of the prisoner.

Mr. William Bousfield said, he was not at all acquainted with the prisoner at the bar; knew nothing of the bill; never saw the prisoner or had any communication with him. The acceptance was not the hand-writing of himself or either of his partners; nor was any person authorised by either of them to accept bills.

Mr. Bousfield, jun. deposed to the same effect.

Mr. Jones, their clerk, also said, the acceptance was not the writing of any of the firm.

Mr. Favell, the other partner, was, from illness, unable to attend in court. Mr. Pearson, his apothecary, stated, that his removal from his house would be attended with considerable danger.

Mr. Serjeant Shepherd contended, that in a case of so much importance to the prisoner, no evidence ought to be admitted to prove the acceptance not the hand-writing of Mr. Favell, but the evidence of Mr. Favell himself.

Lord Kenyon said, it was true the prisoner had an important stake, and it was therefore the duty of the court to be strict with

regard to the evidence against him; but the rule of law, on which to determine, was the same in criminal as in civil causes. The law did not require impossibilities. It was of the utmost importance that the community at large should be convinced justice was impartially administered, and therefore every objection raised by counsel in favour of prisoners ought to be duly weighed; but in this instance he had no doubt. Here was a person prevented from attending by the visitation of God; and the question was, whether evidence ought to be received of his hand-writing? He was clearly of opinion that it ought.

The prisoner was now called upon for his defence. He began by observing, that painful as his situation was, standing at the bar of a court of justice, on a charge for a capital offence, and with a wife and five children in dreadful suspense as to his fate, yet it admitted of considerable alleviation, from the reflection of his own innocence. It was a satisfaction for him to know he was before a jury of tradesmen, whose knowledge of business would enable them to form a just idea of the grounds of his defence. They must, from their own experience in commercial concerns, be aware that the business of this country depended on that credit and confidence which existed between man and man, in the various transactions of commercial dealing, and that it was by a degree of confidence almost unlimited this nation was supported. To this confidence he was indebted for his present situation. He now entered into a long detail of his

partnership with Mr. Adamson, and its subsequent dissolution. He stated that he continued his wishes to serve Mr. Adamson, attended to his business in town when he was at Manchester, and performed various good offices for him. That Adamson, being embarrassed for cash, was desirous of having his (the prisoner's) privilege of discounting at the bank, it being customary for the bank to discount for each person only to a certain extent. To enable him to do this, he had requested the prisoner to draw bills upon his (Adamson's) customers, in order that Adamson's name might not appear, and that by this means he might have the advantage of a double discount, one in the prisoner's name, and one in his own. To this he assented, and transactions in this form were carried on to a very large amount. There was nothing fraudulent in it. The jury knew it was the practice of merchants of the first respectability, and that in fact many would be unable to carry on business without having recourse to it. It was serving another without any other hazard than that of the failure of the parties. He was perfectly satisfied of the solvency of Adamson, and nothing had ever occurred to make him apprehend any danger. He was always furnished with the names of the persons he drew upon by Adamson, and never had any communication with them himself. Adamson always got the bills accepted, and then returned them to him to get them discounted at the bank. He said he should prove that all the discounts were paid over to Adamson. That, with respect to the

identical bill for which he was indicted, it was in the hands of Adamson before it was indorsed, and that when he discounted it he gave the amount to Adamson. This he trusted would prove, that when he presented the bill, he did not know it was forged. He then alluded to his conduct, when Adamson was apprehended, so far from his having any fears of being implicated in a charge of forgery, he was only alarmed at the idea of his name being upon so many outstanding bills. He did not abscond, but went to his Attorney, and to Adamson's own house, to endeavour to get what he could to indemnify himself. What inference was to be drawn from this, but that he was innocent? He said, upon receiving a letter from Mr. Winter, the Solicitor to the Bank, he immediately attended him, and was ready to give every explanation. Having made these and many other remarks, he concluded by saying, that his case had much engaged the attention of the commercial world, and many unfavourable accounts of his conduct had been inserted in the public prints; he therefore conjured the jury to discharge from their minds any prejudice which they might have adopted in consequence of such misrepresentations, and to consider impartially and candidly the nature of the transaction, and that he had voluntarily come forward to meet the charge. He rested his case in their hands with the firmest reliance, that, from a full view of his conduct, they would not hesitate to declare his innocence of the forgery.

Several witnesses were called,

who went the extent of proving that notes had been given to Wilkinson for debts due to Adamson; but their testimony by no means came up to the defence.

The Reverend Rowland Hill, was called to the prisoner's character. He had known him many years, and had always considered him a man of undisguised honesty; his conduct, as a father and husband, was affectionate and exemplary. He could not have believed a man, who always appeared so innocent and upright, capable of committing the offence imputed to him.

Lord Kenyon, after observing in general terms upon the importance of the case to the prisoner and to the public, proceeded to sum up the evidence, which he conceived left no doubt of the prisoner's guilt. He had given all the attention he was capable of, both to the prisoner's defence and the evidence in support of it, but could not see how either affected the main charge; which was, uttering the bill, knowing it to have been forged. His lordship wished he could have drawn any inferences from the defence favourable to the prisoner; but if it had furnished the jury with any, he trusted they would run before him in giving the prisoner all the benefit of them.

After his lordship had delivered his charge, the prisoner wished to address the jury. He was informed that such an indulgence was unusual, nevertheless it should be granted to him as the court desired nothing so much as his having every opportunity of explaining his conduct to the jury.

The prisoner then entered into a further explanation of his transactions with Adamson; he said he expected Adamson's books would have been produced, which would have explained every thing for the last nine months.

The jury then retired for about forty minutes, and, when they returned into court, pronounced the prisoner—*Guilty*.

Mr. Wilkinson was a respectable looking man, between thirty and forty. His deportment throughout the whole of his trial, was such as manifested the utmost fortitude. The questions put by him to the witnesses were extremely shrewd and judicious. During the interval while the jury were consulting, neither his countenance nor manner were expressive of emotion, or even anxiety. He heard the verdict with firmness, and retired from the bar with unshaken composure.

Joseph Adamson was then indicted for falsely and feloniously making and forging a certain Bill of Exchange, purporting to be drawn by Thomas Steevens of Manchester, upon Messrs. Bowles and Beechcroft.

Mr. Garrow opened this prosecution. He said, all the signatures to the bill and the several indorsements, were forged, except that of the prisoner. He recommended the jury to divest themselves of any prejudice against the prisoner, on account of what had occurred on the last trial. If there was any difference in the guilt of the two prisoners, it was in favour of the one at the bar. The bill in question was drawn on an engraved plate. It would be proved that the prisoner had

procured this plate to be engraved for Steevens; but instead of transmitting all the plates to his employer, he had unfortunately kept back some to be made use of for his own purposes. It was one of these copies which he had filled up and discounted at the Bank.

The evidence of the parties whose names appeared upon the bill, satisfactorily proved the guilt of the prisoner.

Mr. Kaye, the Solicitor to the Bank, proved the confession of the prisoner to this and other forgeries. His confession was not extorted by threats or promises, but was voluntary on the part of the prisoner.

The prisoner said, he had not intended to trouble the court with any defence. He wished to have relied wholly on the merciful administration of justice, which he knew would be applied to his case; but having learnt that Wilkinson had endeavoured to thrust the whole of the guilt of their transactions upon him, he thought it his duty to God and his country to state, that he knew nothing of the bills being forged, till they were presented to him by Wilkinson. It was by his persuasion that he had taken the part for which he was now called upon to answer, and if he had erred, he had erred through ignorance.

Mr. Judge Buller summed up the evidence. He observed, that, from what had occurred on the former trial, he had every reason to believe the defence of the prisoner at the bar to be well founded, and that he had been, to a certain degree, the instrument of Wilkinson; but this consideration ought not to weigh a feather in

the minds of the jury, as the charge had been clearly proved. It might, however, be of importance to the prisoner in an application to the crown for a remission of punishment.

The jury immediately pronounced the prisoner—*Guilty*.

Adamson's behaviour on the trial, was the reverse of Wilkinson's, he appeared extremely ill and dejected.

General Orders issued by Sir Charles Grey.

Barham Court, May 6.

General Sir Charles Grey, judging it necessary to announce to the troops he has the honour to command in the southern district, that, from the vicinity of the coasts of Essex, Kent, and Sussex, to that of France, and the very great preparations the enemy are said to be making to carry their long-threatened invasion of this kingdom into execution, which though he cannot bring himself to believe, from the impossibility of its success, yet it is not impossible but they may be mad and desperate enough to try the experiment, to make a little confusion, without a hope he is therefore persuaded of being more successful, should the daring attempt be made on the coasts of the district, namely, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, in which he is most immediately concerned; and he does not hesitate to say, that it is an event more desirable than not, from the reception he is convinced they will meet from the troops under his command, seconded by the loyalty, zeal, and spirit, of all ranks of the

community, in defence of their king and country, their lives and properties, dearest interests and attachments; and, whom he doubts not, will, with the usual spirit of Britons, unite hand and heart in repelling, and severely chastising, the insolent foe, who come for the declared purpose of striking at their dearest rights and privileges, by the overthrow of their happy constitution.

And although general Sir Charles Grey will pledge himself for the result being most brilliant, honourable, and glorious, for England, yet it would be unwise not to be prepared at all points, as we are; but, nevertheless, and to guard against accidents, the general apprizes the troops, that, in case a landing should be made by the enemy, after escaping the vigilance of our well-conducted and numerous navy, to the eastward in Essex, or to the westward in Kent or Sussex, and which are certainly more immediately threatened, it may be necessary to embark a part of the troops, to make a successful landing behind the enemy, whilst an army is acting on their front, in which situation their communication would be cut off; and their flanks and rear being acted upon, it would not be a contest of many hours' duration, before the invaders would feel the fatal effects of their temerity, by being ignominiously driven back into the water, killed, or made prisoners.

In case of this event happening, and sudden orders given for embarkation, general Sir Charles Grey, positively orders, that every regiment and corps, of all descriptions, included in the orders for

embarkation, leave the whole of their heavy baggage behind, under a proper guard, composed of the worst and weakest men, commanded by an officer, the soldiers carrying only a change in necessities, their blankets, haversacks, and canteens; and not one woman on this occasion must accompany the soldiers. The officers commanding regiments and corps will see them, and be responsible for their being strictly complied with.

General Sir Charles Grey pledges himself that every attention shall be paid by him to the care of the soldiers' wives, and in having them conveyed to their respective regiments should their absence be of any length, and they not return to the quarters from whence they embarked, which is by no means likely to happen, but on the contrary they will quickly return.

The general is sure that every thinking good soldier will readily see the convenience to themselves, and propriety of this order, and cheerfully submit to a short separation.

(Signed) JOHN VISCHER,
A. D. C.

Letters addressed from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Rochester to their respective Clergy.

To the Reverend the Clergy of the Diocese and the Peculiars of the See of Canterbury.

April 29.

“Reverend Brother,

“In the present situation of the

country, expecting, without undue alarm, but not without just anxiety, the appearance of a desperate and malignant enemy on our coasts; there is, perhaps, no circumstance, singly taken, on which more may depend, with regard to the interests of religion, the credit of our order, and the public safety, than the discretion with which the conduct of the clergy ought to be distinguished in these moments of general and necessary exertion; when all good men are called upon to come forward and to repel the attempts of an enemy, breathing revenge against this kingdom in general; revenge, not for wrongs on our part done, but for wrongs on their part by us resisted, and fraught, with particular malice, against our holy religion and its ministers. Under this persuasion, I have thought it my duty to call a meeting of the bishops, in order to consider in what way the parochial clergy may most effectually promote the common cause without neglecting the proper duties of our holy calling, of which we never must lose sight, and least of all in times of public danger.

“The meeting consisted of the two archbishops and eleven bishops, the occasion being thought too pressing to wait the arrival of others from the remote dioceses. The two resolutions which I now transmit to you were agreed upon unanimously. In them we warn you not to abandon the proper business of your profession, in order to take up the soldier's occupation, in which your actual service can be but very limited, and, at last may not be wanted. We assure ourselves you will, in all circumstances, naturally wish

to make your exertions in those services of which you feel yourselves the most capable; and those will generally be such as will the least interfere with your sacred functions. But, if the danger should be realized, and the enemy set his foot upon our shores, our hand, with that of every man, must, in every way, be against those who come for purposes of rapine and desolation, the avowed champions of anarchy and irreligion, defying the living God. We are the servants of God; and God's servants in God's cause must take an equal share with their fellow subjects, in such an emergency, against the blasphemers of his holy name. But one service in particular, amongst many others, for which the country, amidst the din of arms, will naturally look to the wisdom and piety of the clergy, will be, that by your persuasion, your exhortations, and your good example, you will be the instruments of maintaining internal harmony and subordination, in a crisis when harmony and subordination, even with the best general disposition of the people, are most difficult to be maintained.

"I commend you to God's high and holy protection, with good hope and confidence of your discretion and zeal in this time of trial.

"I am, your affectionate brother,
"J. CANTUAR."

April 28. At a meeting of the two archbishops and eleven bishops, on this day the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

"Resolved, That it would not

conduce, in any considerable degree, to the defence and safety of the kingdom, and would interfere with the proper duties of the profession, if the clergy were to accept commissions in the army, be enrolled in any military corps, or be trained to the use of arms.

"Resolved farther, That, in the case of actual invasion, or dangerous insurrection, it will be the duty of every clergyman to give his assistance in repelling both, in any way that the urgency of the case may require."

Westminster, May 1.

"Reverend Brother,

"I have observed with much satisfaction, the zeal which is displayed by the clergy of my diocese, in common with our brethren in all parts of the kingdom, to take an active part in defence of the country, against an enemy who threatens to come with a prodigious army, to depose our king, to enslave our persons, and to overturn our altars; instigated, in addition to the common motives of ambition and revenge, which have ordinarily inflamed the animosities of contending nations, by that desperate malignity against the faith he has abandoned, which in all ages, has marked the horrible character of the vile apostate. The readiness of the clergy, to unite in the defence of objects so dear to all, against such a foe, is highly laudable, and consistent with that character of rational piety, which hath ever distinguished the true sons of the church of England.

"It is, however, to be remembered, that the offices of religion never are of more importance than

in times of public danger; when our people most need the consolations of religion and the advice of their pastors; and when our prayers for God's merciful protection of our country should be offered up with unremitted assiduity and redoubled ardour. It becomes, therefore, a question of considerable importance, in what manner the parochial clergy may, with propriety, co-operate with the preparations, at this time carried on, for the reception of the enemy. It is certain, that no class of men in the community is more deeply interested in the common cause, and upon that account, they may be expected to take a principal share, either of toil or danger; yet they must not abandon the regular exercise of their sacred function, unless they should be driven from their stations (which God avert!) by hostile force; and there are various ways, in which, without interruption of their ordinary duties, the clergy may render the most essential service to their country.

"Our venerable primate, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, with that vigilant attention to the interests of religion and of the established church, which hath ever been conspicuous in his conduct, no less than it belongs to his station, conceiving that the clergy of the whole kingdom, in this difficult and momentous crisis, might expect and need the counsel of their diocesans, hath thought good to assemble the bishops to take the matter into their serious consideration. The meeting held the 28th ult. was numerous; and,

upon the most mature deliberation, we agreed unanimously in two resolutions, which I transmit to you *verbatim*.

"These two resolutions contain, as is conceived, the best general principles for the regulation of the conduct of the parochial clergy, in the present stage, and in the probable progress of the public danger. On the one hand, the disorders and scandals that would arise, if the clergy in general were to accept military commissions, or submit to be drilled in the ranks, are too numerous and too obvious to be mentioned. On the other hand, in the case of actual invasion or treasonable insurrection, it will be a duty of indispensable obligation upon every clergyman to give his utmost assistance, in the resistance and annoyance of the foreign invader, or domestic traitor, in that particular way, in which, from local or other circumstances, his services may be the most effectual. Upon this point I mean to speak out my mind very plainly; and I desire to be clearly and fully understood.

"Wars and fightings unquestionably have their origin in the bad passions of men*. Nevertheless, the world being as it is, it must needs be that wars and fightings, with other offences, come. War, therefore, in the general, is to be reckoned among the sinful practices of mankind: but, in every individual instance, the guilt lies principally at the aggressor's door,—“Woe to him by whom the offence cometh;” and it is little else than a calumny upon

* St. James, iv. 1.

the Christian religion to pretend, as some have pretended, that defensive war is either contrary to the general spirit of the morality of the Gospel, or forbidden by any particular precept, or discouraged by the example of the first Christians. The notorious fact is, that they scrupled not to serve in the armies even of their Heathen sovereigns. It would be still more injurious to the Gospel to maintain, that foreign attack, or domestic treason, are of the sort of ill usage which Christians, either laity or clergy, are commanded not to oppose by force. It is true, that, even under the urgency of that extreme necessity of invasion or insurrection, there will be many ways in which a clergyman may be useful, besides that of actual military service: in directing, for instance, and superintending the removal of the women and children, and of the old and infirm, to places of safety; in advising the method and pointing the route of driving off the livestock; in overseeing the destruction of such things as cannot be removed, and would be serviceable to the enemy if they were left to fall into their hands; and in many other very important, though indirect and collateral, operations of defence, which it is impossible to enumerate. Many of these services are of a kind to be better performed by a clergyman, than by another person, who, from the ordinary habits of his life, may be likely to be more useful, than the clergyman would be, in the field. Whenever this moment of jeopardy and peril shall arrive, every clergyman must judge for himself, in what way he

may be most useful, according to the circumstances in which he may be placed. Of different ways of being useful, actual fight will often be the last that he will choose: not from any superstitious apprehension, that to mingle in the combat would, in such circumstances, and at such a season, derogate from his character; much less from a dastardly concern for his own personal safety; but because battle is the particular service, for which, in most cases, he will be the least qualified, and, in which, of consequence, he would be of the least use. When the case shall be otherwise, as often no doubt it will, he must not, with a safe conscience he cannot, decline his share in the common danger. But the particular rules of his conduct he must take from the occasion itself, when it arrives. It is impossible beforehand to lay down any other than this most general rule: that his country, in that crisis, will have a right to his best services, in any and in every way, even if the best service to be performed by him should be (as in many instances it will happen) to level the musket, or trail the pike. Nor let him fear, that the sanctity of his character shall contract aught of stain, even in the mortal strife against the enemies of his King and of his God. Gird yourselves, therefore, without scruple, for the battle, in this holy cause, when the occasion shall call, nothing doubting, but that the God, whom we serve, and our enemies defy, will teach the hands of his servants to war, and their fingers to fight. Offering our earnest prayers to God, to give us all grace, in the hour of

trial, which seems to be coming upon the Christian world, to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, and to do and suffer valiantly whatever we may be ordained to do and suffer for his sake; we remain, your loving brother,

“SAMUEL ROFFENS.”

Public Acts passed in the Second Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 30, 1797.

Act for raising a certain sum of money by loans on exchequer-bills for the service of the year 1798.

For continuing the additional duties on distilleries in the Highlands of Scotland.

For the regulation of his majesty's marine forces when on shore.

For regulating the exportation and carrying coastwise of wheat and rye, &c.

To continue the act relating to the admission of certain articles of merchandise in neutral ships, and for making regulations respecting the trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

Annual indemnity act for persons holding places and neglecting to qualify.

Act to enlarge the time for raising a militia in Scotland.

January 12, 1798,

Act for granting to his majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecuting of the war.

For allowing a certain propor-

tion of the militia to enlist into his majesty's other forces.

February 20.

Act to enable his majesty to order out a certain proportion of supplementary militia, and to provide for the necessary augmentation of men in the several companies of militia, by incorporating the supplementary militia therewith.

March 9.

Act for raising a farther sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills for the service of the year 1798.

The mutiny-act.

For repealing the duties on gold and silver watch-cases.

To permit the importation of salt from Portugal in neutral ships.

For rectifying mistakes in the land-tax act.

April 5.

Act for reviving and continuing the duties on distilleries in the Highlands of Scotland.

For providing for the defence of the realm, and for the indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose.

For disallowing the bounty on sail-cloth or canvass, the manufacture of Great Britain, exported to Ireland.

To continue the laws respecting the bounties on British and Irish linens, and for regulating the duties on tobacco-pipe clay, rape-seed, Greenland fisheries, manufactures of flax and cotton, &c.

For reviving an act, authoriz-

*P

ing his majesty to permit the exportation of wheat, &c. to Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney.

To prevent, during the war, persons residing in Great Britain from advancing money or effects for the purchase, or on the credit of debts owing to the government of the United Provinces, without licence, and for extending the act to prevent traitorous correspondence with the said provinces.

For the regulation of quarantine, and goods removed from one ship to another.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid by innkeepers, and others, on quartering soldiers.

April 21.

Act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as are suspected of conspiring against his person and government.

May 7.

Act for raising the sum of 17,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

For enlarging the time of appealing in prize-causes.

For amending the act relative to the importation and exportation of certain goods in Jamaica, Grenada, Dominica, and New Providence.

May 10.

For granting additional duties on salt.

For granting additional duties of excise on tea.

For repealing the duties on houses, windows, and lights, inhabited houses, clocks and watches, and granting other duties on all these, except clocks and watches.

For repealing the duties upon male servants, carriages, &c. and granting other duties in lieu of the same.

To prevent commercial connection with Switzerland, without licence.

To enable his majesty to call out a part of the militia of Scotland.

May 26.

Act for altering and amending the land-tax act, as far as relates to the qualifications of commissioners.

For more effectually and speedily manning the navy.

June 1.

Act to continue the alien-act.

To regulate the trial of causes, indictments, and other proceedings, within the counties of certain cities and towns corporate.

For authorizing the billeting of such troops of yeomanry cavalry as may be desirous of assembling for the purpose of being trained together, and for exempting from the payment of certain duties persons providing horses for the said yeomanry cavalry.

June 21.

Act for the redemption of the land-tax.

For raising money by lottery.

For a duty on armorial bearings.

For regulating the duties on spices.

For enabling his majesty to accept the services of such militia as may offer to serve in Ireland.

For regulating the drawbacks and bounty on sugar.

To amend the laws of excise relating to coach-makers, auctioneers, beer, cider, and certain stamps on hides and skins, drawbacks on wine and sweets.

To revive and continue the act which prohibits the importation of light silver coin of this realm from foreign countries into Great Britain and Ireland.

For allowing gold wares to be manufactured at a standard lower than is now allowed by law.

To prevent the exportation of base coin to the West Indies.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of England.

To continue the act for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries.

For amending an act to prevent frauds in weighing and packing butter.

For amending an act for the due making of bread, and to regulate the assize thereof in the city and liberties, and within ten miles of the Royal Exchange.

For preventing the depasturing of forests, commons, and open fields, with sheep infected with the scab or mange.

June 28.

Act for the better protection of the trade of the kingdom, and for granting additional duties of customs.

For raising an additional sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills.

To authorize exchequer-bills to be issued on the credit of the loan of 17 millions.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer-bills on the credit of the money raised by contribution.

For regulating the salt-duties.

For the better execution of the act granting his majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war.

For extending the duties of vellum, parchment, and paper stamps, to all other materials.

For abolishing certain offices in the customs.

For preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing newspapers, and papers of a like nature, by persons not known, and for regulating the printing, &c. of such papers in other respects.

To prevent his majesty's subjects from going to, or remaining in, France, or carrying on correspondence there.

To amend the act respecting aliens.

For regulating the shipping, and carrying of slaves in British vessels from Africa.

June 29.

For raising the sum of three millions by loans or exchequer-bills.

For reviving and continuing the duties on distilleries in the Highlands of Scotland, until April 10, 1799.

For ascertaining the duty payable on taxed carts.

For the regulation of the provisional cavalry.

An ACCOUNT of the Total NET PRODUCE of the TAXES for one Year, ended the 10th Day of October, 1798; and also distinguishing the Duties imposed in 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798.

Consolidated Customs, after deducting 29,169 <i>l.</i>			
1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> computed Quarterly Sum, to be carried to the Duties pro. ann. 1796.....	3,423,410	16	5½
Consolidated Excise	7,347,167	15	1½
Reserved out of Duty on Paper, Ann. 1794, 18,750 <i>l.</i> being ¼th part of 75,000 <i>l.</i> the Annual Average Produce of former Duties then repealed	75,000	0	0
Reserved out of Duty on Spirit Licences Ann. 1794, 9,000 <i>l.</i> being ¼th part of 36,000 <i>l.</i> the Annual Average Produce of former Duties then repealed, and in full to 5th July, 1798.....	27,000	0	0
Consolidated Stamps	1,030,356	4	5
Reserved out of Duty on Hats, Ann. 1796, 2,369 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> being ¼th part of 9,479 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> the Annual Average Produce of former Duties then repealed....	9,479	11	0
Reserved out of Bills and Receipts Ann. 1794, 32,150 <i>l.</i> being ¼th part of 128,600 <i>l.</i> the Annual Average Produce of former Duties then repealed	128,600	0	0
Reserved out of Duty on Legacies, Ann. 1796, 10,269 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> being ¼th part of 41,079 <i>l.</i> the Annual Average Produce of former Duties then repealed, to complete Deficiencies to 5th July 1798, and in full to 10th October, 1798	63,566	11	2
	<u>£.12,104,580</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>

INCIDENTS.

Consolidated Letter money, the Annual Average Produce of the Duty prior to the year 1795	410,556	0	0
Ditto..... Salt 1787.....	446,702	0	0½
Seizures 1760	49,150	15	10
Proffers 1760	622	8	3
Alum Mines..... 1760	960	0	0
Compositions 1760	3	0	0
Rent of a Light House..... 1760	6	13	4

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

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6d. Deduction on Pensions..1721	52,693	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries.....1758	68,705	16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Houses and Windows1766	339,055	18	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Inhabited Houses1779	172,873	17	4
Hawkers and Pedlars.....1710	5,719	3	6
Hackney Coaches and Chairs1711, and 1784..	24,000	0	0
Male Servants.....1785	112,934	13	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Horses.....1785	135,403	6	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Four-wheeled Carriages....1785	167,897	15	10
Two-wheeled ditto.....1785	51,834	1	9
First Fruits of the Clergy	3,549	9	0
Tenths ditto.....	9,872	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lottery Licences	2,433	3	6
Alienation Duty.....	1,798	19	4
Arrears of Waggons	2	16	0
Ditto Carts	16	1	0
Ditto Men Servants.....	0	0	0
Ditto Female Servants.....	48	2	2
Ditto Houses and Windows, 1747 and 1758...	0	0	0
Ditto Shops	72	1	3
	<hr/>		
	£.2,056,911	8	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>		

DUTIES, PRO. A°. 1793.

British Spirits, 1791	86,949	0	0
Foreign ditto	130,514	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£.217,463	0	0
	<hr/>		

DUTIES, PRO. A°. 1794.

Sugars	274,877	16	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bills and Receipts, after reserving the Annual Average Produce as aforesaid.....	44,971	7	8
Game Duty	17,438	1	3
10l. per cent	50,378	12	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
British Spirits, 1794.	87,655	0	0
Foreign ditto	127,235	0	0
Attornies Articles.....	16,670	1	4
Spirit Licences, after reserving the Annual Ave- rage Produce as aforesaid	122,212	15	0
Glass.....	43,569	0	0
Bricks and Tiles (Customs)	167	9	4
Ditto (Excise)	48,760	0	0

Paper (Customs)	7,699	10	11
Ditto (Excise) after reserving the Annual Average			
Produce as aforesaid	84,961	0	0
Slates and Stones	13,657	18	6
	<u>£.940,343</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10$\frac{3}{4}$</u>

DUTIES, PRO. A°. 1795.

British Spirits	86,214	0	0
Foreign Ditto	127,007	0	0
Wines	389,958	0	0
Sweets	5,883	0	0
Cocoa	23,777	0	0
Stamps	31,777	18	3
Ship Policies	96,059	8	9
Hair Powder Certificates	157,678	6	3
Receipts	7,278	3	5
Fruits, &c.	106,876	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coals	18,254	0	0
Tea	194,132	5	2
Consolidated Letter Money, the computed			
Annual Increase of Revenue, by Reason of			
the Restrictions of Francking, per Act 35			
George III.	40,000	0	0
Spirit Licences	24,601	10	0
	<u>£.1,309,497</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

DUTIES, PRO. A°. 1796.

Horses	115,757	17	13 $\frac{1}{4}$
Tobacco	183,265	0	0
Horse Dealers' Licences	1,217	3	8
Wine (Excise)	193,365	0	0
Ditto (Customs)	471,551	11	7
Sweets	6,085	0	0
Legacies, after reserving the Annual Average			
Produce as aforesaid	19,118	7	3
Hats, after reserving the Annual Average Pro-			
duce as aforesaid	41,416	3	9
2s. Duty on Horses	94,029	9	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dogs	76,952	10	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
10%. per Cent.	50,735	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
The computed Annual Saving by reducing the			
Allowance for Waste on Salt	82,000	0	0

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Taken out of Consolidated Customs, being the
computed Annual Saving to the Public, on
Account of the reduction on the Drawbacks
on the Exportation of Sugar

116,676	5	8
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Spirit Licences

89,906	0	0
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£.1,492,075	11	9½
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DUTIES, PRO. A°. 1797.

Pepper	126,176	9	1
20l. per Cent	244,835	0	0
British Spirits	87,623	0	0
Foreign Ditto	126,215	0	0
Auctions	45,415	0	0
Deeds	547,959	15	0
Cocoa	5,604	0	0
Clocks and Watches	48,820	0	0
Stage Coaches	53,110	8	10
Sugar	399,261	13	7
Bricks	25,755	0	0
Tea	252,442	9	8
3s. Duty on Horses	66,420	0	0
Houses	43,910	0	0
Male Servants	6,960	0	0
Plate	3	3	4½
Surplus of the Consolidated Letter Money, after reserving the several Sums of 410,556l. and 40,000l. per Act 35 George III	207,444	0	0
Spirit Licences	12,250	0	0
Horses	4,285	0	0

£.2,304,489	19	6½
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DUTIES, PRO. A°. 1798.

Salt	100,429	12	8
Armorial Bearings	7,373	0	0
Tea	34,957	0	0
Horses	2,500	0	0

£.145,259	12	8
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Total of Customs, Excise and Stamps	12,104,580	18	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Incidents	2,056,911	8	3
Duties Pro. Ann. 1793	217,463	0	0
1794	940,343	12	$10\frac{3}{4}$
1795	1,309,497	5	$9\frac{1}{2}$
1796	1,492,075	11	$9\frac{1}{2}$
1797	2,304,489	19	$6\frac{1}{2}$
1798	145,259	12	8
<hr/>			
	£.20,570,621	9	2
<hr/>			

JAMES FISHER.

Exchequer, December 3, 1798.

A

GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 12, 1797, to DECEMBER 11, 1798.

Christened { Males 9497 } 17927. Buried { Males 8964 } 18154
 { Females 8430 } { Females 9190 }

Increased in the burials this year 228.

Died under 2 years - -	5728	20 and 30 -	1280	60 and 70 -	1292	102 -	1
Between 2 and 5 - -	2189	30 and 40 -	1678	70 and 80 -	919	105 -	1
5 and 10 -	802	40 and 50 -	1732	80 and 90 -	353	108 -	1
10 and 20 -	573	50 and 60 -	1566	90 and 100 -	41	117 -	1

DISEASES.							
Abortive and still-born	594	Dropsy	784	Mortification	262	Bruised	3
Abscess	26	Dropsy on brain	4	Palpitation of the heart	1	Burnt	19
Aged	1117	Evil	4	Palsy	86	Dropt down dead	103
Ague	8	Falling sickness		Pleurisy	15	Drowned	5
Amputation		Fevers of all kinds	1754	Quinsy	5	Executed *	8
Apoplexy and suddenly	224	Fistula	3	Rheumatism	3	Found dead	11
Asthma and phthisis	421	Flux	12	Rickets	1	Fractured	1
Bedridden	2	French pox	39	Scurvy	4	Frighted	
Bleeding	22	Gout	111	Small-pox	2237	Frozen	
Brain-fever		Gravel, stone, and strangury	16	Sore throat	12	Killed by falls and several other accidents	52
Bursten and rupture	18	Grief	7	Sores and ulcers	11	Killed by a Cow	
Cancer	71	Head-ach		Spasm	1	Killed by fighting	
Childbed	144	Head-mould shot, horse-shoe head, and water in the head	67	St. Anthony's fire	4	Killed themselves	27
Colds	4	Jaundice	69	Stoppage in the stomach	4	Murdered	3
Colic, gripes, and twisting of the guts	13	Jaw-locked	2	Swelling		Poisoned	3
Consumption	4533	Inflammation	384	Swine-pox		Scalded	6
Convulsions	3663	Influenza		Teeth	370	Shot	2
Cough and hooping cough	418	Itch	1	Thrush	49	Smothered	1
Croup	14	Lethargy	1	Tumour in womb		Starved	
Diabetes	1	Livergrown	7	Vomiting and loose-ness		Sprain	
		Lunatic	83	Worms	8	Strangled	
		Measles	196	CASUALTIES.		Suffocated	
		Miscarriage	2	Bit by mad dog		Tooth-ach	
				Broken limbs	1		
						Total	274

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 24; of which number 8 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

ANNUAL REGISTER, 1798.

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1798.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
January	6	4	3	7	2	2	3	7
February	6	2	3	5	2	1	3	5
March	6	3	3	4	2	1	3	4
April	6	5	3	6	2	4	3	5
May	6	5	3	8	2	6	3	7
June	6	4	2	8	2	8	3	8
July	6	4	3	8	2	10	3	10
August	6	4	3	5	2	10	3	11
September	6	2	3	9	2	7	3	11
October	6	2	3	8	2	5	3	11
November	5	11	3	7	2	5	3	11
December	6	0	3	8	2	5	4	0
General Average	6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	7	2	5	3	9

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1798.

	Thermometer.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	
January	53	29	40,1	30,52	28,96	29,94	90	73	82,8	1,105
February	54	24	40,1	30,76	29,23	30,11	90	71	32,8	0,693
March	58	30	42,9	30,37	29,18	29,93	90	68	79,8	0,333
April	69	31	52,7	30,38	29,27	29,96				0,517
May	75	46	57,3	30,44	29,11	30,00	69	30	51,4	1,621
June	86	51	64,8	30,42	29,65	30,07	69	32	50,1	0,960
July	76	54	64,4	30,17	29,36	29,80	74	38	55,8	2,879
August	82	55	63,9	30,35	29,70	30,09	70	41		1,525
Sept.	76	45	59,2	30,26	28,97	29,78	73	37		2,437
October	63	33	52,4	30,39	29,16	29,90	82	45		3,428
November	60	25	42,4	30,27	28,69	29,58	93	57		3,056
December	50	14	35,5	30,58	29,27	29,90	95	53		0,857
Whole yr.			5110			29,92				19,411

N.B. The highest and lowest prices of each stock in the course of any month are put down in that month.

1798.	Bank Stock	3 per red.	3 do. cons.	4 per c. con	5 per Navy	5 per cent.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India bonds	India Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	S. Sea Stock	Irish 5 p.c.	Imp. 3 p.c.	Imp. Ann.	Omn.	New Loan	Eng. Lot. Tickets	Irish Pr. 2d. do.	
Jan.	{ 119½ 118	{ 48½ 48	{ 49½ 47½	{ 59½ 59½	{ 69½ 69½	{ 72½ 70½	{ 13½ 13½	{ 6½ 6½	{ 8 dis. 18	{ 151½ 145	{ 48½ 48½	{ 58 47½	{ 52½ 51½	{ 59½ 61½	{ 45½ 44	{ 9½ 9½	—	—	{ 11 11	{ 17 12	{ 0 0
Feb.	{ 122½ 119	{ 50½ 48½	{ 49½ 47½	{ 61½ 59½	{ 71½ 69½	{ 73 70½	{ 14½ 13½	{ 6½ 6½	{ 3 dis. 2 pr.	{ 144½ 149	{ 48 —	—	{ 52½ 52½	{ 59½ 59½	{ 44 44	{ 9½ 9½	—	—	{ 12 11	{ 14 18	{ 6 6
Mar.	{ 125 121½	{ 50½ 49½	{ 50 49½	{ 63½ 61	{ 74½ 72	{ 73½ 71	{ 14 —	{ 6½ 6½	{ 1 dis. 1 dis.	{ 148½ 149½	—	{ 49½ 49½	{ 54½ 53½	—	{ 48½ 46½	{ 10 9½	—	—	{ 17 12	{ 7 5	{ 0 0
Apr.	{ 122 116½	{ 47½ 47½	{ 49½ 48	{ 60½ 58½	{ 73½ 71½	{ 69½ 69½	{ 13½ 13½	{ 6½ 6½	{ 20 —	{ 147½ 149½	{ 47½ —	{ 49½ —	{ 52½ 51½	{ 59½ 62½	{ 46½ 45	{ 10 9½	—	—	{ 13 16	{ 0 0	{ 7 7
May	{ 119½ 110½	{ 47½ 47½	{ 49½ 48½	{ 60½ 58½	{ 73½ 71½	{ 73½ 70½	{ 13½ 13½	{ 6½ 6½	—	{ 149½ 148½	—	{ 48½ —	{ 51½ 51½	{ 62½ 60½	{ 45 41½	{ 9½ 10	—	—	{ 13 12	{ 10 19	{ 7 7
June	{ 119 118½	{ 48 47½	{ 49½ 49	{ 61½ 61	{ 76½ 75½	{ 74½ 73½	{ 13½ 13½	{ 6½ 6½	—	{ 150½ 148½	—	{ 48½ —	{ 51½ 53½	{ 63½ 61	{ 44½ 44½	{ 10 9½	2 pr.	—	{ 13 13	{ 5 4	{ 8 6
July	{ 125½ 119½	{ 49½ 47½	{ 50 49	{ 63½ 61½	{ 75½ 74½	{ 75½ 74½	{ 14½ 13½	{ 6½ 6½	—	{ 150½ 145½	—	{ 48½ 48½	{ 53½ 48½	{ 69 63	{ 46½ 44½	{ 10½ 9½	1½ pr.	—	{ 13 13	{ 5 4	{ 8 12
Aug.	{ 132 124½	{ 51½ 48½	{ 51½ 48½	{ 66½ 63½	{ 78 75½	{ 79½ 76½	{ 15 14½	{ 6½ 6½	{ 2 pr. 1	{ 152½ 146	{ 50½ 50½	{ 48½ —	{ 55 —	{ 73½ 68½	{ 48½ 46½	{ 10½ 10½	1½ pr.	—	{ 13 13	{ 5 4	{ 0 5
Sept.	{ 131½ 129½	{ 50½ 50	{ 50½ 49½	{ 65 —	{ 78½ 77½	{ 78½ 78	{ 14½ 14½	{ 6½ 6½	—	{ 150½ 147½	—	—	—	{ 72 71	{ 48½ 48½	{ 10½ 10½	5½ pr.	—	{ 13 13	{ 5 7	{ 8 5
Oct.	{ 139 130½	{ 56 52½	{ 56½ 52½	{ 70 66½	{ 85½ 79½	{ 83 80½	{ 16½ 15½	{ 6½ 6½	{ 1 dis. —	{ 147½ 163½	—	{ 51½ —	{ 55½ —	{ 74 70½	{ 56 49	{ 11 10½	19½ pr.	—	{ 13 13	{ 17 5	{ 16 7
Nov.	{ 141½ 132	{ 56½ 51½	{ 57½ 52½	{ 71½ 64½	{ 87½ 80½	{ 84½ 83	{ 16½ 15½	{ 6½ 6½	—	{ 150½ 171½	—	{ 53½ —	{ 58½ —	{ 77½ 74½	{ 49 49½	{ 10½ 10½	20	—	{ 13 13	{ 15 12	{ 8 7
Dec.	{ 138½ 132½	{ 54½ 52	{ 54½ 52	{ 68 64½	{ 83 81½	{ 83 79½	{ 15½ 14½	{ 6½ 6½	—	{ 167½ 160½	—	—	—	{ 76½ 74½	{ 52½ 49½	{ 10½ 10½	18½ pr.	1½ pr.	{ 13 13	{ 16 16	{ 0 0

* New Lottery.

Statement of the Amount, Value, and Interest, of the National Funded Debt, on the 31st Day of December, 1798.

Capital.				Value at estimated prices.		Interest per annum.		Interest and management.	
£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	d.
235,241,668	10	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 per cent. consolidated annuities estimated at the price of..... 55 per cent....	129,382,917	13	7,057,250	1	7,163,108	16
63,649,698	16	4	3 per cent. reduced annuities at	35,007,334	7	1,909,490	19	1,938,133	6
45,269,293	11	6	4 per cent. consolidated annuities	30,330,426	13	1,810,771	14	4,831,142	18
28,114,922	7	3	5 per cent. navy annuities	23,335,385	11	1,405,746	2	1,418,397	16
20,165,962	10	0	5 per cent. annuities, 1797 83	16,737,743	17	1,008,298	2	1,017,372	16
1,000,000	0	0	3 per cent. annuities, 1726 55	550,000	0	30,000	0	30,450	0
			Long annuities to expire, Jan. 5, 1860 } at 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ years purchase on amount	15,769,792	7	1,017,405	19	1,028,851	15
			Short annuities to expire, Jan. 5, 1808 } at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ years purchase on amount	2,614,581	10	418,333	0	422,881	15
3,662,784	8	6*	South-Sea Stock..... 55 per cent....	2,014,531	8	109,883	10	735,974	14
11,908,470	2	7	Ditto old 3 per cent. annuities	6,549,108	11	357,224	2		
8,494,830	2	10	Ditto new 3 per cent. annuities	4,672,156	11	254,844	18		
1,919,600	0	0	Ditto 3 per cent. annuities, 1751	1,055,780	0	57,588	0	58,667	15

<i>Imperial Stock, for which the country is security to the subscribers.</i>												
7,502,633	6	8		3,976,395	13	4	225,097	0	0	228,455	2	6
Imperial 3 per cent. annuities at 53 per cent.												
Imperial annuities to } at 11 years pur- }												
expire May 1, 1819 } chase on amount }												
426,928,863	16	1		2,580,000	0	0	230,000	0	0	232,587	10	0
Capital of the national funded debt, exclusive of the long, short, and imperial expirable annuities.												
20,914,373	17	10										
Capital of these annuities taken at their estimated value as above.												
447,843,237	13	11										
Capital of the national funded debt, including the long, short, and imperial expirable annuities.												
3,000,000	0	0		3,000,000	0	0	164,250	0	0	166,780	18	3
To be added for the loan of December, 1798												
Interest on the loan, estimated at 5 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per cent.												
450,843,237	13	11+		277,526,159	6	0						
Total amount of the national funded debt												
Total value at estimated prices												
Total amount of interest of national funded debt and expence of management }												
16,272,805 4 10												

* Though the government only pays 3 per cent. interest on this stock, the South-Sea Company pays the proprietors 3½ per cent.
 + In the above estimate of the funded debt, the Irish annuities are not included, the Irish government being security for them. The following annuities are also omitted:

£76,322	11	6	Exchequer annuities, expiring in 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807.
54,460	8	7	Annunities on single lives.
540	0	0	Tontine annuities, of 1765.
18,180	3	11	Ditto 1789.

None of these being regularly at Market, it is difficult to fix their value; and it is not material to the plan of paying off the debt that they should be included in it, no more than the debt due from government to the bank of 11,686,800*l.* which it is not contemplated to discharge; nor than the floating debt in exchequer-bills, which are supposed to be about 5,000,000; but, as they are receivable in all branches of the public revenue, the actual amount in the possession of individuals cannot easily be correctly ascertained. These, with other descriptions of floating debt, would easily be provided for by the fund hereafter proposed to be left to keep down any future debt, after the present funded debt shall be paid off.

SUPPLIES

Granted by Parliament for the Year 1798.

NAVY.

£ s. d.

November 16, 1797.

That 110,000 seamen be employed, including 20,000 marines.

For wages for ditto	2,645,500	0	0
For victuals for ditto	2,717,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve,	4,290,000	0	0
For ordnance sea-service on board such ships	357,500	0	0
For the expence of the transport-service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health	1,200,000	0	0

November 20

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers	689,858	19	7
For building and repairs of ships, and other extra works	639,530	0	0

April 24, 1798.

That 10,000 additional seamen be employed.

The sum for maintaining them, including ordnance for sea service	910,000	0	0
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 £.13,449,388 19 7

ARMY.

November 21, 1797.

That 48,609 men be employed for land service, including 5,766 invalids

For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey	1,699,450	7	3
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	1,025,536	16	6
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad	78,226	4	3

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	£.	s.	d.
For four troops of dragoons, and fifteen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments serving in East India	20,244	0	1
For recruiting and contingences for land forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	180,000	0	0
For general and staff-officers, and officers of hospitals	89,723	19	3
For full pay to supernumerary officers	33,463	13	10
For allowances to the pay-master-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c.	108,582	14	10
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, and others, on quartering soldiers	140,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land forces and marines	163,874	16	8
For allowances to reduced horse guards	125	3	4
On account of officers late in the service of the states-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto, of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0

April 24, 1798.

To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 25th December, 1796, to 24th December, 1797	1,351,391	19	3
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April 26.

For the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital	116,167	4	3
For the in-pensioners of ditto, and the expences of the hospital	26,547	17	6
For pensions to widows and commissioned officers	12,954	15	3
For expences incurred, or expected to be incurred, in the barrack-master-general's department	520,717	0	0
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain	226,083	11	5
Towards defraying the extraordinary services of the army, for 1798	3,200,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£9,054,090	6	8

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

November 21, 1797.

For the embodied militia in South Britain, and corps of fencible infantry, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and the islands of Scilly and Man	1,417,179	10	5
For contingences for ditto	40,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia	116,267	3	9
For corps of fencible cavalry	404,570	4	1
For extra feed for ditto	25,000	0	0

March 1, 1798. £. s. d.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.

April 26.

For the embodied supplementary militia . . .	1,315,708	0	0
For the embodied provisional cavalry . . .	130,000	0	0
For the volunteer corps . . .	350,000	0	0

May 12.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.

Ditto, for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.

£ 3,798,724 18 3

ORDNANCE.

November 21, 1797.

For ordnance land service, for 1798 . . .	1,073,885	13	9
Ditto, not provided for in 1796 . . .	5,726	9	2
Ditto, sea service, not provided for in 1796 . . .	114,855	8	6
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1797 . . .	96,571	4	10

February 19, 1798.

To make compensation for lands, &c. purchased for securing batteries, and other works, in Kent and Devon, pursuant to Act 34 Geo. III. . .	10,587	17	11
Ditto, for the loss sustained by the owners or occupiers of lands in Kent, in consequence of the above Act . . .	1,953	11	11

£ 1,303,580 6 1

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

November 23, 1797.

For the civil establishment of Upper Canada . . .	7,150	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia . . .	5,915	0	0
Ditto of New Brunswick . . .	4,550	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island . . .	1,900	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton . . .	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland . . .	1,232	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands . . .	4,100	0	0
Ditto of the Bermuda, or Somers Islands . . .	580	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Dominica . . .	602	0	0
Ditto of New South Wales . . .	6,157	2	0

	£.	s.	d.
For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France	168,000	0	0
For pensions and allowances to American loyalists	44,000	0	0
For his majesty's secret service abroad	150,000	0	0
For discharging bills drawn, or to be drawn, from the settlement at New South Wales	36,000	0	0
For defraying the expences of convicts at home	33,325	17	3
For repairs of the pier and light-house at Douglas harbour in the Isle of Man	2,500	0	0
<i>March 6, 1798.</i>			
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
<i>April 24.</i>			
For relief to American and East Florida sufferers, pursuant to Act 30 Geo. III.	49,978	7	6
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	13,000	0	0
For assisting the Levant company in carrying on their trade	10,000	0	0
Towards enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them	3,000	0	0
For printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons	7,000	0	0
For discharging the balance due on account of expences of the mint	13,250	18	0
For defraying extraordinary expences incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin	2,024	0	9
Towards defraying the charge of the superintendence of the alien-act	2,600	0	0
For work done at Somerset-place, and for repairs immediately necessary to be performed there	15,000	0	0
To make good money issued, pursuant to addresses	10,043	6	4
Ditto, for secret service abroad, above the sum granted in the last session	38,222	7	6
Ditto for relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, ditto	12,677	12	1
Ditto, for expences arisen from the execution of the alien-act, ditto	1,000	0	0
Ditto, to pay bills drawn from the settlement at New South Wales, which became due in 1797, being the excess of the sum granted by parliament	17,073	1	5
Ditto, for expences in ventilating and warming the house of lords	282	17	6
Ditto, for fitting up two houses, for the speaker of the house of commons, and the serjeant at arms	2,542	10	6
Ditto, to Mr. Barlow, for his services during Mr. Hastings' trial	2,156	1	6

	£.	s.	d.
Ditto, to Mr. Hudson, for ditto	547	12	0
Ditto, for two years rent of the parliament-office .	260	15	6
Ditto, for attendance on various committees of the houses of lords and commons, in session 1795-6	422	16	0
Ditto, for making up, and publishing, weekly re- turns of the average price of sugar	472	17	0

April 26.

For the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	4,500	0	0
To enable his majesty to make remittances, to be applied to his service in Ireland, on provision be- ing made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that amount	2,000,000	0	0
For the excess beyond the sum granted towards defraying the charge of printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons, for 1797	360	0	3
Ditto, towards defraying the expence of convicts at home, for 1797	3,338	15	8½
To make good money issued to certain architects, for making a survey at Somerset-place	800	1	0
Ditto, for the expences of examining the state of the king's house, at Winchester	98	19	0

May 12.

For support of the Veterinary college	1,500	0	0
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June 14.

To defray the sums which the commissioners un- der the American treaty have awarded to be paid by the British government; and the expences attending the said commission	88,516	16	2½
For erecting and completing the piers at Sutton Pool	3,387	13	3
	<hr/> £2,723,013 14 3 <hr/>		

NATIONAL DEBT.

April 24, 1798.

To the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduc- tion of the national debt	200,000	0	0
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EXCHEQUER BILLS.

June 14, 1798.

	£.	s.	d.
For paying off exchequer-bills, made out pursuant to an act of last session, for raising a certain sum thereby	3,500,000	0	0

VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 14, 1798.

To enable his majesty to take such measures as the exigencies of affairs may require	1,000,000	0	0
Total of supply	35,028,798	4	10

ANNUAL GRANTS.

November 20, 1797.

For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry	750,000	0	0
For raising four shillings in the pound on land, &c.	2,000,000	0	0

March 6, 1798.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax

May 22.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same

£ 2,750,000 . 0 0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

December 11, 1797.

For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills	3,000,000	0	0
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February 22, 1798.

For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills	3,000,000	0	0
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April 26.

	April 26.	£.	s.	d.
For raising 17,000,000 <i>l.</i> by annuities	.	17,000,000	0	0

May 3.

For applying 62,755 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> paid by the receivers-general of the land-tax to the Bank of England, in pursuance of act of last session, for raising men for the army and navy	62,755 10 0
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May 25.

For raising 667,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by a lottery . . . 667,916 13 4

June 14.

For raising 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills	3,500,000	0	0
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June 18.

For raising 1,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills	1,000,000	0	0
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June 19.

For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills	3,000,000	0	0
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Total of ways and means	. 33,980,672	3	4
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Number of Bankruptcies, from the Year 1748 to the end of the Year 1797.

Year.	No.	Year.	No.	Year.	No.	Year.	No.
1748	— 130	1762	— 230	1776	— 435	1790	— 585
1749	— 91	1763	— 243	1777	— 435	1791	— 583
1750	— 169	1764	— 322	1778	— 656	1792	— 636
1751	— 172	1765	— 239	1779	— 522	1793	— 1302
1752	— 153	1766	— 342	1780	— 458	1794	— 816
1753	— 242	1767	— 360	1781	— 458	1795	— 708
1754	— 238	1768	— 351	1782	— 558	1796	— 760
1755	— 223	1769	— 344	1783	— 532	1797	— 869
1756	— 279	1770	— 397	1784	— 521		
1757	— 274	1771	— 433	1785	— 502	Total	
1758	— 315	1772	— 528	1786	— 510	amount	
1759	— 254	1773	— 507	1787	— 509	from 1748	
1760	— 221	1774	— 337	1788	— 707	to 1797.	21,645
1761	— 182	1775	— 350	1789	— 562		

STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech
on proroguing the Parliament,
June 29; 1798.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

By the measures adopted during the present session, you have amply fulfilled the solemn and unanimous assurances which I received from you at its commencement.

The example of your firmness and constancy has been applauded and followed by my subjects in every rank and condition in life; a spirit of voluntary and ardent exertion, diffused through every part of the kingdom, has strengthened and confirmed our internal security; the same sentiments have continued to animate my troops of every description; and my fleets have met the menaces of invasion by blocking up all our enemies in their principal ports.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The extensive and equitable scheme of contribution, by which so large a share of our expences will be defrayed within the year, has defeated the expectations of those who had vainly hoped to exhaust our means, and to destroy our public credit. You have been

enabled to avail yourselves of farther resources from a commerce increased in extent and vigour, notwithstanding the difficulties of war; and have had the singular satisfaction of deriving, at the same moment, large additional aid from individual exertions of unexampled zeal, liberality, and patriotism.

The provision which has been made for the redemption of the land-tax, has also established a system which, in its progressive operation, may produce the happiest consequences, by the increase of our resources, the diminution of our debt, and the support of public credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The designs of the disaffected, carried on in concert with our inveterate enemies, have been unremittingly pursued; but have been happily and effectually counteracted in this kingdom by the general zeal and loyalty of my subjects.

In Ireland they have broken out into the most criminal acts of open rebellion. Every effort has been employed on my part to subdue this dangerous spirit, which is equally hostile to the interests and safety of every part of the British

empire. I cannot too strongly commend the unshaken fidelity and valour of my regular, fencible, and militia forces in Ireland; and that determined spirit with which my yeomanry and volunteer forces of that kingdom have stood forward in defence of the lives and properties of their fellow-subjects, and in support of the lawful government.

The striking and honourable proof of alacrity and public spirit, which so many of my fencible and militia regiments in this kingdom have manifested on this occasion, has already received the fullest testimony of the approbation of parliament.

This conduct, personally so honourable to the individuals, affords the strongest pledge, both of the military ardour which actuates this valuable part of our national defence, and of their affectionate concern for the safety and happiness of Ireland, which are essentially connected with the general interests of the British empire.

With the advantage of this support, and after the distinguished and important success which has recently attended the operations of my arms against the principal force of the rebels, I trust the time is fast approaching, when those now seduced from their allegiance will be brought to a just sense of the guilt they have incurred, and will entitle themselves to forgiveness, and to that protection which it is my constant wish to afford to every class and condition of my subjects, who manifest their desire to pay a due obedience to the laws.

The temporary interruption of tranquillity, and all its attendant

calamities, must be attributed to those pernicious principles which have been industriously propagated in that country, and which, wherever they have prevailed, have never failed to produce the most disastrous effects.

With such warnings before us, sensible of the danger which we are called upon to repel, and of the blessings we have to preserve, let us continue firmly united in a determined resistance to the designs of our enemies, and in the defence of that constitution which has been found by experience to insure to us, in so eminent a degree, public liberty, national strength, and the security and comfort of all classes of the community.

It is only by perseverance in this line of conduct, that we can hope, under the continuance of that Divine protection which we have so abundantly experienced, to conduct this arduous contest to a happy issue, and to maintain, undiminished, the security, honour, and lasting prosperity of the country.

The lord chancellor then by his Majesty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 8th of August.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses at the Meeting of Parliament, 20th November, 1798.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The events which have taken place in the course of the present year, and the signal success, which, by the blessing of Providence, has attended my arms, have been productive of the happiest consequences, and have essentially pro-

moted the prosperity and glory of our country.

The unexampled series of our naval triumphs has received fresh splendour from the memorable and decisive action in which a detachment of my fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, attacked and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation: by this great and brilliant victory, an enterprize, of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed at this conjuncture, by the Emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, have shown that those powers are impressed with a just sense of the present crisis; and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encouragement to other states to adopt that vigorous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone consistent with security or honour.

The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonstrations of zeal and spirit among all ranks

of my subjects, have deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coasts of this kingdom.

In Ireland, the rebellion which they had instigated has been curbed and repressed; the troops which they landed for its support have been compelled to surrender; and the armaments since destined for the same purpose have, by the vigilance and activity of my squadrons, been captured or dispersed. The views and principles of those who, in concert with our inveterate enemy, have long planned the subversion of our constitution, have been fully detected and exposed, and their treasons made manifest to the world. Those whom they had misled or seduced, must now be awakened to their duty; and a just sense of the miseries and horror which these traitorous designs have produced, must impress on the minds of all my faithful subjects the necessity of continuing to repel, with firmness, every attack on the laws and established government of their country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Under the unavoidable pressure of protracted war, it is a great satisfaction to me to observe, that the produce of the public revenue has proved fully adequate to the increase of our permanent expenditure; that the national credit has been maintained and improved; and that the commerce and industry of my subjects have continued to flourish in a degree hitherto unknown.

The situation in which we are placed, unhappily renders the continuance of heavy expences indis-

pensable for the public safety. But the state of our resources ; and the good sense and public spirit which prevail through every part of my kingdom, will, I trust, enable you to provide the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to my people, and with as little addition as possible to the permanent burdens of the state. The progress made towards such a system by the measures adopted in the last session, and the aid given to public credit by the plan for the redemption of the land-tax, have been attended with the most beneficial effect, which you will, I am persuaded, omit no opportunity to confirm and improve.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I rely with confidence on the continuance of your exertions, to enable me ultimately to conduct the great contest in which we are engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion.

We have surmounted many and great difficulties. Our perseverance in a just cause has been rewarded with distinguished success ; and our present situation, compared with that of other countries, sufficiently proves how much, in a period of general danger and calamity, the security and happiness of the British nation have depended (under the blessing of Providence) on its own constancy, its energy, and its virtue.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, 11th January, 1798.

G. R.

His Majesty thinks proper to

acquaint the House of Lords, that he has received various advices of preparations made, and measures taken, in France, apparently in pursuance of a design openly and repeatedly professed, of attempting an invasion of these kingdoms. His Majesty is firmly persuaded that, by the zeal, courage, and exertions, of his faithful people, struggling for every thing that is most dear to them, such an enterprize, if attempted, will terminate in the confusion and ruin of those who may be engaged in it. But his Majesty, in his anxious concern for the welfare and safety of his people, feels it incumbent on him to omit no suitable precaution which may contribute to their defence at so important a juncture. His Majesty, therefore, in pursuance of the act of parliament passed the last session, for providing for the augmentation of the militia, thinks it right to make this communication to the House of Lords, to the end, that his Majesty may cause the said militia, or such part thereof as he shall think necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.

Protest on the Rejection of the Duke of Bedford's Motion for the Dismissal of Ministers, as entered on the Journal.

Dissentient,

Because we feel it to be a duty prescribed to us by necessity, and dictated equally by our love for our country, and by our regard for the person and dignity of the King himself, to declare our solemn and conscientious conviction,

that nothing short of an immediate dismissal of his Majesty's present ministers, and a change of the system on which they have conducted the government, can enable us to support our present accumulated distress, or afford us a chance of averting the dangers with which we are, on all sides, surrounded, and which, if not encountered with adequate fortitude and wisdom, threaten certain ruin and dissolution to the power, laws, and liberties, of these kingdoms.

Bedford.

Norfolk.

Holland.

Protest on the Motion for a Committee to inquire into the State of Ireland being negatived.

Dissentient,

1st. Because it was the duty of the King's ministers to have advised his Majesty to make an early, regular, and constant communication of the disastrous events which have happened in Ireland, and of the deplorable state of that kingdom, to both houses of Parliament, and more especially to this house, who are the great hereditary council of the crown, and who never have been, nor can be, consulted on a question of greater importance to the safety of the British empire, than that which was the subject of this day's debate.

2dly, Because ministers having studiously withheld from the knowledge of this house a fact of such transcendent magnitude and importance as the existence of a rebellion raging in Ireland, and having employed a great portion of the supplies granted, and of the

army voted by parliament for the suppression of such rebellion, are guilty of a high aggravation of those unwarrantable acts, and criminal omissions, by refusing to yield to a motion so temperate, so prudent, and so necessary, as that which has been submitted to this house; whereby this house is, in effect, deprived of all means of performing their duty to the King and to the country, or of acting at all in their constitutional capacity as council to the crown, in case of the most urgent necessity and imminent danger to his Majesty's person and government, and to the safety of the whole empire.

3dly, That, considering the nature and all the circumstances of the case, we hold that a refusal, on the part of ministers, to consent to an inquiry into these transactions, is equivalent to an acknowledgment of consciousness in them that the calamities of Ireland originate in their own pernicious councils, and will not bear investigation; and that such refusal may be attended with the most fatal consequences; for all which we hold them to be responsible to his Majesty, to parliament, and to the nation.

Bedford.

Devonshire (dissentient for the first reason).

Dorchester.

Rawdon.

Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

Holland.

Ponsonby.

Leinster.

Suffolk and Berkshire.

Shaftesbury.

Norfolk, E. M.

Scarborough.

*Message to the House of Commons
from his Majesty, 20th April.*

G. R.

His Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that, from various advices received by his Majesty, it appears that preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike stores are now carried on with considerable and increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of attempting the invasion of his Majesty's dominions; and that in this design the enemy is encouraged by the communications and correspondence of traitorous and disaffected persons and societies in these kingdoms.

His Majesty places the firmest reliance (under the blessing of Divine Providence) on the bravery of his fleets and armies, and on the zeal, public spirit, and unshaken courage, of his faithful people, already manifested in the voluntary exertions of all ranks of his subjects for the general defence, more than ever necessary, at a moment when they are called upon to defend all that is most dear to them.

His Majesty, in pursuance of the act passed in the last session of parliament for raising a provisional body of cavalry, has thought it right to give directions for such regiments of cavalry to be drawn out and embodied; and it is also his Majesty's intention to order the part not yet embodied, of the augmentation made to the militia, under the act of the last session, to be forthwith embodied and drawn out, in pursuance of his Majesty's communication already

made to the House of Commons on this subject.

His Majesty feels it incumbent on him to make the fullest use of the extensive means provided by parliament for the national defence; but he feels it, at the same time, under the circumstances that he has stated, necessary to recommend it to the House of Commons to consider, without delay, of such farther measures as may enable his Majesty to defeat the wicked machinations of disaffected persons within these realms, and to guard against the designs of the enemy, either abroad or at home.

*Message from his Majesty to the
House of Commons, 19th June.*

G. R.

His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of different regiments of the militia of this kingdom have made to his Majesty a voluntary tender of their services to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces of this kingdom, to suppress the rebellion now unhappily existing in Ireland.

His Majesty has received, with the utmost sensibility, this striking and seasonable proof of their ardent zeal and attachment to his person and government, and of affectionate concern for the interests and safety of his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects in Ireland: and conceiving that the being able to avail himself of this new and distinguished instance of public spirit may eventually be of

the utmost importance for the preservation of the lives and property of his Irish subjects; for the speedy and effectual suppression of the rebellion; for the defence of Great Britain itself, and for the general interests and security of the empire;—he recommends it to his faithful commons to consider of such provisions as may be necessary for empowering his Majesty for a time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the services of such parts of his militia forces in this kingdom, as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland at this important conjuncture.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 22d Nov.

His Majesty having taken into his consideration the signal and meritorious services performed by Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, in the memorable and decisive victory obtained over a superior French fleet off the mouth of the Nile, not only highly honourable to himself, but eminently beneficial to these kingdoms; and his Majesty being desirous to confer upon him some considerable and lasting mark of his royal favour, in testimony of his approbation of his great services, and therefore to give and grant to the said Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, and the two next heirs male to whom the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, shall descend, for their lives the net sum of 2000*l.* per annum: but his Majesty not having it in his power to grant any annuity to that amount, or for a

period beyond his own life, his Majesty recommends it to his faithful commons to consider of the means of enabling his Majesty to extend and secure an annuity of 2000*l.* per annum to Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, and the two next heirs male on whom the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, shall descend, in such manner as shall be most advantageous to their interests.

Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, on the 28th of June, 1798, on the rejection of the Duke of Bedford's motion of a change of system in Ireland.

Dissentient,

Because the House having thought fit to reject the various motives respecting the calamitous situation of Ireland, which have been submitted to their consideration, in the first instance, for inquiry—in the second, for lenity and conciliation—and in the last, for putting an immediate stop, at least, to the rigorous proceedings of the army in Ireland, where, under the name of a system of coercion, we have reason to fear that atrocious cruelties have been practised, we think it our duty to record the nature of the evidence on which we have proceeded, and on which our conviction of the truth of the facts is founded, and on that evidence to appeal in our own justification to our country, to the world, and to posterity. We affirm, that the facts are undisputed, that the evidence of them is irresistible, and that the

effects produced by this barbarous system convict the authors and advisers of such a total want of wisdom, even for their own pretended purposes, as can only be exceeded by the shocking cruelty of the principles avowed, and of the practice recommended by them. We shall state some of the documents we refer to, in the order of time in which they have appeared, in order to shew that this system of coercion has not been hastily resorted to on the spur of an instant necessity, but that it was deliberately resolved on long before it could be justified or palliated by any of the pretences or causes which have since been assigned in defence of it.

Dublin Castle, March 3, 1798.

His excellency farther authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, and to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if, in your opinion, the peace of the realm and the safety of his majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

(Signed) Thomas Pelham.

On the 26th of February, 1798, Sir Ralph Abercrombie declared, in public orders, that "the very disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in that kingdom, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formi-

dable to every one but the enemy."

On the 18th of April, 1798, the following order was issued by major-general Duff:

The commander-in-chief gives this public notice, that the lord-lieutenant and council have issued orders to him to quarter troops, to press horses and carriages, to demand forage and provisions, and to hold courts martial for the trial of offences of all descriptions, civil and military, with the power of confirming and carrying into execution the sentences of such courts martial, and to issue proclamations.

The commander-in-chief calls on all the general officers to procure of the magistrates the best accounts they can give of the number of arms taken from the yeomanry and the well-affected, of arms that have been concealed, and of pikes that have been made, which are to be recovered and taken possession of by the military.

They are also to communicate to the people, through the priests, and by one or two men selected from each town-land, the purpose of the following notice.

That the order, if complied with, will be a sign of their general repentance; and not only forgiveness will follow, but protection.

That they must be sensible that it is infinitely better for them to remain at home, quietly minding their own affairs, than committing acts which must bring on the ruin of themselves and of their families.

As it will be impossible, in some degrees, to prevent the innocent from suffering with the guilty, the

innocent have means of redress, by informing against those who have engaged in unlawful associations, and robbing houses of arms and money.

The people must be very ignorant not to know, notwithstanding the fair promises of the French, that they have first deceived and then plundered every country into which they have come. And they are therefore forewarned, that, in case of invasion from the French, if they should attempt to join the enemy, or communicate with him, or join in any insurrection, they will be immediately put to death, and their houses and properties destroyed.

The general officers call on the people to know why they should be less attached to the government now than they were a year ago, when they shewed so much loyalty in assisting his majesty's troops to oppose the landing of the French. Is it not because they have been seduced by wicked men?

Why should they think themselves bound by oaths into which they have been seduced or terrified?

The people are requested to bring in their arms to the magistrates or commanding-officers in the neighbourhood, who have directions to receive them, and no questions will be asked.

(Signed) James Duff, maj.-gen.

On the 7th of May, 1798, the following orders were issued by lieutenant-general Sir James Stewart.

"Whereas it has been represented to lieutenant-general Sir James Stewart, that in some parts of the

country where it has been necessary to station troops at free quarters, for the restoration of public tranquillity, that general subscriptions of money have been entered into by the inhabitants to purchase provisions for the troops, by which means, the end proposed, of making the burden fall as much as possible on the guilty, is entirely defeated, by making it fall, in a light proportion on the whole, and thereby easing and protecting the guilty; it has been thought proper to direct, that whenever that practice has been adopted, or shall be attempted, the general officers commanding divisions of the southern district, shall immediately double, treble, or quadruple the number of soldiers so stationed, and shall send out regular foraging parties to provide provisions for the troops, in the quantities mentioned in the former notice, bearing date the 27th day of April, 1798, and that they shall move them from station to station through the district or barony, until arms are surrendered and tranquillity be perfectly restored, and until it is reported to the general officers, by the gentlemen holding landed property, and those who are employed in collecting the public revenues and tithes, that all rents, taxes, and tithes are completely paid up."

*Adjutant-General's Office, Cork,
May, 7, 1798.*

On the 11th of June, 1798, major-general Nugent, after holding out certain offers and terms to the insurgents, proceeded to declare, "That, should the above injunction not be complied with within the time specified, major-general

Nugent will proceed to set fire to and wholly destroy the towns of Killincy, Killileagh, Ballynahinch, Sallitfield, and every cottage and farm-house in the vicinity of those places, carry off the stock and cattle, and put every one to the sword who may be found in arms.

"It particularly behoves all the well-affected persons who are now with the rebels from constraint, and who, it is known, form a considerable part of their numbers, to exert themselves in having these terms complied with, as it is the only opportunity there will be of rescuing themselves and properties from the indiscriminate vengeance of an army necessarily let loose upon them."

But, finally, the document which appears to us the most important of all, and to which we earnestly invite and press the attention of the house, is a public order issued about the middle of the present month of June, 1798, in the following words:

"Major-general Morrison requests that officers commanding corps, will give the strictest orders to prevent setting fire to houses or buildings of any kind, a mode of punishment that can lead only to the most pernicious consequences, and that seldom or ever falls on the guilty, but on the contrary, on the landlord, the wife, and children of the criminals, who, however iniquitous the husband or father, ought always to be spared and protected.

"And he has likewise received orders from lieutenant-general Lake, that free quarters are no longer to be permitted, neither are foraging parties to be allowed to go out, unless under the care

of an officer, who is to be responsible for every act, in order that the friends of government, the helpless and infirm, may not be involved in one indiscriminate mass of destruction with the rebellious and ill-disposed."

The prohibition contained in this order, wise and humane as it is, is equivalent to a history of all the horrible transactions it alludes to; and establishes the truth of them by evidence, which cannot be disputed or suspected, and also confirms in the strongest terms, and on the irresistible proof derived from practice and experience, that such a mode of punishment seldom or ever falls on the guilty, but on women and children, who ought always to be spared and protected; and that its principle, if not its only operation and effect, is to involve the friends of government, the helpless and infirm, in one mass of destruction with the rebellious and ill-disposed.

Bedford.

Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

Ponsonby.

Holland.

Albemarle.

King.

Thanet.

Protest of Lord Oxford on the same motion.

Dissentient,

1. Because I was shocked that an address to the king, upon so awful a subject as the present state of Ireland, should have been rejected, without one single syllable being said by the king's ministers upon the subject.

2. Because I look back with pride to that law which our ancestors obtained, which says, "No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed. Nor will we not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man. We will not deny or defer to any man either justice or right." And because I agree with the commentary of that great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, upon this chapter of Magna Charta, wherein he says, "No man destroyed;" that is, fore-judged of life or limb, disherited, or put to torture or death. And because I think that to flog, picket, and half-hang any of our fellow-subjects, in order to extort confession, is "a putting to torture," and, therefore, not only outrageous to humanity, but directly against Magna Charta, the great corner-stone of our laws and liberties. And whoever have dared to put to torture any of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, or elsewhere, have violated the great charter, have betrayed their country, and ought speedily to be brought to condign punishment, for these their treasonable and detestable practices. And whoever have dared openly and publicly to justify torture, upon the ground of policy, deserve the same execrations from their countrymen, as have been usually given to the cruellest inquisitors of Rome.

3. Because, whenever our brethren and fellow-subjects in Ireland, or elsewhere, are flogged, picketed, half-hanged, and other-

wise tortured, in order to extort confession, I hold it to be the bounden duty of every man, in his different station, to use all the legal means in his power to declare his abhorrence of such diabolical and tyrannical measures.

4. Because I hold, that when an Irishman is tortured, an Englishman is tortured; for the same men, who, in violation of the laws of their country, and of every dictate of humanity, dare to put Irishmen to torture, will not hesitate, when they think it expedient, to put Englishmen to torture also.

5. Because it is a moral truth that cannot be denied, that, if men have been driven, by flogging and by tortures, contrary to all law, and reason, into open resistance, the guilt and consequences of that resistance are imputable to those who flog and torture, contrary to all law and reason, and not to those who are thereby driven to resistance.

6. Because to flog and torture men into open resistance, for the sake of employing a power in the hands of those who flog and torture, to crush that resistance, and thereby to make themselves more secure, is not only a refinement of cruelty, against which law, reason, justice, humanity, and nature, cry aloud; but which the experience of all times teaches us will never answer.

7. Because the history of the world tells us, that it is no small matter which provokes a people to throw off their allegiance; and that when they have thrown off their allegiance, attention to their just demands, and protection in the enjoyment of their rights, liberties, and properties, are the

only means by which an alliance worth having can be recovered.

8. Because I think the times call for a declaration of these principles, and that to act upon them is the only method of healing the present discontents, and preventing the speedy ruin of our country.

Oxford and Mortimer.

Protest against the Assessed Tax-Bill, House of Lords, January 18, 1798.

The question was put, that this bill be committed. It was agreed in the affirmative.

Dissentient,

Because we conceive, that in the present circumstances no grant of money by parliament can alone be sufficient to extricate the country from its alarming and critical situation.

When the exigencies of the state are such, as to demand large supplies from the people, our duty is not confined to the bare consideration of the necessity of the case, or the mode of levying the money. We are not from the pressure of circumstances, and the approach of danger, hastily to concur in laying additional burdens on our fellow-subjects, without insuring to the public a wise application of the money so raised, and without due precautions for directing the efforts of the people to their only legitimate object, the benefit of the community. A neglect of this, the most important of all parliamentary duties must produce, and, in our opinions, it has already

produced, consequences the most fatal to the dignity of the nation, the stability of the government, and the interests of the people. In the unconditional compliance with the demands of the Executive government, again proposed as the remedy, we perceive the real and fatal source of the evil. Year after year, his Majesty's ministers have grounded their application to parliament upon the urgency of the occasion, and the extraordinary exigencies of the state. To satisfy their demands, to enable them to encounter the dangers, and remove the difficulties in which we were involved, every article of luxury or convenience has been taxed, the resources of the country have been exhausted, and sums unparalleled in history have been entrusted to their disposal; yet, year after year, the occasion has become more urgent, the exigencies more pressing, the difficulties more alarming, and the dangers more immediate. The security of the nation has been shaken in the same proportion as the prosperity of the country has been impaired, external danger has kept pace with internal distress, and the exertions which have impoverished the people, and shaken our credit, have purchased nothing but the loss of national honour, the defection of allies, and the failure of every great object of the war.

If the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland, aided by grants lavished beyond the example of the most improvident times, assisted by the most powerful monarchs of Europe, has proved insufficient in the hands of minis-

ters to secure the blessing of peace, or even to avert the present awful circumstances of the country, it seems inconsistent with reason to expect that the painful efforts of an empire, whose means are exhausted by taxation, whose spirits are damped by failure, and whose affections are in part alienated by oppression, can, without a single ally, under the direction of the same men, resist with effect a powerful and exasperated enemy, elated with success, strengthened by conquest, and supported by the united powers of Holland and Spain. In this situation of affairs, to persevere in the system which has produced it, to confide in the ministers who, with the aid of so many millions, have been unable to avert it, evinces, in our opinion, a total disregard of the common maxims of prudence, a wanton rejection of the lessons of experience, and a determined neglect of the most important of our parliamentary duties. Under the persuasion, therefore, that the dangers with which we are now threatened are the result of force, directed to objects at once impracticable and foreign to the interests of this country; that they are the necessary consequences of a misapplication of the public money, and the natural fruits of the incapacity and profusion of those to whom it has been improvidently entrusted; we deemed it our duty not to sanction any grant to the Executive government, until a pledge was given to the house, by the removal of his Majesty's ministers, of a complete alteration in his councils. We held it neither just to impose, nor reasonable to require,

any additional sacrifices from our fellow-subjects, until some prospect was held out to the people of a reform of that house which had granted, and a censure of those ministers who have lavished, sums so enormous, without any benefit resulting to the community. We thought, that while his Majesty's affairs were conducted by those who originally engaged in this calamitous contest, and who can neither carry on war or negotiations with honour, advantage, or success, no grant of money by parliament, no sacrifices on the part of the people, could afford a reasonable hope that the blessings of peace would be speedily restored, or permanently secured. We imagined, that until some earnest was given of a radical alteration of the system of terror and coercion in Ireland, of the repeal of the two bills, the one intituled, "An act for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts;" and the other intituled, "An act for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies," of economy in public expenditure, and diminution of the enormous patronage and influence of the crown, we were not warranted in expecting that cheerful co-operation of the people, which, being at once the indication and result of a reciprocal confidence between the government and the governed, can only be restored by the restoration of the ancient and happy practice of a constitution undisfigured by coercive laws—of parliament speaking the sense of the people—and a minis-

try dependent on the voice of the parliament.

Because it appears to us, that any attempt to raise the supplies within the year, in the present exhausted state of the country, must be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger.

Because, were we to allow that the principle of raising the supplies by contribution, instead of loan, was just, wise, and expedient, yet, under the present ministers, it would appear to us attended with the utmost danger, as the real expences of the year have generally exceeded, by nearly one half, their calculation; and thus any regulations for the equal distribution of the burdens, which were adopted upon the first calculation, might be rendered ineffectual by subsequent and most extensive demands.

Because, if the bill is intended as a tax upon expenditure, its retrospective operation is arbitrary and cruel in the extreme, and altogether repugnant to the usages of our ancestors, the faith of civilized governments, and the common dictates of humanity and justice. If it is intended as a tax upon income, in our opinion the criterion proposed is objectionable and inadequate; and, above all, as income is of various descriptions, sometimes arising from permanent and disposable capital, sometimes from precarious or temporary professions, and sometimes from labour, talents, or industry, we deem any attempt to proportion the burden to the income in itself unjust, unequal, and impolitic. If it is intended as a tax upon property, neither in the original criterion, viz. the as-

essed taxes of 1795, nor in the proposed relief, do we recognise any just principles of taxation, or perceive any fair or adequate method suggested for the impartial distribution of the burden.

Because the relief proposed in the bill to those who may, by the increase of their assessed taxes, be liable to pay more than the tenth of their income, requires a disclosure of their pecuniary circumstances, which is contrary to the customs and prejudices of Englishmen, and repugnant to the principles of the constitution; and which, to persons engaged in commerce or trade, must be attended with yet greater inconveniences than the payment of more than the tenth of their income. Furthermore, this regulation appears to us an indirect breach of the faith so often and sacredly pledged to the stock-holder; for, should the whole of the income of any individual claiming this relief consist in a dividend upon stock, a tenth of that income is immediately sacrificed, and the dividend, in violation of the faith of the parliament and the nation, diminished one-tenth by the intervention of government.

Because the operation of this bill is not confined to a definite period of time, but, by the most wanton violation of justice, remains in force till a certain sum is produced, thus exacting from the honest the deficiencies which may have been occasioned by accidental circumstances, by the designs or the distress of individuals, by the favour or the neglect of the collectors.

(Signed)

HOLLAND.
OXFORD.

Protest entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords against a Bill, intituled, "An Act empowering his Majesty for a Time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the Services of such Parts of his Militia Forces in this Kingdom as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland," passing into a Law.

Dissentient,

Because, convinced that the very existence of the militia, as a constitutional force, depends upon strictly adhering to that great and fundamental principle on which it was originally established, namely, the internal defence of the kingdom.

Because, any departure (under whatever circumstances) from conditions hitherto considered as sacred, and on which every engagement respecting the militia service has hitherto proceeded, must create distrust with regard to its future destination, and hereafter render it extremely difficult to find persons of property and independence disposed to serve as officers.

Because, however laudable the offers lately made by certain militia corps to serve in Ireland undoubtedly are, it does not appear that those offers can be accepted without manifestly risking great and serious inconvenience to this country; and highly important as it is to crush, as soon as possible, the rebellion now unhappily raging in the sister kingdom, the proposed measure still appears highly exceptionable; nor can it be too much lamented if, from an unfortunate distribution of the forces of the empire at large,

tranquillity cannot be restored to Ireland but at the expence of the Constitution of Great Britain.

LEEDS.

Protest entered by the Duke of Norfolk, upon the Journals of the House of Lords, against a Bill, intituled, "An Act empowering his Majesty for a Time, and to an extent to be limited, to accept the Services of such Parts of his Militia Forces in this Kingdom as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland," passing into a Law.

Dissentient,

1. Because the militia being the only permanent armed force that can be lawfully maintained, and by its institution intended solely for the defence of this kingdom, an offer to carry it out of the kingdom could not be made consistent with the principles of the Constitution, and ought not to receive the sanction of parliament.

2. Because no communication relating to Ireland having been made to this house, or the advice of parliament taken on the state of that kingdom, it can have no means of judging of the propriety of any measures to be taken; and the only source of information being private accounts and unauthenticated publications, which assert that scourges and tortures have in numerous instances been inflicted to extort confessions and accusations, which illegal acts (being generally believed, and not having been contradicted by the lords in his Majesty's councils when called upon to do it) might greatly tend to excite those insurrections which the application

of this force is intended to suppress.

3. Because the bill has been passed with a haste and precipitancy incompatible with the cool deliberation requisite for a matter of such importance, and to the wise regulations and orders of this house.

NORFOLK, E. M.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Camden, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, from the Throne, 16th Jan. 1798, at the Meeting of Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament at this important period, and to resort to your deliberation and advice.

When I reflect on the tranquillity which attended the late general election, I have just ground to believe that the wisdom and firmness which were manifested by the late parliament were felt and approved by the nation at large, and that your conduct will be actuated by similar principles in defence of our happy constitution.

It must have given you great concern to learn that his majesty's endeavours to restore the blessings of peace have been again frustrated by the desperate ambition of the French government. I have his majesty's commands to lay before you his royal declaration, and the various papers which passed in the course of the late negotiation, in which the magnanimity and moderation of his majesty were so eminently displayed, as to leave no pretext or colour for the insidious conduct

and fallacious statements of the enemy.

His majesty relies with confidence on the spirit of his people of Ireland, who are sensible of their duty to their God, their sovereign, and their country. He knows they are incapable of being intimidated by any threats, or deluded by any offers; and he implicitly depends on the valour of his regular and militia forces, the active loyalty of the district corps, the courage of the nation, and the prowess of his fleets and armies, for defeating every hostile attempt which may be made on this kingdom.

The late signal victory of admiral lord Duncan, over the Dutch squadron, achieved on their own coasts, with such professional skill and heroic gallantry, has not only added fresh lustre to the glory of his majesty's navy, but has given new strength and security to all his majesty's dominions.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the public accounts and the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I lament that additional burdens are still necessary, in order to maintain the honour and security of the empire in the present exigency; and although, from the state of preparation in which this kingdom stands, some of the demands of former periods will not recur, yet I fear the general expense of the ensuing year will not admit of any considerable reduction. When you reflect on all you have to preserve, and all you have to expect from the enemy

you have to combat with, I doubt not the supplies will be cheerfully granted. I shall endeavour, on my part, that they shall be faithfully applied.

My lords and gentlemen,

In consequence of the addresses of the houses of lords and commons, in May last, I directed immediate and vigorous measures to be taken for repressing disaffection in the northern parts of the kingdom, and for restoring security and confidence to the loyal and well-disposed; the effect of which has been manifested in the return of subordination and industry in that quarter. Other attempts have since been made by the leaders of the disaffected in some parts of the midland and southern districts, with too much success, and emissaries have been employed, and publications have been circulated, by them, to revive religious animosities, and to open prospects of plunder, by which means the lower classes have been excited to commit acts of the most horrid outrage and barbarity. I have to lament that the diligence and activity of the magistrates, though assisted by the troops which have been ordered into that part of the kingdom, have not yet been able entirely to put a stop to those disturbances. Constant vigilance and unremitting exertions continue to be necessary when all means are tried to excite the people to rebellion and revolt; when a systematic plan of assassination is adopted and encouraged; and when the most audacious attempts are made to impede and prevent the administration of justice.

Amidst your exertions for the

defence of the kingdom, I must not omit to recommend to you not to relax your attention to its commerce, its agriculture, and its manufactures, and especially to that of the linen; nor will your liberality be less conspicuous in continuing that protection to the protestant charter schools, and the other charitable institutions, under which they have so long flourished.

His majesty has commanded me to declare to you, that his firm resolution is taken in the present arduous contest. He will not be wanting to his people, but with them will stand or fall in the defence of their religion, and in the preservation of the independence, laws, and liberties, of his kingdoms.

It will be a source of infinite satisfaction to my mind, if, in the execution of my duty, I can contribute to support the generous determination of my sovereign, and maintain the safety and prosperity of his people. I rely upon your advice and co-operation, and, aided by them, I look forward with confidence to a happy issue of the contest in which we are engaged.

Address of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, to the Lord Lieutenant, on presenting certain Bills, March 24, 1798,

May it please your Excellency,

Large as the supplies of the last session were beyond all former grants, these which the Commons now offer to his Majesty are not inferior; they go to the fullest extent of every service proposed by government, and are given with

an unanimity and zeal which mark the unalterable determination of this kingdom to stand or fall with Great Britain, and show that our vigour rises as the vaunting menaces of the enemy increase.

With the same unanimity we have voted the maintenance of an army far greater than was ever kept up by this kingdom during any preceding war; and we have continued to them the augmentation of pay which was granted by the last parliament, and which your excellency did justly state to that parliament to be a seasonable and honourable acknowledgment on their part of the steadiness and loyalty of that army; the present parliament feels the same sentiments towards them. Repeated experience of the order and alacrity which they have shown on every occasion that has offered, confirms his Majesty's faithful commons in those sentiments; and we join most cordially with his Majesty in his firm reliance on the valour of his regular and militia forces in this kingdom, which his Majesty has been pleased to express in his gracious answer to our address this session.

While the courage, the vigour, and the discipline of those forces must render them formidable to the enemy, and ensure his defeat, should he be desperate enough to attempt invasion, their zeal, and that of the yeomen, to put down rebellion, to crush insurrection, and to assist the executive power in protecting the loyal, the innocent, and well-disposed, affords the most convincing proof of their ardent and unshakeable attachment to the best sovereign, and best constitution, that ever blessed

a free and happy people. We are free—and we will not tamely give up our happiness. The loyal spirit of the nation is able to crush rebellion to atoms wherever it shall dare to show itself; and, with the firmness which so strongly marks your excellency's character, with the constant success which has attended every vigorous measure that necessity has called on your excellency to adopt, we have nothing to fear. We have, indeed, to lament, that traitorous conspiracies can still continue, and that any men can be found in the land so lost to every sense of patriotism, of humanity, of duty to themselves, their country, and their God, as to degrade the nation and the name of Irishman, by acts of ingratitude, barbarity, and assassination, which would debase a savage—acts which call for the heavy hand of justice, and which the ordinary power of the laws has proved inadequate to prevent the melancholy and frequent repetition of.

But while we lament such a mortifying calamity, we have the satisfaction of seeing how little its malignant influence, or the efforts of an exasperated and revengeful enemy has affected our commercial prosperity.

Notwithstanding the largeness of the supplies, we have continued the usual bounties and encouragement to the trade, the agriculture, and the manufactures of the kingdom; and we see with sincere gratification the desirable effects of those encouragements, in the great increase of trade during the war, in the general confidence which attends private as well as public credit, in the un-

usual plenty which our agriculture supplies, and in the prosperous state of all our manufactures, but most particularly of our great staple, the linen.

*From the Dublin Gazette,
March 31.*

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, a Proclamation.

Camden,

Whereas a traitorous conspiracy, existing within the kingdom, for the subversion of the authority of his Majesty and the parliament, and for the destruction of the established constitution and government, hath considerably extended itself, and hath broken out into acts of open violence and rebellion:

We have therefore, by and with the advice of his Majesty's privy council, issued the most direct and positive orders to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision, for the immediate suppression thereof, and also to recover the arms which have been traitorously forced from his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and to disarm the rebels, and all persons disaffected to his Majesty's government, by the most summary and effectual measures.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, on their allegiance, to aid and assist, to the utmost of their power, his Majesty's forces in the execution of their duty, to whom we have given it strictly in command, to afford full protection to them from all acts of violence

which shall be attempted against their persons and properties.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 30th day of March, 1798.

Clare, C.

Charles Cashell

W. Tuam

Drogheda

Ormond and Ossory

Shannon

Altamont

Clonmell

Ely

Dillon

Gosford

Pery

O'Neil

Castlereagh

H. Meath

Glentworth

Callan

Tyrawly

John Foster

J. Parnell

H. Cavendish

J. Blaquiére

H. Langrishe

Theo. Jones

Jos. Cooper

D. Latouche

James Fitzgerald

R. Ross

Isaac Corry

Lodge Morres.

God save the King.

*Message from his Excellency the
Lord-Lieutenant, to the House
of Commons, 22d May, 1798.*

Camden,

I am to acquaint the house of commons, that, in consequence of the disorders which have taken place in the neighbouring counties, and of the preparations which

appeared to be making by the disaffected in this metropolis and its vicinity, the magistrates thought it proper to apply to the lord-lieutenant and privy council, to place the city under the provisions of the act passed in the thirty-sixth year of his majesty's reign, more effectually to suppress insurrections and prevent the disturbance of the public peace: this application has been complied with; and I am now, with the utmost concern to inform the house of commons, that I have received informations that the disaffected have been daring enough to form a plan for the purpose of possessing themselves, in the course of the present month, of the metropolis, of seizing the seat of government, and those in authority within the city. In consequence of this information, I have directed every military precaution to be taken which seemed expedient. I have made full communication to the magistracy for the direction of their efforts, and I have no doubt that, by the measures which will be pursued, the designs of the rebellious will be effectually and entirely crushed.

I have taken the earliest opportunity of making this communication, and have the fullest confidence that I shall be supported by the commons in such measures as shall be necessary finally to suppress the rebellious conspiracy which exists in this kingdom. C.

*Message from the Lord-Lieutenant to the House of Commons,
17th June.*

Cornwallis,
I HAVE received the King's com-

mands to acquaint the House of Commons, that his Majesty, notwithstanding his just abhorrence of the unnatural and unprovoked rebellion which has broken out in this kingdom, yet, being ever disposed to exert, as far as possible, his royal prerogative of mercy, and to receive again, under his royal protection, those who, by the arts of wicked and designing men, have been seduced from their allegiance, has signified his gracious intention of granting his general and free pardon for all offences committed on or before a certain day, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions, as may be compatible with the public safety; for carrying which benevolent purpose into execution, his Majesty has signified his gracious intention of sanctioning, in the usual form, by his royal signature, a bill for that purpose, previous to its being submitted for the concurrence of parliament.

His Majesty has also directed me to lay before you several important papers, which may assist you in unfolding the nature and extent of the conspiracy which has long prevailed in this kingdom; not doubting that whilst your endeavours are directed to give effect to the gracious intentions of his Majesty, that you will feel it your indispensable duty to consider of, and adopt, such measures of salutary precaution as may tend to secure the state hereafter against the machinations of the disaffected.

In your deliberations, the sufferings of his Majesty's loyal subjects will naturally receive your attention; and I recommend to you the framing of effectual mea-

asures for ascertaining their losses, and bringing their claims under the consideration of parliament.

The numerous and continued advantages of his Majesty's forces over the rebels, afford me just ground to believe, that as their hopes of success must have failed, so the obstinacy of their resistance will speedily cease. The generals under my command have received, and shall continue to receive, the most positive orders to proceed against them with unceasing activity and vigour: and I shall not suffer their exertions to relax, so long as any body of them whatever shall remain in arms against his Majesty's peace.

C.

Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons in Ireland, presented to the House, July 17th, 1798, by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Your committee, in reporting upon the papers referred to them, find it necessary to recall the attention of the house to a report of a secret committee of the lords in the year 1793, as also to the reports of secret committees of both houses of the late parliament, presented in the course of the year 1797.

Your committee find that the allegations stated in those reports are fully confirmed by farther evidence and by subsequent events; and the facts they contain, connected with the information arising out of the present inquiry, will enable the house to trace, in all its parts, the conspiracy carried

on by the party styling themselves United Irishmen, from its first appearance under the pretext of reform till it connected itself with the foreign enemy, and broke out into a wide and extended rebellion.

Before your committee proceed to trace the extension and progress of the system of treason since the period of the last report (the organization of which at that time appeared to have been, in a great degree, confined to the northern counties, but shortly after extended itself throughout other parts of the kingdom), they are desirous of adverting to the prominent facts established by former inquiries, and to the measures adopted by the government, to meet the dangers which then, and at the period immediately subsequent to the last report, existed in the province of Ulster.

The society under the name of United Irishmen, it appears, was established in the year 1791; its founders held forth what they termed Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, as the ostensible objects of their union; but it clearly appeared from the letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, accompanying their original constitution, as transmitted to Belfast for adoption, that, from its commencement, the real purpose of those who were at the head of the institution, was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to subvert the established constitution of this kingdom: in corroboration of which your committee have annexed to this report several of their early publications, particularly a prospectus of the society which appeared in the beginning

of the year 1791 ; as also the plan of reform which they recommended to the people.

For the first three years their attention was entirely directed to the engaging in their society persons of activity and talents in every quarter of the kingdom ; and in preparing the public mind for their future purposes by the circulation of the most seditious publications, particularly the works of Thomas Paine. At this time, however, the leaders were rather cautious of alarming minds not sufficiently ripe for the adoption of their principles by the too open disclosure of the real objects they had in view. In 1795, the test of the society underwent a striking revision ; the words in the amended test stand, " a full representation of all the people," omitting the words " in the commons house of parliament ;" the reason for which has been admitted by three members of the executive, examined before your committee, to be the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in a common exertion to overthrow the state.

In the summer of 1796, great numbers of persons, principally in the province of Ulster, had enrolled themselves in this society. About the same period, as will be more fully explained hereafter, a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with the enemy, and French assistance was solicited, and promised to be speedily sent, to aid the disaffected of this kingdom.

With a view of being prepared as much as possible to co-operate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract the effect

of the armed associations of yeomanry established in October 1796, directions were issued by the leaders to the societies to form themselves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition.

These directions were speedily obeyed ; the societies assumed a military form ; and it appears by the original papers seized at Belfast in the month of April 1797, that their numbers at that period, in the province of Ulster alone, were stated to amount to nearly 100,000 men ; that they were very largely supplied with fire arms and pikes ; that they had some cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the study of military tactics ; in short, that nothing was neglected by the party which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy, or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their superior officers, whom they were bound by oath to obey.

To deter the well-affected from joining the yeomanry corps, and to render the administration of justice altogether ineffectual, the most active system of terror was put in operation ; persons enrolled in the yeomanry, magistrates, witnesses, jurors ; in a word, every class and description of people who ventured to support the laws, became objects of the most cruel persecution in their persons, property, and even in the line of their business ; and multitudes were compelled to take their illegal oaths, and profess an adherence to the party, as a means of security.

In the latter end of 1796, and beginning of 1797, the loyal in-

habitants of Ulster suffered most severely from the depredations of the united Irishmen; throughout the province they were stripped of their arms; the most horrid murders were perpetrated by large bodies of men in open day; and it became nearly impossible to bring the offenders to justice from the inevitable destruction that awaited the witnesses or jurors who dared to perform their duty.

Your committee will now shortly trace the measures resorted to for suppressing these disturbances, and for extending protection to the well affected.

In the summer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themselves defenders, in the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Westmeath, and Kildare, together with a religious feud prevailing in the county of Armagh, induced the legislature to pass a temporary act of parliament, (36 Geo. 3.) generally called the Insurrection Act, by which the lord lieutenant and council were enabled, upon the requisition of seven magistrates of any county assembled at a sessions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof to be in a state of disturbance; within which limits this law, giving increased power to the magistracy, was to have operation.

Many districts in Ulster, in which outrages prevailed, occasioned by the active and persecuting spirit of the united Irishmen, were, in the course of the winter of 1796, and spring of 1797, put under the provisions of the act above mentioned: and your committee have to observe, that, although where the law was put in

force with activity by the magistrates, very beneficial consequences were found to result from it; yet the treason was then too deeply rooted to yield to this remedy.

The parliament being assembled in October 1796, the dangerous progress of the treason, and the active preparations of the enemy for the invasion of this kingdom, were announced in the speech from the throne. Bills (37 Geo. 3.) were immediately brought in, and passed without delay, for suspending the habeas corpus act, as also for the establishment of the yeomanry:—measures to which your committee feel themselves justified in attributing the salvation of the country; and which, being taken immediately subsequent to the formal alliance concluded between the executive of the union and the French Directory, at once prove the vigilance of government, as also their well-founded confidence in thus entrusting the defence of the kingdom and its constitution to the loyalty of its inhabitants.

Your committee have to observe with great satisfaction, that the estimate for the yeomanry, as first laid before parliament, was for a number not exceeding 20,000; that in the course of six months above 37,000 were arrayed; and that the zeal of the country had so risen with its difficulties, that, during the late rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000 men, and might have been increased to a much greater extent. It is unnecessary to recall to the recollection and gratitude of parliament and of the country, the services they have performed during the

unhappy struggle in which we have been engaged, sharing all the hardships and dangers, and performing all the duties, in common with the king's regular and militia forces.

The next measure to which your committee beg leave to point the attention of the house is, the proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council, bearing date the 6th of November, 1796, issued in consequence of the disaffected having adopted a practice of marching in military array, and assembling in large bodies; in some instances to the number of several thousands, under pretence of saving corn, and digging potatoes: but in fact to terrify the peaceable and well-disposed, and to compel them to enter into their treasonable associations.

The same system has since frequently been had recourse to by the United Irishmen in other parts of the kingdom under various pretences, such as funerals, football meetings, &c. with a view of displaying their strength, giving the people the habit of assembling from great distances upon an order being issued, and making them more accustomed to show themselves openly in support of the cause.

The next measure to which the government was driven by the traitorous excesses of the united Irishmen, and to which your committee beg leave to advert, is the proclamation of Lieutenant-General Lake, then commanding in Ulster, issued on the 13th of March, in consequence of a letter addressed to him by the lord lieutenant's secretary, Mr. Pelham.

The disorders which called for this interposition of military authority are sufficiently set forth in the body of the letter; and your committee have only to observe, that in carrying Lieutenant-General Lake's proclamation into effect, no acts of severity whatever were used by the military towards persons concealing or refusing to give up their arms; but that, on the contrary, the search for the arms of the disaffected was conducted with all possible mildness; and that where persons voluntarily brought in their arms, certificates were granted by the magistrates, and assurances given to the people, that their arms would be returned as soon as the country was restored to tranquillity. It must, however, be observed, that in June following, when a general insurrection was decided on by the party, and upon the point of breaking out in the province of Ulster, more vigorous means of compelling the surrender of arms were had recourse to, under the authority of the proclamation of the 17th of May; a measure absolutely indispensable to the public security, and, under the circumstances of the case, strictly defensive. Of the quantity of arms which appeared by their own reports to be in the hands of the disaffected, comparatively few were obtained by the search then made in Ulster by General Lake's orders; and it is also to be observed, that previously to, and during the circuit which took place in the month of April, 1797, acts of violence of every description became more frequent, and were at the same time so systema-

tically directed, with a view to stop the course of criminal justice against the united Irishmen, that the crown prosecutions in the disturbed counties proved, from their failure, an encouragement rather than a restraint upon the treasonable projects of the party.

The report of the secret committee was followed by the proclamation of the 17th of May, 1797, which, after reciting many acts of outrage and rebellion that had been committed, and offering pardon, with certain exceptions, to all persons guilty of the said offences who should surrender within the period of a month, and give security for their future good behaviour, declared that the civil power had proved ineffectual, and that it became necessary to employ the military force for the immediate suppression of such rebellious attempts.

It appears to your committee, that notwithstanding this measure of mercy and warning to the disaffected, in the latter end of the same month, as will be more fully explained hereafter, a general insurrection in Ulster was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county arranged.

The intention transpired, and was defeated by the active exertions of the army; notwithstanding which a partial rising did take place near the mountains in the county of Down, where the insurgents, finding themselves unsupported, soon dispersed. The effect of the measures then adopted was immediately felt; the arms of the disaffected, by necessary acts of coercion, were collected throughout the province in

great numbers:—the loyal were encouraged to declare themselves—such as had been misled came in crowds to take the benefit of the proclamation of pardon, which was extended for another month; outrage ceased, and public confidence was so far restored throughout Ulster in the course of the months of July and August, that the laws were administered with effect in the different counties during the autumn circuit, and the manufacturing industry of the country was restored to its usual vigour during the remainder of that year. Your committee think it peculiarly incumbent on them to state, that during, and subsequent to, the assizes of the said circuit, the civil authority was found throughout Ulster fully adequate to the preservation of the public peace, and that all military interference was generally discontinued from that period.

It appears to your committee, that the inferior societies of united Irishmen, in general, discontinued their meetings; that the people applied themselves to their ordinary occupations; and though some of the higher committees were kept alive by the active leaders in the treason, yet it will appear, from an inspection of the authentic reports of their proceedings, that for several months only a proportion of the counties of Ulster were represented in the provincial committee; that the others refused to send delegates; that little money was collected; that they could not succeed in reviving the inferior societies; and that though they encouraged each other in the hopes of bring-

ing the lower orders of the people again into action, in case the enemy should land, they were not able to make any impression of consequence, till the insurrection in Leinster was on the point of breaking forth; and your committee feel themselves warranted in stating, that the beneficial consequences arising from the measures adopted in the year 1797, in the north, were strongly exemplified in the feebleness of the late insurrection in that quarter, and in the spirit displayed on that occasion by the yeomanry and loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulster.

It appears to your committee, that the leaders of the treason, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any farther plan of invasion, by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught on their former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the system in those provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emissaries were sent into the south and west in great numbers, of whose success, in forming new societies, and administering the oaths of the Union, there were, in the course of a few months, but too evident proofs of the introduction of the same disturbances and enormities into Munster, with which the northern province had been so severely visited.

In May, 1797, although numbers had been sworn both in Munster and Leinster, the strength of the organization, exclusively of Ulster, lay chiefly in the me-

tropolis and a few neighbouring counties; namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and the King's county.

It is observable, that the counties in which defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the summer of 1797, the usual concomitants of the treason, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cause, the united Irishmen found it expedient, in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the supposed oppressiveness of tythes, (which had been the pretext for the old white-boy insurrections). And it is observable that, in addition to the acts of violence usually resorted to by the party, for the furtherance of their purposes, the ancient practice of burning the corn, and houghing the cattle, of those against whom their resentment was directed, was revived, and very generally practised in those counties.

With a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics, and to turn that resentment to the purposes of the party, fabricated and false tests were represented as having been taken to exterminate Catholics, and were industriously disseminated by the emissaries of the treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Reports were fre-

quently circulated amongst the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and absurd, was one among the many wicked means by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more rapidly in the treason.

In addition to the above arts practised to excite the people, and to turn local prejudices to the furtherance of their purpose, the party did not fail to avail themselves, to the fullest extent, of the most wicked and licentious abuse of the press. In the summer of 1797, an infamous paper, called the Union Star, was privately printed and circulated, inculcating the principles of insurrection and assassination in direct terms, and containing a description of those persons by name, (particularly magistrates, and such as had served on juries) who were to be held out to the party as objects of assassination, on account of their active loyalty, or a conscientious discharge of their duty.

Towards the end of the same year, a newspaper, called the Press, was established, latterly published in the name of Mr. O'Connor as proprietor thereof, who has admitted before your committee, that he was for more than a year a member of the Executive Directory of the Irish Union, and who, as it appears to your committee from various channels of information, was a most active and confidential leader of their treason in its principal departments, both at home and abroad, which conveyed periodi-

cal exhortations to all manner of outrage and insubordination. Every species of misrepresentation and sophistry was made use of to vilify the government, to extend the union, to shake the connection with Great Britain, to induce the people to look to French assistance, to exaggerate the force and numbers of the disaffected, and systematically to degrade the administration of justice in all its departments. This paper, conducted on principles still more licentious than the Northern Star, (which had contributed so largely to the extension of treason in the north) was distributed throughout all parts of the kingdom, and, from the activity of its partisans, had immediately a more extensive circulation than any paper long established.

The measures thus adopted by the party completely succeeded in detaching the minds of the lower classes from their usual habits and pursuits, insomuch, that in the course of the autumn and winter of 1797 the peasantry in the midland and southern counties were sworn, and ripe for insurrection. Pikes were fabricated in such numbers, that in the single county of Kildare, in consequence of the measures adopted by government, twelve thousand have been surrendered; and your committee have every reason to believe that a still greater proportion was retained, and that the preparation of arms in other counties by the disaffected was nearly as extensive as the organization itself, will appear as well from the numbers seized in different parts of the kingdom, amounting in the

whole to above 129,000 of different descriptions, as from the fact, that wherever the insurrection broke out the mass of the people were universally armed either with muskets or pikes.

While they were thus maturing their design, and secretly acquiring the strength and consistency of a revolutionary army, they omitted no artifice by which they could hope either to weaken or embarrass the government of the country. So early as the year 1792, the seduction of the soldiery made a part of their system. They imagined that the season was now arrived for its accomplishment, and no means which wicked subtilty could suggest were left unemployed. Printed papers were industriously circulated amongst the privates and non-commissioned officers, urging them to insubordination and revolt, and holding out the most tempting offers of preferment to such as should desert their colours. The atrocious crimes to which they were incited, will best appear by reference to the proceedings of the general court-martial hereunto annexed, before whom the culprits were tried, prior to the breaking out of the rebellion, and to the trial of Henry and John Sheares before a special commission lately held.

Their attempts to frustrate the administration of justice have already been mentioned. It will be proper to state some farther particulars. From several authentic reports of their own proceedings it appears, that considerable sums of money were subscribed for the purpose of defending such of their associates as should be brought to

trial. That they had itinerant committees, who went circuit as regularly as the judges. That a bar of lawyers were retained to undertake the cause of all persons in the gross committed for state offences. Entries of money appear in their proceedings as paid to procure, as well as to buy off, witnesses. In many cases to gaolers for being guilty of breaches of trust, and even to undersheriffs for returning partial panels; hand-bills to intimidate jurors were circulated; and every species of indecent management practised in the Courts, to exclude from the jury-box persons unconnected with their party.

In the hope of diminishing the resources of the state, instructions were given to the people to abstain from the consumption of excisable articles, which are productive to the revenue, and every endeavour made to depreciate the value of government securities in the estimation of the public, to stop the raising of the supplies of the year by the sale of the quit rents, and to prevent the circulation of Bank paper.

Before your committee proceed to state the traitorous correspondence carried on by the leading members of the conspiracy with the enemy, they think it necessary to advert to a new organization of the society which took place in August, 1797, the reasons for which change will best appear by an inspection of the printed paper at that time circulated, as an instruction to the body: and your committee beg leave to refer to the examination upon oath, before the secret committee of the House of Lords, of

Dr. M'Nevin, who states himself to have been a member of their Executive Directory for the detailed application of this new system to military purposes.

The evidence of the same person, together with that of two other members of the Executive, namely, Mr. Emmet and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, delivered upon oath before the said secret committee of the lords, and who, as well as the said Dr. M'Nevin, have been examined since before your committee, has completely developed the connection of the party with the French Directory. From their testimony, it appears, that so early as the year 1796, the party, despairing of carrying their plans into execution through the medium of a democratic reform, avowedly directed their efforts to revolution; and having received an intimation from one of the society, and whom your committee have very good reason to know to be Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, already mentioned, (a fugitive from this country on account of his treasonable conduct) then at Paris, that the state of the country had been represented to the government of France in such a light as to induce them to resolve on sending a force to Ireland for the purpose of enabling it to separate itself from Great Britain; an extraordinary meeting of the Executive of the Union was convened to take the proposal into consideration.

This meeting, was held in the summer of 1796, and the result of their deliberations was to accept of the assistance thus held

out to them by the French Directory.

In consequence of this determination an agent was despatched to the Directory to acquaint them with it. He was instructed to state the dispositions of the people, and the arrangements of the union for their reception; and received fresh assurances from the French government that the armament should be sent as speedily as it could be prepared. The agent above alluded to appears to your committee, from various channels of information, to have been the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who, accompanied by the said Mr. Arthur O'Connor, proceeded by Hamburg to Switzerland, and had an interview near the French frontier with General Hoche, who afterwards had the command of the expedition against Ireland, on which occasion every thing was settled between the parties with a view to the descent. The reason the persons employed on this mission did not pass into France was, lest the Irish government should gain intelligence of the fact, and cause them to be apprehended on their return.

About October, 1796, an accredited messenger from the French Republic arrived, who said he came to be informed of the state of the country, and to communicate to the leaders of the united Irishmen the intention of the French to invade Ireland speedily with fifteen thousand men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, which attempt so announced was accordingly made in the month of December following, when the French fleet,

with a large body of troops on board, arrived in Bantry-bay.

Your committee do not think it necessary to advert to the early and frequent communications of a treasonable nature that took place between the disaffected who had fled from this country to France, and the leaders of the party here; it is sufficient to set forth the leading attempts of the union to prevail upon the French Directory to send a force to their assistance. It is necessary, however, to observe, that although previous to the summer of 1796, no formal and authorised communication appears to have taken place between the Irish Executive and the French government, yet the trial of Dr. Jackson, convicted of High Treason in the year 1795, proves that even then the enemy had agents in the kingdom who were addressed to the most active members of the Irish union for information and assistance; and the treasonable statement respecting the interior situation of Ireland then drawn up, to be transmitted to France, appeared on the trial to have been the joint production of Theobald Wolfe Tone, heretofore mentioned as the framer of the original Constitution of united Irishmen, assisted by Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. who frequently appeared in their publications as the chairman of the society, to which treason, Lewins, whom your committee, from various channels of information are enabled to state to be now their resident agent at Paris, appears to have been privy.

From the period of the failure of this expedition, the disaffected

either actually did expect, or, with a view of keeping up the spirits of their party, pretended to expect the immediate return of the enemy; and assurances to this effect were industriously circulated in all their societies. However, in the spring of 1797, the executive of the union thinking the French dilatory in their preparations, did then despatch Mr. Lewins above-mentioned as a confidential person to press for assistance. This agent left London in March, and proceeded to Hamburgh, but did not reach Paris until the end of May or beginning of June, from which time he has continued to be the accredited minister of the Irish union to the French directory.

It appears to your committee, that in the summer of 1797, the executive of the union, apprehensive lest a premature insurrection in the north, before the promised succours from France could arrive, might disappoint their prospects, thought it necessary to send a second agent to Paris, to urge with increased earnestness that the promised assistance should be immediately sent; accordingly a most confidential member of their body, whom your committee have grounds to state to have been Dr. M'Nevin, who had hitherto acted as secretary to the executive, was despatched on this mission. He left Dublin in the end of June, and presented himself with the necessary letters of credence to the French minister at Hamburgh—Meeting with some difficulty in obtaining a passport to proceed to Paris, he delivered to the minister of the republic a memoir to be forwarded to the directory, the

substance of which appears in Dr. M'Nevin's examination, as taken on oath before the secret committee of the lords. It is unnecessary to make any observation upon this most curious statement: it is in itself a complete picture of the desperate purposes of the party; and the house will observe, that the statement of their own resources is studiously exaggerated in proportion to the anxiety felt by them, that the succours might be sent before the vigorous measures adopted, by government in the north should disconcert their projects.

This agent was authorized to give France assurances of being repaid the full expenses of any future armament she might send to Ireland, as well as of the last which had miscarried, the same to be raised by the confiscation of the lands of the church, of the property of all those who should oppose the measures of the party. He was also particularly charged to negotiate, if possible, a loan on the above security to the amount of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, for the immediate purposes of the union; and directions were given to him, that in case France could not be prevailed on to advance so large a sum, he should address himself to the court of Spain for that purpose.

It appears to your committee, that the executive of the union, though desirous of obtaining assistance in men, arms, and money, yet were averse to a greater force being sent than might enable them to subvert the government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that

the French showed a decided disinclination at all times to send any force to Ireland, except such as, from its magnitude, might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conquest, and of subjecting it to all the plunder and oppressions which other countries, subdued or deceived by that nation, have experienced. A remarkable illustration of which sentiment in the directory of France occurs in the substance of a letter said to be received from Lewins, the Irish agent at Paris, and shown by lord Edward Fitzgerald to John Cormick, a colonel in the rebel army, who fled from justice on the breaking out of the rebellion, and who made a voluntary confession, upon his apprehension in Guernsey, before Sir Hugh Dalrymple. This letter, although written apparently on money business, which is the cloak generally made use of by the party to conceal their real views, is perfectly intelligible when connected with, and explained by, the memoir presented by Dr. M'Nevin, the Irish agent, to the French directory. The letter states, that the trustees, that is, the directory, would not advance the five thousand pounds, that is, the smaller number of troops asked for in M'Nevin's memoir; saying they would make no payment short of the entire sum, that is, the larger force, which they always declared their intention of sending; and that this payment could not be made in less than four months from that time.

The demands of the party by their first agent went to a force

not exceeding ten thousand, nor less than five thousand men, with forty thousand stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c.

A still larger supply of arms was solicited by the second messenger, on account, as he stated it, of the growing number of their adherents, and of the disarming of the north, in which province above ten thousand stand of arms, and as many pikes, had been surrendered to the king's troops.

It appears that an attempt was made about the same time to procure the assistance of such Irish officers, then in foreign service, as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the service of the union; and that a negotiation was actually set on foot for this purpose: but it has been stated, that from the over-caution of the agent who was employed in conducting this transaction, nothing in consequence of it was effected.

A second memoir was presented by this confidential agent upon his arrival at Paris, in which he urged such arguments as he conceived most likely to induce the directory not to postpone the invasion. He endeavoured to demonstrate, that so favourable a disposition, as then existed in the Irish mind, was in no future contingency to be expected; and he artfully represented, that the delusions held out by reform might cease from delay, and thus render more difficult to France, and the true republicans of this country, their endeavours to separate the two kingdoms; and to establish a republic in Ireland.

Previous to this mission from Ireland, a confidential person was sent over by the French directory to collect information respecting the state of Ireland. Failing to obtain the necessary passports in London to pass into Ireland, he wrote over to request that one of the party might meet him in London. A person was accordingly sent over, whom your committee know, from various channels of information, to have been the late lord Edward Fitzgerald; and who, it is to be presumed, did not fail to furnish the French agent with every necessary intelligence.

The directory gave the Irish agents sent to Paris the strongest assurances of support, and did accordingly, during the summer, make preparations of a very extensive nature, both at the Texel and at Brest, for the invasion of Ireland; and in the autumn intelligence was received by the executive of the union, that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a wind.

In consequence of this communication, great exertions were made by the party; and in the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, the approach of the enemy (as will appear by reference to the provincial reports from Ulster of that date) was announced to the societies as at hand.

The troops had been actually on board, commanded by General Daendalls, but were suddenly disembarked. The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is believed generally, was, at the instance of the French government, obliged to

put to sea, which led to the ever memorable victory of the 11th October, 1797.

It appears to your committee, that early in the present year farther advices were received by the Irish executive from France; stating, that succours might be expected to be sent to Ireland in April; but, notwithstanding the temptation held out by the rebellion, which commenced on the 23d of May following, the French government have not yet thought it prudent to fulfil their promise.

The committee trust they have laid sufficient grounds before the house, to satisfy them of the long-entertained and fixed purpose of the united Irishmen to introduce the enemy into this kingdom, and, through their assistance, to seize upon the government and property of the country; and that, in their negotiation with the French directory, they have had no other reserve but what their own treasonable ambition pointed out. The particulars of the statement resting for the most part upon the admission of the parties themselves, there can be no possible room to doubt the truth of what has been submitted.

Your committee think it material to observe, that notwithstanding the wildness of the hope that they could ever succeed in overturning the government without powerful aid from abroad, yet, on more than one occasion, the eagerness of the more violent partisans so far prevailed over their reason as to induce them to meditate an insurrection. To this they were excited by the apprehension that the zeal of their followers would subside if they were not called

into action, as well as by a dread that a resort to stronger measures on the part of government might at length deprive them of the means of exertion. It had been their invariable policy to announce an effort as at hand, merely to keep up the spirits of the people, when no attempt of the kind was really in contemplation; however, in the spring of 1797, a plan was seriously discussed amongst the leaders, then assembled in Dublin, for commencing a general rising, without waiting for foreign assistance; but as this scheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin part of the committee, it was laid aside; and it appears, that at this period a coolness took place between the Ulster and the Leinster delegates, in consequence of which the progress of the conspiracy seems to have been for a time much impeded.

The northerners then in Dublin, disgusted with the cowardice (as they termed it) of the Leinster delegates, proposed to act without their approbation, to seize upon the castle, ordnance stores, magazines, &c, and to trust to the mob of Dublin for assistance; but from some additional military precautions, at that time adopted in the garrison, this plan was abandoned.

Shortly after the proclamation of the 17th of May, 1797, above stated, notwithstanding the strong opinion entertained by the Leinster executive of the impolicy of such an attempt, the more so, as assurances had been recently received of the preparations going forward both at Brest and in the Texel for the invasion of Ireland; yet an active effort was made to produce a general insurrection

throughout Ulster, the orders for which were given out the latter end of May, in conformity to a plan previously prepared. A slight movement did take place as before stated; however the main design of the party was frustrated by the active military measures then taken by lieutenant-general Lake; and many of their principal leaders were obliged to fly, several of whom passed into France, having received letters to Reinhardt, French minister at Ham-burgh, from persons then resident in this country; in consequence of which introduction, the necessary passports were granted, to enable them to proceed to Paris, where they arrived early in August, and had frequent communications with the French directory on Irish affairs.

Your committee do not find that the disaffected entertained at any other periods than those alluded to, until the middle of March 1798, any serious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign assistance. Indeed the opinion of the most cautious of their body was always adverse to a premature exertion. Their policy was to risk nothing so long as the party was gaining strength. Their principle to extend their organization, to add to their stock of arms, and to wait for events: and it appears from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out so soon as it did, had it not been for the well-timed measures adopted by government, subsequent to the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and council, bearing date the 30th of March, 1798, as it is notorious that in

many counties the effect of those measures was such in dissolving the union, and in obliging the people to surrender their arms, that it became evident to the generality of their leaders, they had no other alternative but to rise at once, or to abandon their purpose.

It appears to your committee, that with the double view of being prepared either to co-operate with the enemy in case of a descent, or of directing an insurrection upon system should they find it necessary to have recourse to such a measure before assistance might arrive from France, a military committee was appointed by the executive in the month of February last. About this time detailed military instructions were issued to the adjutant-generals of the union, by which they were required to inform themselves and report on the state of the rebel regiments within their districts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops), to announce the first appearance of their allies (meaning the French), and immediately to collect their force, with several other military regulations.

Instructions were also given to the several rebel regiments as to the arms and appointments with which they were to be furnished, so as to be enabled to take the field on the shortest notice.

At a meeting held the 26th of February, thanks were voted to the several colonels for their effectual exertions in embodying and arm-

ing their respective regiments—the people were requested to bear the shackles of tyranny a little longer till the whole kingdom should be in such a state of organization as would, by their joint co-operation, effect without loss that desirable object which they stated as hourly drawing to a crisis.

Whilst these extensive military arrangements were making by the executive to act against the state as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself, the same system of outrage which had been so successfully made use of by the party the year before in Ulster, to establish their own authority in opposition to that of the laws, and to compel the people to look to the union for protection rather than to the state, was very generally prevalent throughout the southern and midland counties. The enormities committed on the well-affected were marked with the most disgusting cruelty.

It is unnecessary for your committee to detail individual instances of outrage which are fresh in the recollection of the house: it will be sufficient to state, that in the months of February and March, many parts of the provinces of Leinster and Munster were actually in the possession of a murderous banditti. If they did not appear in arms by day, it only rendered their rebellion more difficult to be met and crushed by the king's troops and yeomanry: not a night passed without numerous murders; several districts in the provinces of Leinster and Munster had been proclaimed under the powers given to the lord-lieutenant and council by the act for preventing insurrections;

but these measures proved ineffectual—very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow, were, in the course of one month, stripped of their arms, and in many places obliged to fly for shelter into the garrison towns; and as one instance among many of the daring lengths to which the conspirators at this time had proceeded, your committee think it necessary to state, that, in open day, eight hundred insurgents, principally mounted, invested the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary; held possession of it until they had made a regular search through every house, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.

Under these circumstances the lord-lieutenant and council issued the proclamation before spoken of, bearing date the 30th of March, stating that the traitorous conspiracy long existed within this kingdom had broken out into acts of open rebellion; and giving notice that the most direct and positive orders were issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for the immediate suppression thereof; and also for the recovery of such arms as had been traitorously taken from the king's peaceable and loyal subjects. It was also enjoined, that they should disarm the rebels and all persons disaffected to his majesty's government by the most summary and effectual measures.

This proclamation was transmitted by his excellency's com-

mands to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then commander in chief, who was directed to proceed into the disturbed counties, being invested by the lord-lieutenant with full powers.

Your committee annex to this report a notice to the inhabitants of the disturbed counties, as issued by the said commander in chief; and think it incumbent on them to observe, that on this, and, indeed, on every occasion in which the government, or the officers acting under its orders, have been driven to the necessity of adopting extraordinary measures for the safety of the state, full notice and time have uniformly been given before they were acted upon, and the people have been exhorted to prevent the necessity of rigorous measures by a cessation from outrage and a surrender of their arms.

It appears to your committee, that the steps then taken, as mentioned in the proclamation, had an almost immediate effect in repressing the audacity of the rebels, and in restoring tranquillity. The loyal inhabitants were enabled in many places to return in safety to their houses—murders became less frequent; in many counties, particularly in Kildare and Tipperary, the people; sensible of the madness and wickedness of their conduct, began openly to acknowledge their crimes, surrender their arms, and point out their leaders and seducers; a submission which invariably obtained for them pardon and protection.

In April, and the beginning of May, the delusion of the people was so fast and so widely yielding to the measures of government,

which, while they treated with severity the obstinately guilty, in all cases held forth mercy to the repentant, that the leaders of the treason, both in Dublin and the provinces, began to perceive that their cause was losing ground, and that they had no alternative left but to hazard an insurrection, or to relinquish their hopes. The arrest of the Leinster provincial committee, on the 12th of March, and of several other leading members of the union on the same day, tended so much to disclose the guilt of the party and to weaken their organization, that the conspirators felt themselves still more compelled to a desperate effort. A plan was accordingly digested by the military committee for a general rising, the outline of which was to surprise Dublin, the camp at Loughlinstown, and the artillery stationed at Chapolizod on the same night, in which attack the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, were to co-operate; the insurrection being commenced in the neighbourhood of the metropolis (the signal for announcing which was to be the detention of the mail coaches), it was expected that the north and south would also rise.

The house will find the plan of insurrection detailed and fully proved in the evidence adduced on the trial of Henry and John Shears, lately convicted of high-treason; the bloody intentions of the party may best be collected from a manifesto in the handwriting of the said John Sheares (one of the new executive elected after the arrests made on the 12th of March last, as your committee have reason to believe), which was

to have been issued in the event of success. Were any additional proofs necessary to establish the authenticity of the plan as above stated, it may be found in the proceedings of the provincial committee of Ulster, which met at Armagh on the 12th of May, where the same plan was announced as decided on, and the necessary orders given for securing, as far as possible, the co-operation of the north.

The government, perfectly informed of the intentions of the conspirators, caused several of the leaders to be apprehended on the 19th and 21st of May, and the approaching insurrection was announced to the lord mayor late in the evening of the 21st in a letter from the lord-lieutenant's secretary; and on the following day a message to the same effect was sent by his excellency to both houses of parliament. Notwithstanding the military precautions adopted to counteract the intended rising, it took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin on the night appointed, namely, the 23d of May; and every possible effort was made by the disaffected within the town to co-operate with those without. In conformity to the plan laid down, the mail-coaches were destroyed on the northern and southern roads, and every exertion made by the party in the provinces to bring the people into action.

Your committee do not think it necessary to record the events of the bloody and destructive rebellion that ensued, which are still but too fresh in the memory of the house; they need only state, that as soon as the rebels had actually

taken the field in force, and commenced their operations by several daring attacks upon the towns garrisoned by the king's troops, the lord-lieutenant and council published a proclamation, bearing date the 24th of May, announcing, that he had authorised the summary punishment by martial law of all rebels found in arms, or of persons in anywise aiding or assisting in the rebellion; to which seasonable interposition of the powers of the state, the preservation of the constitution against this daring attempt to subvert it is not less to be attributed, than to the distinguished fidelity and bravery of the king's troops, both regulars, militia, and yeomanry.

On consideration of the whole of the evidence, your committee are of opinion,

That the rebellion originated in a system, framed not with a view of obtaining either catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic, founded on the destruction of all church establishment, the abolition of ranks, and the confiscation of property.

That the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematised combination, fitted to attract the multitude by being adapted to vulgar prejudices and vicious passions, and artfully linked and connected together with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving in one body,

at the impulse and under the direction of their leaders.

That for the farther accomplishment of their object, the leaders of the conspiracy entered into a negotiation, and finally concluded an alliance with the French directory, by which it was stipulated, that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of this country, as subsidiary to the preparations that were making for a general insurrection.

That in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the conspiracy, for giving to their societies a military form; and that for arming their adherents, they had recourse partly to the fabrication of pikes, and partly to the plundering of the loyal inhabitants of their arms.

That from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, and the consequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that to this cause is exclusively to be attributed that premature and desperate effort, the rashness of which has so evidently facilitated its suppression.

That the vigilance of the executive government, in detecting and-arresting many of the principal conspirators in the very act of concerting their plans of insurrection, the convictions which have ensued, and the still more complete developement of the treason by the confession of some of its most active and efficient conductors, have not only essentially contributed to the defeat of the

rebellion, but, by enabling the committee to disclose the views and machinations of the conspirators, may suggest means for securing the future tranquillity of the country.

Your committee cannot conclude without observing, that, on a review of the treason which has employed their attention, they trace a perfect coincidence, in its commencement and in its progress, its means and its objects, with that by which the government, the religion, and the happiness of France, have been destroyed; which has extended its desolating influence over some of the most prosperous and flourishing countries of Europe, and has shaken to its foundation the fabric of regular society throughout the civilized world. That the leaders of the system, in order to adapt the minds of the multitude to the purposes of their treason, have, after the example of their jacobine allies in France, left no means unemployed which the most malignant subtilty could suggest, for eradicating from amongst the working classes every sentiment both of private and public duty—all quiet and peaceable habits, all social as well as moral obligations, it has been their object to destroy; and the more sacred the tie, the more industriously have they laboured to dissolve it: they have incited the soldier to betray his king, they have armed the tenant against the landlord, and they have taught the servant to conspire with the assassin of his master; blasting the repose and confidence of private life even in its sanctuary, and effacing every law of truth, of justice, of grati-

tude, and of religion, except where it has been possible to make even religion itself the perverted instrument of their execrable views. Such have been the leading principles, and the long-laboured preparatives for that rebellion from which your committee trust this country has been happily rescued; and they indulge a sanguine hope, that their present statement, authenticated as it is by such a mass of evidence, will contribute still farther to the complete re-establishment of tranquillity, by throwing the fullest light on the dangers to which the community has been exposed, and against which it is still necessary to guard.

Copy of a Paper found at Castlebar, by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, among the Archives of the provisional Government which the French elected for the Province of Connaught.

*Liberty. Equality.
Army of Ireland.*

At the Head-Quarters at Castlebar, the 14th Fructidor, in the 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

General Humbert, commander-in-chief of the army of Ireland, wishing to organize, as soon as possible, an administrative power for the province of Connaught, orders as follows:

1. The government of the province of Connaught shall reside at Castlebar till further orders.

2. The government shall be composed of twelve members, who will be nominated by the

commander-in-chief of the French army.

3. Citizen John Moore is appointed president of the province of Connaught. He is particularly charged with the nomination and union of the members of the government.

4. The government shall immediately direct its attention to the organization of the militia of the province of Connaught, and to securing the provisions necessary for the French and Irish armies.

5. There shall be formed eight regiments of infantry, each of twelve hundred men; and four of cavalry, each of six hundred men.

6. The government will declare rebels and traitors to their country, all those who, having received arms and clothing, shall not join the army within twenty-four hours.

7. Every individual from sixteen to forty, inclusively, is called upon, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair immediately to the French Camp, to march in a mass against the common enemy, the government of Ireland—the English; whose destruction alone can secure the independence and happiness of ancient Hibernia.

The general commanding in chief,
(Signed) Humbert.

*A Proclamation by General Nugent
At Belfast.*

Whereas the state-prisoners in the several prisons in Dublin, have proposed to his excellency the lord-lieutenant "to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions

of the united Irishmen; and that each of them would give detailed information of every transaction that had passed between the united Irishmen and foreign states, without, however, naming or describing, so as to implicate any person whatever; and that they were ready to emigrate to such country as should be agreed upon between them and government, giving security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country, if, on their so doing, they should be freed from prosecution; and that Mr. Oliver Bond was to be permitted to take the benefit of the said proposal; and that the state-prisoners also hoped, that the benefit of the said proposal would be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as might choose to take the benefit of it:" which proposal is signed by Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, Henry Jackson, John Sweetman, and by upwards of seventy other prisoners:

And whereas his excellency the lord-lieutenant has been graciously pleased to accept of the said proposal, and has agreed to the terms thereby offered; in consequence whereof, the said state-prisoners have been examined before the secret committee of the two houses of parliament, and have given full information of the transactions of the United Irishmen:

Now, I do, by this my proclamation, make known to the several state-prisoners within this district, and to others whom it may concern, the terms and con-

ditions upon which the state-prisoners in Dublin have obtained his majesty's pardon, in order that those who think fit may entitle themselves to an equal distribution of the king's most merciful and gracious intentions; and I do hereby require, those whom it may concern, within this district, forthwith to signify to me, whether they are ready to subscribe to similar terms and conditions, and thereby entitle themselves to the like measure of his majesty's mercy; and in order that all persons now in custody may have a full opportunity of signifying their intentions herein, I will send proper persons to each prison within this district, for the purpose of receiving their respective determinations.

G. Nugent, maj.-gen. commanding northern district,
Belfast, Aug. 23, 1798.

Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland.

Cornwallis,

Whereas it appears, that, during the late invasion, many of the inhabitants of the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French forces, and did receive from them arms and ammunition; and whereas it may be expedient to admit such persons to mercy, who may have been instigated thereto by designing men; we do hereby promise his majesty's pardon to any person who has joined the enemy, provided he surrenders himself to any of his majesty's justices of the peace, or to any of his majesty's officers, and delivers

up a French firelock and bayonet, and all the ammunition in his possession; and provided he has not served in any higher capacity than that of a private.

This proclamation to be in force for 30 days from the date thereof. Given at his majesty's Castle of Dublin, this 11th day of Sept. 1798. By the Lord-Lieutenant's command.

CASTLEREAGH.

Speech of his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses, on the 6th of October, 1798, on proroguing the Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, that I have received the king's commands to release you from your long and fatiguing attendance in parliament; and I am ordered to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the unshaken firmness and magnanimity with which you have met the most trying difficulties and with which the measures have been planned which you have adopted for the preservation of your country.

I offer you my most sincere congratulations on the glorious victory which has been obtained by his majesty's squadron under the command of sir Horatio Nelson, over the French fleet in the Mediterranean, which not only reflects the highest honour on the officers and seamen by whom it has been achieved, but affords a prospect of the most beneficial consequences to the future interests of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am commanded to convey to you his majesty's particular thanks for the supplies which you have so liberally granted, and by which you have manifested both the extent of the resources which the kingdom possesses, and the spirit with which they are employed by the commons of Ireland for the preservation of the state.

His majesty laments the necessity which calls for the imposition of a fresh burthen on his majesty's subjects; but he trusts that they will see how much their present safety, and their future happiness depends on their exertions in the arduous contest in which they are engaged; and he assures his faithful Commons that the aids which they have afforded, shall be carefully applied to the great object of maintaining the honour, and promoting the interest of their country.

My lords and gentlemen,

The circumstances which have taken place since its commencement must render the session very memorable.

The foulest and darkest conspiracy was formed, and long carried on by the implacable enemy of these realms for the total extinction of the constitution, and for the separation of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain. By the unremitting vigilance of my predecessor in this government, the treason has been detected, the apprehension of the principal conspirators, and the salutary measures wisely adopted, checked its progress; and through your sagacious diligence it has

been developed in all its parts, and traced to all its sources.

A dangerous and wicked rebellion, the consequence of that conspiracy, has been in a great measure subdued, and the attempt of our inveterate enemy to rekindle the flame of civil discord, by sending a force into this country, has terminated in defeat.

Religion, that greatest comfort and support of mankind, has been most wickedly perverted to the purpose of inflaming the worst of passions; and the vilest arts have been used to persuade the ignorant and unwary, that in a reign which has been marked by a series of indulgences to all sects of Christians, it is the intention of his majesty's government to oppress, and even to extirpate that description of his majesty's subjects who have received repeated and recent marks of his favour and protection.

The Catholics of Ireland cannot but have observed what has been the conduct of those who affect to be their friends, towards the rites and the characters which they venerate, and under whose auspices the persecuted pastors of their church have found an asylum.

Among a number of offenders, some most active characters have necessarily been selected as objects of public justice; but in every period of this dangerous conspiracy the lenity of government and of parliament has been conspicuous, and a general act of pardon has recently issued from the royal mercy, for the purposes of affording security to the repentant, and encouraging the deluded to return to their duty.

The vigour and power of his majesty's arms, the loyalty, spirit, and activity of the regular, militia, and yeomanry forces, together with the prompt and cordial assistance of the militia and fencibles of Great Britain, have abundantly proved how vain every attempt must be, either by treachery within, or by force from abroad, to undermine or to overturn our civil and religious establishments.

From the dangers which have surrounded you, and which you have overcome, you must be sensible that your security can only be preserved by persevering vigilance and increasing energy. You will not suffer your efforts to relax; and you may be assured of my zealous endeavours to second your exertions.—Our hopes and our objects are the same, that the deluded may see their error, and the disaffected be reclaimed; but if an endeavour shall be made to abuse the royal mercy, and to form fresh conspiracies in the prospect of impunity, offended justice will then be compelled to extend to the obdurate criminal the full measure of his punishment.

Amidst your measures, either of power, of justice, or of clemency you have not forgotten to afford consolation and encouragement to the loyal. The means which were adopted for their relief, and the plan which has been devised for the further remuneration of their losses, are highly honourable to your feelings, and must, in every loyal breast, excite emotions of love and gratitude to his country.

Since my arrival in this kingdom I have received the most flattering assurance of your regard and approbation, which command my warmest acknowledgments; and while I feel myself thus encouraged and supported, and reflect on the loyalty which is so generally displayed, and on the force which is intrusted to my direction, I cannot allow myself to doubt of the success of our united endeavours for the welfare of this country.

And then the lord chancellor declared, that it was his excellency the lord lieutenant's pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 20th day of November next; and the parliament was accordingly prorogued on Tuesday the 20th day of November next.

The following Circular Letter has been addressed to the Lord Lieutenants of all the Maritime Counties of the Kingdom.

Parliament-Street, 1798.

My Lord,

In conformity to the dispositions of the act just passed, intituled, "An Act to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the Defence and Security of the Realm; and for indemnifying Persons who may suffer in their Property by such Measures as may be necessary for that Purpose;" I feel myself called upon, in obedience to his majesty's commands, to address your lordship upon several points connected with the defence of the country; and to which, from a conviction of their

importance, I most anxiously request your lordship's particular attention.

Having lately had frequent occasion to require your lordship's assistance in the execution of plans and arrangements adopted and acted upon by his majesty's government, as conducive to the same object, it would have been a satisfaction to me if I could have avoided giving you further trouble for the present; but further exertions being deemed necessary, I am convinced I should not do justice to your lordship's sentiments, and to the zeal of every description of persons acting under you, if I hesitated a moment to explain the full extent of those exertions, and the suggestions which have occurred for carrying them into effect.

Whatever confidence I place in the actual security of these kingdoms, in consequence of the decided superiority of our navy, and of the amount of the land forces already embodied, or now collecting, for the protection of the country against the menaced invasion of the enemy, I should not feel that I discharged my duty, if our system of defence did not embrace such further means of security as appear to be evidently within our reach.

In the practical application of this principle, I am convinced that your lordship, and generally every person, must concur in opinion with me, that it is of much importance to extend, as widely as possible, that feeling of confidence which will naturally result from men of every description being placed in a situation to take, in their respective stations, an active

part in the defence of their country, especially if this can be accomplished without any material interruption to the various habitual occupations in which they are severally engaged.

In many great and populous towns of the kingdom this principle has already been acted upon, in so far as a variety of volunteer corps and armed associations have been formed, generally for the purpose of local defence and security.—I shall, therefore, confine myself to suggest the propriety of encouraging the formation of any further corps, on similar principles, within any such towns, in the county of

It must, however, be considered as an essential condition in the establishment of any further corps of this description, that they should consist of none but known and respectable householders, or persons who can bring at least two such householders to answer for their good behaviour. Corps of this description, if formed in seaports, would, in case of any hostile attempt being made, be necessary to strengthen the garrisons of such places, and in all populous towns engaged in pursuits of manufacture or trade, whether situated on the coast or inland, their presence within such towns, in case of emergency, when the regular forces might be wanted elsewhere, might be very useful to relieve them in the preservation of internal tranquillity, and the maintenance of a proper police. With a wish to give every possible encouragement to persons willing to come forward for these essential objects, and from a consideration of the great inconvenience and loss to

which such persons (engaged as they are in extensive concerns of business) might be exposed, if they were liable to be called away from the necessary superintendence of their respective avocations, his majesty has been pleased to authorise me to inform your lordship, that any armed association, either of cavalry or infantry, formed of the description of persons above mentioned, and within such towns as I now advert to, will, if recommended to your lordship, be accepted by his majesty, although the offer of their services should be limited respectively to the town in which they are to be raised, and within a few miles thereof; that the officers of the said corps will receive commissions from the king, upon your lordship's recommendation, and, if required, arms will be supplied by government; but every other expense of armed associations of this description must be defrayed by themselves.

It is, however, no less essential to the general security of the kingdom, to interest and engage in its defence the husbandmen and labourers, inhabitants of the country, who being more dispersed, and, from their condition of life, less able to associate together upon the plans pursued in the towns, appear to require that the exertions they are certainly willing to make should be duly directed, by the interposition of your lordship's advice and authority, in concert with the gentlemen of property and influence in the country, and aided by the respectable farmers with whom they are immediately connected. If the very valuable classes of men to which I now refer are not apprised of the duties for which

they would be wanted, and if some previous arrangements are not made, and regulations established, with respect to the distribution, application, and discharge of those duties, in case of actual invasion, the approach of an enemy would necessarily produce among them a general confusion and alarm, highly prejudicial to their own interests, and to the general safety of the country; whereas, if the modes in which their assistance may be made useful, can be explained to them at present, so that each man may be instructed, and, if necessary, trained before-hand in the exercise of the particular service to be assigned to him in case of emergency, the result will be confidence and union among themselves, and government will not only acquire a great accession of strength, but, what is perhaps more important, the means of appropriating with regularity, and directing with vigour, that strength against an invading enemy.

The measures which I have reason to believe have already been taken in the county of——, for ascertaining, to a certain extent, the number of persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty, not engaged in any military capacity, will, I believe, afford some facility in carrying so far into execution the provisions of the act now transmitted, which, it is his majesty's express command, should be punctually attended to (as far as they are applicable) in the county of——.

I am aware of the difficulties which may occur in procuring

these necessary details, but I am confident they may be overcome by your lordship's zeal and perseverance, aided (as I trust you will be) by the cordial co-operation of every well-disposed person, who, in his public capacity, or by his private influence, can afford you any assistance in this respect.

I enclose herewith a form of schedule, No. I. in conformity to which this return should be taken in each parish and division of the county, and agreeably to which a general return of the totals for the whole county is to be transmitted to me for his majesty's information.

No. II. is another schedule*, requiring information on other heads referred to in the act above mentioned, and which is to be procured and transmitted in the same manner. One point, which it would be very material not to neglect, is to ascertain the number of boats, barges, and small craft on the canals and rivers of the country.—The use to be derived, in certain cases, from this species of assistance to the movements of our own forces, and the advantages it might afford to the enemy, if suffered to fall into their hands, are so obvious that I need not press further the importance of obtaining respecting it every information in your power. I have, however, abstained from including it in the schedule, as it appears to me impossible, in most cases, to consider this description of property as exclusively confined to any particular county; but, at the same time, I have so far thought it right to call your lordship's at-

* These schedules were not published.

tention to the subject, in order that, as far as possible, it may be brought under the general arrangements of precautions necessary at the present moment.

The schedule No. III. is prepared with a view to ascertain the various points under the respective heads therein stated, and to which it is of the utmost importance that returns should be made with all possible expedition, and the totals transmitted to government in the same manner.

In ascertaining the number of persons, inhabitants of any of the principal towns of the county of ———, who may be willing to serve in a military capacity, your lordship will take care to state whether they come under the description, and are willing to comply with the conditions specified in a former part of this letter.

From what I have already stated, and by a reference to the schedule, No. III. your lordship will perceive, that in the country, the associations, if armed, will not be formed upon the same principles as in the towns, and that it is intended to encourage other associations equally necessary, in case of invasion, and which can be formed by inhabitants of the country only. Each of these points require some separate explanation. First, it is intended that no volunteer should be admitted into the armed associations to be formed in the country, whose habitual occupation and place of residence is not within the division of the county to which the association may extend; that those who may prefer service on horseback shall (if the troops of yeomanry already raised within the county should not be complete,

or should their present establishment admit, without inconvenience, of an augmentation) be received into the nearest troop of the same, in all cases where this arrangement may suit local purposes, and be found acceptable to the said troop, and to the parties; and in other cases they will be formed into separate and independent troops of not less than forty nor more than eighty men each, to be commanded by such officers as may be recommended by your lordship, in a similar proportion to the yeomanry cavalry, and they will be entitled to the same allowances and assistance from government, to procure clothing and appointments; namely, at the rate of three pounds for each person, serving in the said corps, per ann. for three years, subject to the same regulations, and to be issued in the same manner, as to the yeomanry already established, as specified in the letter from the secretary at war to your lordship of this day's date.

All new troops, formed upon this principle, to engage to be trained at least once a week, and for not less than three hours at a time; and in case of actual invasion, or the actual appearance of an enemy upon the coast, to serve within the limits of the military district to which they belong. With respect to armed associations of infantry, it is proposed that they should be formed into independent companies, of not less than 60 nor more than 120 men in each company, to be armed in the same manner as the volunteer corps in the towns: or should it be found impossible, from their number, to furnish them all with muskets in the first instance, that

a certain proportion should be provided with pikes; that they should be supplied with an uniform clothing, or fair allowance to provide themselves with the same at the public expence; that each company should be commanded by a captain, to be recommended by your lordship, having a lieutenant, an ensign, and a proper number of non-commissioned officers in proportion to the strength of the company under him; but your lordship is not to recommend any person to such command who has not a residence, and an income in land to the amount of 50*l.* within the county of ———, or who does not rent land within the same, to the amount of 100*l.* per annum, and if possible, within the division thereof in which the said company may be raised, except the sons of persons so qualified, or persons having previously held some military commission which, in your lordship's judgment, might render them eligible for such a situation, although they might not hold land, either in possession or occupancy, to the amount above mentioned. Should your lordship be acquainted with any person accustomed to military service (whether on the half-pay list of the army or not) who may be disposed to accept either of the subaltern commissions, such a person will be preferred for the same, if approved of and recommended by your lordship; and in case no proper person of this description should be known to your lordship, government will endeavour, as far as possible, to provide one, together with one non-commissioned officer for each company, to train

the men and teach them the use of arms. This non-commissioned officer would receive constant pay from government; the subaltern officer, if selected from the half-pay list, would be allowed the full pay of his rank; and in case he has heretofore been engaged in any military line which does not entitle him to half-pay, he will, if approved of, be entitled to an allowance equivalent to the half-pay of whatever commission he may hold in the company, so long as he shall continue to hold such commission.

Each company of infantry to engage to be trained at least once a week, and for not less than three hours at a time; and, in case of invasion, to serve within the limits of the military district to which such company may belong.

Considering the great importance of encouraging associations of this description among the inhabitants of the country, the inconvenience to which they may be exposed from their scattered situation in assembling to be mustered and trained, and the difference between their situation in life and the circumstances of the persons composing volunteer corps in towns, his Majesty is graciously pleased to authorize me to inform your lordship that every man of the former will be entitled (should he think proper to claim it) to an allowance of one shilling per week, to be paid by government to such as may appear, upon the return, signed by the commanding officer, to have attended at the muster and training above mentioned. Should the companies formed in any particular division of the county be numerous, and different days for

exercise be fixed upon by the said companies respectively, a smaller number of arms in the first instance, and of non-commissioned officers to train them, may be sufficient. I mention this circumstance with a view to their mutual accommodation in these points, in case the full number of either cannot be supplied immediately; but certainly, with respect to arms, no attention will be spared to provide such a dépôt, at a safe place within the county, as may be sufficient, in case of emergency, to supply all demands.

Having now explained, as far as appears necessary for the present, the means by which it appears desirable that the voluntary exertions of individuals disposed to act in a military capacity within the county of — should be encouraged and regulated, I shall proceed to call your lordship's attention to other suggestions and arrangements coming under the remaining heads of the schedule, and equally essential for the defence and security of the country in case of invasion.

With a view to such an emergency, no previous arrangement that can improve our chance of speedy and decisive success, or tend to embarrass the operations and defeat the views of the enemy, should be neglected. For this purpose it is necessary not only to be prepared with an armed force, adequate to meet and repel their aggression in the field, but to be ready, on the first alarm of invasion, effectually to deprive them of every means of supply they might expect, and to impede and harass them in every movement they might attempt in this coun-

try; and both these objects must be combined with the means of furnishing our own forces with every requisite, and of facilitating their movements and operations by every assistance the country can afford. To provide for these joint objects, branching out into a variety of details unnecessary to be mentioned at present, it is essential to ascertain what number of men in the county of — are willing to act as pioneers and labourers in case of invasion, or of very imminent danger thereof, upon the requisition of the commander in chief in the district, and with what implements they are provided for this species of service. The information required under this head will be comprehended in the columns seven to seventeen of the schedule No. III. The principal duties of these pioneers and labourers would be to destroy and break up such roads, bridges, or other means of communication as are likely to be useful to the enemy; to cut down and clear away any obstacles (woods, fences, or otherwise) to the movements of our own troops; and in general to perform whatever services of labour are judged requisite by the commander in chief, or any competent person acting under his authority.—Under the seventeenth and eighteenth columns will be ranged all persons who may engage to assist in removing the live and dead stock, with a view to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and of ensuring a regular supply to our own forces.

The powers vested in the proper officers attached to the army, and to which I shall hereafter

have occasion to refer, will, I trust, be found fully adequate to this last purpose; and the precautions, it is his Majesty's pleasure should forthwith be taken, are principally material with a view to the former, and if properly executed, (should the necessity arise) will be found equally essential to the security of the country, and to the interests of the individuals to whom they apply.

Without entering into further details in this dispatch, I am convinced your lordship must be impressed with the importance of procuring the information required under these heads; your lordship may, however, acquire some knowledge of the use that may be derived from it, and of the practical application of the regulations which it is desirable to establish on all these last-mentioned points, and also with respect to bakers and guides, by perusing the enclosed papers, which have been prepared for the information and guidance of the maritime counties, in the execution of such parts of the late act as have reference to the several subjects to which they relate.

The subsequent columns of the schedule are so immediately connected with this last subject, that they can require no particular explanation. I shall simply observe, that it will be more satisfactory that every parish should make a return of what, according to the judgment of the most competent persons therein, may be reckoned the fair average, or usual proportion of live and dead stock of the said parish, than a minute specification of what there may hap-

pen to be at the moment such return is called for.

Your lordship's local knowledge and experience of the established modes of proceeding in the details of whatever arrangements are to be executed under the authority of the lord lieutenant in the county of ——— must render it superfluous for me to offer any suggestions on the steps to be taken for carrying into effect the King's commands, as stated in this letter. The manner in which the county is now formed into divisions and subdivisions, of different descriptions and extent, and the person or persons in each whose duty it now is to attend to other points of public interest, will, I trust, be found sufficient for every purpose of these instructions; at the same time I am aware that some allowances must be made, in the application of a plan so general and extensive, for unforeseen contingencies; and in these cases his Majesty, trusting to your lordship and your deputy-lieutenants not to lose sight of the principles of the measure, is graciously pleased to leave to your joint discretion to act according to circumstances; and I beg leave to assure your lordship, that I shall be glad to hear from your lordship either officially or privately, respecting any modifications that may suggest themselves to you, or the gentlemen with whom you may consult; and that I shall not fail to give them the most attentive and candid consideration; and should they appear expedient, and of a nature to require the further interposition of parliament during

the present session, a power, as your lordship will perceive, is reserved under the late act for this purpose.

It will now remain for me, before I conclude this letter, to call your lordship's attention to the application of the several preparatory arrangements already adverted to, in case of the actual appearance of an enemy, or of their having landed upon the coast; and, with a view to that application, a variety of points remain to be determined, such as settling the places of dépôt to which the live and dead stock are to be removed, the manner in which they are to be taken care of at such dépôts, the routes which they are to take, and those which they are to avoid, in order not to interfere with the movements of the military; the allotment of yeomanry, or other escorts for their protection, or for enforcing the regulations established respecting them; the necessary arrangements for removing infirm persons, women, and children; and next to them, such articles of property as are most valuable; the precautions to be taken for destroying the remainder, and for obtaining, by previous estimates, agreeable to the provisions of the act, some grounds by which the amount of compensation to be made to owners of property so destroyed may be ascertained; the separate places of rendezvous to which every description of persons, whether connected with the armed force or otherwise, should repair on the signals of alarm being made, the arrangement of those signals, and of every other parti-

cular which may tend to insure promptitude and regularity in the execution of whatever movements and operations it might then be necessary to undertake.

The mode of supplying our own army, in such an emergency, embraces also a variety of details and arrangements which cannot be too soon determined upon, and put in train of execution. The only effectual means of bringing all these last points under discussion is, that your lordship should call, as soon as possible, a general meeting of the deputy lieutenants and magistrates of the county of ———, at which general ———, commanding his Majesty's forces in the ——— district, or some competent officer, fully authorised, will be directed to attend, and to submit and explain to the meeting the plans and local arrangements prepared and determined upon by him, in concert with his royal highness the commander in chief, and his Majesty's ministers, upon each of the heads, in which the assistance of the civil power, acting in concert with him, will be necessary for carrying them into execution. In like manner, the commissary-general of the forces, or a proper commissary of stores and provisions acting under his direction, and duly authorized, will be directed to attend, and to lay before the meeting the plans approved by his Majesty's treasury for the supply of the army; and to point out and explain the mode in which the concurrence and assistance of the said meeting will be requisite for carrying them into execution. Your lordship will allow me to suggest the ex-

pediency of your consulting with the general to fix the day of calling such meeting, in order to assure the attendance above mentioned, without too much interfering with other essential duties that may require to be executed in the district.

Should the enemy, in the prosecution of their avowed designs against this country, succeed in escaping the vigilance of our superior navy, and the final issue of this great contest remain ultimately to be decided by the valour and spirit of our land-forces, that issue will very much depend on the precautions which I have now stated, being executed with punctuality, and in the strictest concert with the officers commanding his Majesty's forces in the several military districts to which those counties belong. It is to this issue, as a possible event, with all the responsibility and all the consequences it involves, that his Majesty's confidential servants were bound to look, when they submitted to his Majesty the plans I have now stated. The same prospects, the same considerations, they trust, will rouse the energy and animate the exertion of every man, to whom any share of their execution is now committed under his Majesty's express commands.

The great and fundamental advantage of the previous arrangements it is his Majesty's pleasure should be forthwith executed, is that, if properly attended to, they will assign to every man the duty he should fulfil, and the post to which he should repair in the hour of emergency, guarding him and the country on the one hand against

confusion and panic, and on the other against the disasters incident to temerity and ill-concerted operations. In preparing for that emergency, I cannot too strongly recommend to every description of persons to lay aside all untimely and misplaced jealousy respecting the military power with which every arrangement must be concerted. Your lordship in particular, and all persons acting immediately under you, cannot be too strongly impressed with the necessity of an unreserved and habitual communication with those to whom the direction of that power is entrusted in the ——— district; and I can assure your lordship, that, on their part, they have his Majesty's most positive orders to be equally unreserved and frequent in their communications with your lordship and your deputy lieutenants, and in all doubtful occurrences connected with the civil power, where time will admit of it, to recur to your or their advice, and to neglect no means of cultivating and maintaining with you a perfect harmony, concert, and good understanding. Should the emergency actually exist, from that moment, of course, every description of armed force, and every association formed with a view to annoy or impede the enemy, or to support and assist our own forces, would come under the immediate orders of the military commander, and, as far as consistent with their conditions of service, taking the station assigned to each respectively in his general arrangement for the defence of his district, continue to serve in it under such or-

ders as may be issued by those whom, in such a moment, it will be their first duty and their best interest to obey.

I have the honour to be,

my lord,

your lordship's most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

A Plan for driving the Live Stock out of such Parts of the Country as may become exposed to the Inroads of the Enemy in Case of an Invasion: as also for saving other Descriptions of Property, as much as possible; and for rendering the Body of the People instrumental in the General Defence.

If an enemy should land upon our shores, every possible exertion should be made immediately to deprive him of the means of subsistence.

The navy will soon cut off his communication with the sea; the army will confine him on shore in such a way, as to make it impossible for him to draw any supplies from the adjacent country. In this situation he will be forced to lay down his arms, or to give battle on such disadvantageous terms, as can leave no doubt of his being defeated.

But if unforeseen and improbable circumstances should enable him to make some progress at first, a steady perseverance in the same system will increase his difficulties at every step; sooner or later he must inevitably pay the forfeit of his temerity.

How much the accomplishment

of this object will be facilitated by driving away the live stock, and consuming, or, in case of absolute necessity, destroying all other means of subsistence, in those parts of the country which may be in imminent danger of falling into his possession, is too evident to need any discussion.

The only question is, how to effect this purpose with the greatest celerity and order, and with the least possible injury to individuals. To this end a well digested plan is obviously indispensable.

In clearing the country likely to be in this situation, the first principle is an indemnification from the community at large to the individuals for the value of all stock which may be removed in consequence of invasion, if not restored to the respective owners; as also for whatever moveable property may be destroyed by our own arms, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, provided the proprietor comes forward and enters into such arrangements as may be proposed to preserve it, either by personal attendance at the time, or otherwise in some mode of service, at the moment of invasion. It must at the same time be very clearly understood, that no indemnification whatever can be allowed for any property destroyed either by our own arms, or by the enemy, if it should appear that no previous preparation or exertion had been made use of to remove it; and that all property left in this state is to be destroyed, if necessary, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. Upon these grounds, the following preparatory arrangements are

proposed for immediate consideration.

First, The inhabitants of every parish, hundred, or other division of the county, of convenient size, should forthwith agree among themselves upon proper places of rendezvous, at which their cattle, waggons, and carts might be collected, in case of an order to drive the county being received from the general commanding in the district, or any competent person authorized by him to give such an order, or in case of any signal he or they may have appointed for this purpose being made; proper march routes should be fixed upon for driving them away to certain places of security in the interior part of the country, taking care to choose bye-roads for that purpose, that the great turnpike roads may remain entirely free for the marching of troops and artillery; and where it may be unavoidable to pass one or more of the great roads, it should be done in such a manner, that they may only be crossed and occupied during the shortest space of time possible. If a column of troops, artillery, or army-supplies, should happen to be moving on the great road at the place of crossing, the stock may easily be stopped in its progress until the military shall have passed the same; every arrangement for these purposes must be concerted with the general commanding in the district, or submitted to his approbation.

To avoid loss, confusion, and delay in this operation, it will be necessary that the inhabitants of each parish or other division should choose from among themselves a sufficient number of persons to

drive and attend the cattle, under the direction of one or more leaders; to be chosen by the proprietors; which leaders should have authority and means given them by the proprietors to provide the necessary subsistence for the cattle, and persons attending them, upon the road, and at the places of security fixed upon, and to determine the places of halting and refreshment during their march, and other arrangements of detail after their arrival. Such places as afford good water and plenty of pasture should be preferred and pointed out by the civil authority of the county, for the depôts, in concert with the general commanding the forces in the district, who is instructed to give every assistance and accommodation in his power for the protection and subsistence of the cattle, and of the persons attending the same.

It will further be advisable that it should be concerted with the general commanding in the district, that some proper person of the commissariat staff under him should attend each place of depôt, with instructions to give receipts, if required, for all the live and dead stock that may be brought to the depôt, or to enter the same upon a register to be opened for that purpose: but the persons who attend such stock should nevertheless remain in the charge of the same, unless it should be disposed of by being appropriated to the consumption of the army. It is also to be understood, that the proprietor of any cattle or other produce that may be removed in consequence of this arrangement, or such person or persons as may be autho-

rized by him in this respect, will have the power to send such part of the said cattle or produce, as he or they may think proper, to be disposed of at any market or place in rear of the dépôt, on returning to the commissary his receipts, or noticing such disposal in the register above-mentioned, as the case may be; provided always, that the commissary should have signified that he was in no danger of wanting such cattle or produce for the supply of the army.

It should also be recommended to the proprietors to mark their cattle, not only with the initials of their names, but also to add some distinctive mark, common to the whole parish, that confusion may be avoided, if the stock of several parishes should come to join in one body.

Second. As it may be impossible for the inhabitants, in case of alarm, immediately to remove the more bulky articles of property, such as grain, hay, and straw, which nevertheless cannot be suffered to fall into the hands of the enemy, consistently with the essential object of depriving him of all means of subsistence, it should be recommended to them to appoint several discreet trusty persons from among themselves, to remain in the parish as long as the same shall not actually be in possession of the enemy, or entirely cut off from the army. This arrangement will not only facilitate the means of supplying our own army with what must otherwise be destroyed, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; but it will in many instances also diminish the chance

of loss. Receipts will be given by the troops for all articles which may be taken for their use, on the production of which receipts the proprietors will afterwards be entitled to payment, at fair and reasonable prices, according to regulations to be established for that purpose. The persons so named would point out the places where supplies are deposited, and take the receipts of the troops in trust for the absent proprietors.

Third. Care should be taken by the inhabitants of such parishes as may be in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, that all mills and ovens be rendered useless to him, by carrying off or destroying some essential part of the machinery of the former, which cannot easily be replaced, and by breaking the latter. In both cases, that mode of derangement is the most eligible, which, while it effectually answers the purpose, may afterwards be repaired at the smallest expence.

Fourth. A corps of guides not exceeding ——— on horseback and on foot, consisting of those who are best acquainted with the roads, lanes, foot-paths, bridges, creeks, rivers, fording-places, and other communications, in the several parts of the country, should be selected in the maritime counties, and their names and places of abode be communicated to the general commanding in the district to which such counties respectively belong.

Fifth. The unarmed inhabitants will have an opportunity of rendering services equally necessary and important, by forming them-

selves into companies of pioneers, under the direction of leaders, to be appointed by the civil authority of the county.

A numerous body of pioneers is so essential to the movements of an army, and to the obstruction of the progress of the enemy, that it is intended, in case of their being called into actual service, to make a competent daily allowance to all who may offer to come forward in the capacity of pioneers.

In that case these pioneers should, if possible, come provided with tools of the following description, viz. six pick-axes, six spades, six shovels, three bill-hooks, and four felling-axes, to every twenty-five men.

Nevertheless, it is not meant to exclude any man who may not have it in his power to bring any of these tools; let him say what tool he can bring; and if he cannot bring any, his service in some way will be acceptable notwithstanding.

The duty of the pioneers will generally consist in repairing and opening such roads, bridges, and communications, as may facilitate the movements of our own army, and in breaking up or obstructing such as it may be necessary to render impassable to the enemy.

The allowances proposed to be made to pioneers from the day on which they may be required to assemble, until their services may no longer be wanted, are as follow:

To every able-bodied man eighteen-pence per day.

To every leader of twenty-five men and upwards, two-pence per

day for every man under his command.

These leaders to be styled captains, their companies to consist of not less than twenty-five, nor more than seventy-five men, to every twenty-five men, of which a company may consist, is to be allowed one overseer, to be appointed by the captain, and removeable at his pleasure, at the daily allowance of three shillings from the day on which the pioneers may be ordered to assemble.

The duty of the leaders or captains will consist in receiving such orders as may be given from time to time, by authority of the general officers commanding, for the services to be done by the pioneers, and seeing them executed with punctuality and despatch; in keeping correct lists of the pioneers under their command, and seeing that they are constantly provided with proper tools; in maintaining order and regularity among them, and in receiving and distributing the wages to be given to them; taking proper receipts, and rendering accounts of the money entrusted to them, according to forms to be prescribed.

Each pioneer, leader, and overseer, to be at liberty to draw one ration of bread, consisting of one pound and a half, from the King's magazine, on paying for the same, at the rate of five-pence for every four rations. The leaders or captains to give credit for the amount in their accounts; and their receipts for the bread drawn by their companies to be deemed satisfactory proof of the delivery thereof.

Sixth. To the end that the se-

veral objects treated of in this plan may be completely attained, for the general defence of the country, it is necessary that the result of the proceedings of the inhabitants thereon should be well digested, reduced to writing in a uniform manner, and made known to the general officers commanding in the district where such proceedings may take place, that they may be enabled to avail themselves thereof, and adopt corresponding measures.

A Plan for an Association of the Nobility, Gentry, and Yeomanry, residing in the several Counties, to supply such Number of Waggons, Carts, and Horses, in Aid of the Provisions made by the Mutiny Act as may be necessary for carrying on his Majesty's Service; as also to contribute to the Supply of his Majesty's Forces, with Flour, Wheat, Oats, Hay, Straw, and Fuel, in case of an Invasion.

The necessity of being prepared to repel an invasion, in the present state of public affairs, is too obvious to require discussion. The only question is, how to form all necessary arrangements at the least possible expence. The country abounds in supplies of all kinds, to a degree which renders the laying in of extensive magazines unnecessary. Small depôts for a few days consumption are sufficient, provided means can be found to bring forward the resources of the country at a short notice. Depôts of this description have accordingly been formed at

different places, pursuant to orders given by his Royal Highness field-marshal the Duke of York. The means of transporting them, and of obtaining and transporting such further quantities as may be necessary in cases of emergency, remain to be devised. The establishment of a waggon train of sufficient force to supply an army, would entail a very heavy expence upon the public, and take away a very considerable number of horses and men from the ordinary pursuits of agriculture. Both may be avoided by means equally simple and certain. The spirit of the country will do it most effectually; nor need that spirit be wasted to the detriment of individuals; it need only be roused at the moment of actual danger, when all is at stake, when all must give way to the primary object of self-preservation.

Such of the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry of the county, as may approve the measure, should be requested to subscribe a paper, expressing opposite to their names the number of waggons and carts provided with tilts, and the number of horses, drivers, and conductors, which they propose to furnish respectively.

The waggons, carts, &c. subscribed for, or such part as may be required from time to time, ought to march as soon as possible, and at latest on the next morning after notice received to that effect.

The waggons, carts, &c. marching in conformity to such notice, to continue at the disposal and under the orders of the King's officers, as the service may require,

The said waggons and carts to travel at the rate of five miles in every two hours; twenty-five miles when loaded, and thirty miles when empty, in every twenty-four hours.

One or more discreet and intelligent persons, besides the drivers, should accompany each detachment of ten waggons or carts, and upwards. These persons should be styled waggon-conductors, and their duty should consist in superintending the drivers, that there may be regularity and despatch upon the road.

The commissary-general to pay to the persons who may be appointed agreeably to this and the second article, for their trouble and expences, at the following rates, viz.

For every empty waggon procured, in consequence of notice given, 1s.; for every empty cart, 9d.; for every sack of flour of 280lb. net, loaded agreeably to the twelfth article, 2d.; for every sack of oats of four bushels, loaded as above, 1d.; for every ton of hay, straw, or fuel, loaded as above, 20d.; but no charge to be made for procuring the waggons and carts respectively, unless they go empty.

A Plan for ensuring a regular Supply of Bread to his Majesty's Forces, in Case of an Invasion.

The establishment of flour magazines, and of a field bakery, of sufficient force to supply an army, would entail a very heavy expence upon the public, which can only be avoided by ascertaining under

this head the resources of the country, and the means of bringing them forward in case of emergency, without previously making any extensive preparations.—Returns have been procured of the bakers and ovens at most of the considerable places in several counties, from which it appears, that they are capable, on any emergency, of baking for four times, nay, many of them six times the number of their inhabitants and troops now in garrison; and that, with the help of additional journeymen bakers, they can supply double that quantity. All other counties may, without risk of error, be supposed equally capable with those above alluded to. Grain and mills abound every where. The result is, that an army of 30,000 men may, without difficulty, be supplied with bread in any situation, at four or five days notice, and even two or three times that number, at a longer notice, provided such preparatory arrangements are concerted with the millers and bakers as will enable the country to do justice to itself.

[Here follow directions to the miller or baker.]

Articles agreed upon for the Exchange of Prisoners, between the British and French Commissioners.

We, the undersigned commissioners for the transport service, and for the care and custody of prisoners of war, on the part and in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and Monsieur Joseph Niou, commissary for prisoners of war,

on the part and in the name of the French government; being duly authorised to take proper measures for carrying into execution an exchange of prisoners, have agreed upon the following articles:—

I. An exchange of prisoners of war shall immediately take place between the two countries, man for man, and rank for rank: and the French government shall begin, by sending over to England, in a French cartel vessel, a number of British prisoners, with the proportion of five officers to one hundred men; upon the arrival of whom in England, the British government will cause an equal number, of the same ranks, of French prisoners, to be sent, in an English cartel vessel, to France. The British government shall then cause to be sent to France, in an English cartel vessel, a number of French prisoners, with the same proportion of officers, as above-mentioned, for whom the French government shall return, by a French cartel vessel, the same number and ranks of British prisoners. The exchange shall be continued according to the same alternative plan, until one or the other of the two governments shall think proper to put a stop thereto; and, in that case, the party so discontinuing is to return, without delay, whatever number of prisoners may appear to be against it on the balance of the exchanges that may to that time have taken place in consequence of this cartel.

II. In order to prevent any difficulties that might otherwise arise from the diversity of ranks of officers in the service of the

two countries, it is hereby agreed that the table hereto annexed, of corresponding ranks in the English and French services, shall uniformly be attended to by both parties, and that officers, on either side, of ranks of which there shall be no corresponding officer or officers in possession of the other power, shall be exchanged for their equivalent, according to the scale of value in men specified in the said table.

III. All the prisoners on both sides to be exchanged by this cartel shall be selected, according to their ranks, by the respective agents of the countries to which they belong, residing at Paris or in London, without any interference whatever on the part of the government in whose possession they may be.

IV. It being stipulated, that the British prisoners shall be sent to England in French vessels, and the French prisoners conveyed to France in British vessels, it is hereby agreed, that the whole expence attending such vessels shall be defrayed by the respective countries by which they may be employed; and that the prisoners, during their passage, shall be furnished with the following daily allowances, viz.

<i>British Prisoners.</i>		<i>lb.</i>
Bread	.	1
Beef	.	1
Beer 2 quarts, or wine 1 quart.		
<i>French Prisoners.</i>		<i>lb.</i>
Bread	.	1½
Beef	.	¾
Beer 2 quarts.		

A table of which allowances is to be affixed to the mast of each cartel vessel.

V. All prisoners on both sides,

not being officers, who, from wounds, age, or infirmities, are rendered incapable of farther service, and also all boys, under twelve years of age, shall be forthwith returned to their respective countries, without regard to their numbers or equality of exchange; but the selection of persons, of the descriptions mentioned in this article, is to be left entirely to the agents and surgeons of the government of the country in which they are detained.

VI. All surgeons, surgeons mates, pursers, (or aides commis-saries) pursers stewards, (or commis aux vivres) secretaries, chaplains, and schoolmasters, being the classes comprehended under the denomination of *non-combatants*; and also passengers not of the sea or land service, in whatever ships taken, shall not be considered as prisoners, but shall be immediately set at liberty, to return to their respective countries without being placed to the account of exchange.

VII. All officers bearing authentic commissions in the land service, and those belonging to the sea-service of the following ranks, viz. admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, commodores, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, masters, mates (or pilotes) midshipmen (or aspirants) and also masters and mates, or second captains, of merchant vessels, exceeding the burden of eighty tons, together with the captain, and in the proportion of three other officers to each hundred men, of privateers of fourteen carriage-guns and upwards, shall either be

permitted to return to their respective countries on parole, not to serve until regularly exchanged, or shall have the usual indulgence of parole granted to them in the country in which they are detained. And it is agreed, that whatever officers may, by virtue of this article, return to their respective countries, shall be suffered to depart from their present places of confinement, to Dover or Gravelines, as soon as conveniently may be after the signing of the present cartel; and also that all officers residing on parole in their own countries, shall signify to the agent of the country to which they are prisoners, their respective places of residence, which they are on no account to change, without first intimating their intention to the said agent; and they are, moreover, at the expiration of every two months, to transmit, to the said agent, a certificate of the particular places where they may reside, signed by the magistrates or municipal officers of such places.

VIII. The settlement of the balance now existing on the account of such exchanges of prisoners of war of both countries, as have taken place from the commencement of hostilities to the day of the date hereof, shall be deferred until the determination of the present war; but it is clearly understood, that all officers on both sides, who have been released and permitted to return to their respective countries on parole, since the commencement of the war, and who have not hitherto been regularly exchanged, are not to serve in

any capacity, either civil or military, until they shall have been duly exchanged for prisoners of equal ranks, according to their original engagements.

Done at the transport-office,
London, the 13th day of
September, 1798.

Rupert George. John Shank,
Ambrose Serle, John March.
Niou.

*Table of the corresponding Ranks in the English and French Service
with the Value in Men.*

<i>French.</i>	<i>Ranks in the Navy.</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Value in Men.</i>
Vice-admiral commanding in chief, having the temporary rank of admiral.	Admiral commanding in chief		60
Vice-admiral.	Admiral carrying his flag at the main : vice-admiral		40
Rear-admiral.	Rear-admiral		30
Chief of a squadron.	Commodore		20
Captain of a ship of the line.	Post-captain of three years standing, whose rank an- swers to that of colonel. Ditto, having rank of lieu- tenant-colonel		15
Captain of a frigate.	Masters and commanders, or captains not post, having rank of major, amongst whom are included captains of fire-ships, who are mas- ters and commanders		8
Lieutenant of a ship of the line.	Lieut. without distinction		6
Ensign of a ship of the line.	Lieut. when all the French shall be exchanged, and in default of English lieute- nants, midshipmen		4
Midshipman, master of a merchant vessel, and captain of a privateer.	Midshipman, master, of a mer- chant vessel, and captain of a privateer		3
Lieutenant of a merchant vessel or privateer, and all petty officers.	Mates, and all petty officers		2
Seamen, volunteers, and others, being considered as common seamen.	Seamen, volunteers, and others, being considered as com- mon seamen		1

Ranks in the Land-Service.

<i>French.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Value in Men.</i>
General of division, commanding in chief.	Captain-general, or field-mar- shal	60
General of division.	General	40
General of brigade.	Lieutenant-general	30
Inferior to the preceding; supe- rior to the following.	Major-general	20
Chief of brigade.	Brigadier-general	15
Chief of battalion of squadron.	Colonel	8
Captain.	Captain	6
Lieutenant.	Lieutenant	4
Sous-lieutenant.	Ensign	3
Non-commissioned officers, down to the rank of corporal, inclusive.	Non - commissioned officers, down to the rank of corpo- ral, inclusive	2
Soldiers.	Soldiers	1
	Rupert George, John Shank, Ambrose Serle. John Marsh. Niou.	

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Lords of the Treasury, on the Matters referred to their Consideration by Parliament, relative to the proposed Alterations and economical Arrangements in the public Offices.

Customs.

The first office to which their attention has been turned, is that of the customs, in which various alterations and modifications are proposed to take place, the most material of which are the following:—1st. The abolition of many of the fees taken at present, particularly on out-door business. 2d. The entire abolition of holidays in that office. 3d. The regular weekly transmission of moneys from Scotland to the hands of the receiver-general of the customs of England.

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For some of these beneficial purposes, instructions are given to the solicitor to prepare a bill for the inspection of Parliament. Re-compense is, however, to be made to the present incumbents, for any loss that may be sustained by the alteration.

Excise.

The second object is the office of excise. Here the primary consideration is the great expence of law charges, particularly those incurred for the last year, which, according to accounts produced, amounted to upwards of 12,000*l.* the solicitor's emoluments on which are stated at 5,826*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* To this article of expenditure, particular attention is, in future, to be paid. In this department, likewise, much dissatisfaction is expressed, from the detention of the remittances from Scotland, toge-

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ther with some particular modes for the prevention of the like in future. Respecting the abolition of holidays in this office, nothing is yet recommended.

Stamp-Office.

The first object of their lordships' attention in this office, appears to be the great increase of incidental expences, particularly for Scotland. The next appears to be an order from their lordships,—that in future all persons accepting places in this office, shall do their duty personally. To which are to be added, various economical variations respecting the emoluments of stamp distributors. In short, it is recommended that a complete alteration shall take place in the management of this branch of the revenue; a bill for which purpose is to be brought into Parliament.

Post-Office.

The next object to which their lordships have turned their attention, is the Post-office, in which a great number of alterations are proposed, particularly respecting the receipts, disbursements, &c. more especially under the foreign department, packet-hire, insurance, &c. These being from their nature, very complex, a proper idea of the proposed retrenchments cannot at present be exhibited.

Tax-Office.

The investigation respecting the Tax-office, which comes next under consideration, is principally confined to the poundage allowance made to the various country receivers.

The Salt-Office

Is to be totally abolished, and its duties transferred to the excise, agreeably to the recommendation of the finance committee.

The Hawkers and Pedlars, and the Hackney-Coach Offices are likewise proposed to be abolished, and placed under the commissioners for taxes.

Pension-Duties.

Some alterations are proposed to be made in the receipts of the pension-duties, to prevent the retention of those duties so long a time in the hands of the receivers as at present.

Treasury-Office.

The only alteration in this office, is the total abolition of the new year's gifts in future; positive orders to which effect have been issued by the commissioners.

The offices of the Secretary of State, and the Admiralty, are to be brought under the consideration of Parliament at an early period.

Transport-Office.

One source of emolument, namely, a per-centage on a ship's final settlement of her accounts, is ordered to be abolished.

The arrangements in the War-Office are postponed till the meeting of Parliament, as are those of the Ordnance.

The Exchequer.

In this office various modifications are proposed, especially for the purpose of bringing public accountants forward, and for the recovery of balances in their hands.

List of the several Offices, which, being useless, are proposed to be abolished as they become vacant; with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, after the Deduction of Taxes in the Year 1788.

PORTS OF LONDON.

	Income, including Fees.		
	£.	s.	d.
Inspector of prosecutions	1800	3	3
Register of seizures	414	8	6
Inspector of the exchequer-books in the out-ports	223	0	0
Surveyor-general	2351	17	7
Surveyor of subsidies and petty customs	2104	0	2
Register of warrants	251	6	5
Total	£ 7144	15	11

A List of the several Offices, which, on Vacancies, are to be abolished, as Patent Offices; but the Duties of which, being necessary, are proposed to be executed, either by the Deputies to the Persons who held the Patents, or by other Officers of the Revenue, together with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, in the Year 1788, after Deduction of Taxes.

PORT OF LONDON.

	Income, including Fees.		
	£.	s.	d.
Supervisor of the receiver - general's receipts and payments	542	16	8

Register-general of all trading ships belonging to Great Britain	602	18	0
Inspector-general of imports and exports	914	0	9
Comptroller inwards and outwards	1761	5	2
Collector inwards	2733	4	6
Collector outwards	2103	2	3
Usher in the long room	596	16	4
Nineteen king's waiters	2678	12	1
Chief searcher	766	14	0
Five under-searchers	4946	0	0
Two searchers at Gravesend	1233	15	7
Total London	18879	5	4

OUT-PORTS.

Twenty-three customers, 20 comptrollers, 20 searchers, four king's waiters at Bristol	24569	6	2
Total London and out-ports	£ 43448	11	6

A List of the several Offices which are proposed to be either abolished, consolidated, or regulated; with the Amount of the Annual Income of each, after Deduction of Taxes, in the Year 1788.

PORT OF LONDON.

	Income, including Fees.		
	£.	s.	d.
Receiver of fines and forfeitures for London	402	4	8

	£.	s.	d.
Receiver of fines and forfeitures remitted from the out-ports	515	0	9
Comptroller of fines and forfeitures remitted from the out-ports	259	6	9
Accountant of petty receipts	501	10	0
Surveyor of the out-port accounts	194	9	11
Four examiners of out-port collectors' quarter books	474	8	0
Customer of cloth and petty customs, outwards	69	10	3
Collector of the petty customs, inwards	288	11	11
Comptroller of cloth and petty customs, inwards and outwards	182	18	8
Collector of the great customs on wool and leather exported	220	11	11
Comptroller of the great customs on wool and leather exported	61	17	3
Total	£ 3170	9	4

Provisional Treaty between his Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at St. Petersburg, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.
His Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the Em-

peror of all the Russias, in consequence of the alliance and friendship subsisting between them, being desirous to enter into a concert of measures, such as may contribute in the most efficacious manner to oppose the successes of the French arms and the extension of the principles of anarchy, and to bring about a solid peace, together with the re-establishment of the balance of Europe, have judged it worthy their most serious consideration and earnest solicitude, to endeavour, if possible, to reduce France within its former limits, as they subsisted before the revolution. They have, in consequence, agreed to conclude a provisional treaty; and, for this purpose, they have named as their plenipotentiaries, namely, his majesty the king of Great Britain, Sir Charles Whitworth, K. B. his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Russia; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the chancellor prince Besborodko, a privy counsellor, director-general of the posts, senator, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Nefsky, of St. Anne, and grand cross of those of St. John of Jerusalem and of St. Vladimir, of the first class; the sieur Korschouby, vice-chancellor, privy-counsellor, and chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Nefsky, and grand cross of that of St. Vladimir, of the second class; the sieur Rostopschin, a privy-counsellor, member of the college for foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Nefsky, and of that of St. Anne, of the first class; who, after having reciprocally communicated their

full powers, have concluded and agreed upon the following articles :

I. The two contracting powers, in the intention of inducing the king of Prussia to take an active part in the war against the common enemy, propose to employ all their endeavours to obtain that end. Immediately on his Prussian majesty's consenting to this measure, his imperial majesty of all the Russias is ready to afford him a succour of land-forces, and he destines, for that purpose, 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with the necessary artillery, upon the following conditions :

II. This body of troops shall be put in motion as soon as the high contracting parties shall be assured of the determination of his Prussian majesty being conformable to what has been before stated.

With regard to the farther movements of this corps, and its combined operations with the Prussian troops, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias will arrange them with his majesty the king of Prussia; and communication shall also be made of them to his Britannic majesty, in order that, by such a concert between the high allies, the military operations against the enemy may be made with the greater success, and that the object which is proposed may the more easily be ascertained.

III. In order to facilitate to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the means to take such an active part in the present war against the French, his Britannic majesty engages to furnish the

pecuniary succours herein-after specified; his imperial majesty of all the Russias nevertheless reserving to himself the right to recall the aforesaid body of troops into his own territories, if, by any unforeseen event, the whole of this pecuniary succour should not be furnished him.

IV. The amount and the nature of these pecuniary succours have been fixed and regulated upon the following footing:

1st. In order to enable his imperial majesty of all the Russias to expedite, as soon as possible, and in the most convenient manner, the troops destined to be employed in favour of the good cause, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages, as soon as he shall receive advice that the Russian troops, in consequence of the determination of his majesty the King of Prussia, are to march, in order to co-operate with those of his said majesty, to pay for the first and the most urgent expenses, 225,000*l.* sterling, dividing the payments in such manner, as that 75,000*l.* sterling should be paid as soon as the troops shall have passed the Russian frontiers; that the second payment, amounting to the same sum, should be made on the expiration of the first three months, and on the commencement of the fourth; and that the third payment, completing the sum total, should be made in like manner, after three months and on the beginning of the seventh.

2d. His majesty the king of Great Britain engages also to furnish to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias a subsidy of 75,000*l.* sterling per month, to be

computed from the day on which the corps of troops above-mentioned shall pass the Russian frontiers. This subsidy shall be paid at the commencement of each month, and being destined for the appointments and maintenance of the troops, it shall be continued during the space of twelve months, unless peace should be made sooner.

3d. The two high contracting parties, besides shall come to an understanding before the expiration of the term of a year above specified, whether, in case the war should not be terminated, the subsidy above-mentioned shall be continued.

V. The two high contracting parties engage not to make either peace or armistice without including each other and without consulting each other; but, if, through any unforeseen events, his Britannic majesty should be under the necessity of terminating the war, and thereby of discontinuing the payment of the subsidy, before the expiration of the twelve months above stipulated, he engages in that case, to pay three months advance of the subsidy agreed upon of 75,000*l.* sterling, reckoning from the day on which the information shall be received by the general commanding the Russian troops.

VI. In like manner, if any aggression on Russia should take place, by which his majesty, the emperor, should be obliged to recall his army into his own dominions, the above-mentioned subsidy shall, in such case only, be paid up to the day on which the army shall re-enter the Russian frontiers.

VII. His majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, shall come to an understanding with his ally, his majesty the king of Prussia, respecting all the other expences which this corps of troops and its operations may require. His Britannic majesty shall take no farther share in those expences than the sum of 37,500*l.* sterling per month, during all the time that the above-mentioned troops shall be employed, by virtue of this treaty, for the common cause. That sum shall be advanced by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; but his Britannic majesty acknowledges it as a debt due by Great Britain to Russia, which he will discharge after the conclusion of a peace made by mutual agreement.

The mode and dates of the payment shall then be settled by mutual concert, according to the reciprocal convenience of the two allied powers.

VIII. The above-mentioned subsidies shall, in this manner, be considered as a sufficient succour for all expences, including those which may be necessary for the return of the Russian army.

IX. This treaty shall be considered as provisional; and its execution, as it has been stated above, shall not take place until his majesty, the king of Prussia, shall be determined to turn his forces against the common enemy; but, in case he should not do so, the two high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right and the power to take, for the good of their affairs, and the success of the salutary end they may have in view, other measures analagous to the times and circumstances, and

to agree then upon those which, in such a case, they shall judge to be most necessary, adopting always as a basis, (in as much as it shall be compatible) the stipulations of the present treaty. His imperial majesty of all the Russias, in order, nevertheless, to give a still more striking proof of his sincere dispositions, and of his desire to be as much as possible useful to his allies, promises to put, during the course of the negotiation with his Prussian majesty, and even previous to its termination, the above-mentioned corps of 45,000 men upon such a footing that they may immediately be employed wherever, according to a previous concert amongst the allies, the utility of the common cause shall require.

X. The present provisional treaty shall be ratified by his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged here in the space of two months, to be computed from the day of the signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain and the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and have affixed the seals of our arms thereto.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

(L. S.) A. P. de Besborodko.

(L. S.) Kotschoubey.

(L. S.) Rostopschin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Proclamation of the Emperor of Russia.

Petersburgh, May 15.

Be it hereby known to all whom it may concern, to all Europe, and the whole world, that his Imperial Russian Majesty, Paul I. has ordered the following proclamation to be issued by me, prince Alexander Besborodko, first minister and chancellor of his Imperial Majesty :

In consequence of the potification of the executive directory of the French republic, of the 23d of Nivose, in the 6th year, importing, "That if any ship be suffered to pass through the Sound with English commodities, of whatever nation it may be, it shall be considered as a formal declaration of war against the French nation;" his Imperial Majesty, Paul I. has been graciously pleased to order twenty-two ships of the line, and two hundred and fifty galleys, under the command of admiral Kruse, and M. de Litta, knight of Malta, to proceed to the Sound, to protect trade in general against the manifest oppression of the directory, as such a proceeding is evidently contrary to the rights of nations. His Russian majesty gives his Imperial word to protect the freedom of trade, with all his power, both by sea and land, which he hereby requires the diplomatic corps to make known and proclaim.

Treaty of Alliance between the Empires of Russia and Turkey.

In the name of God omnipotent.
His majesty the emperor of the

Ottomans, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, equally animated with a sincere desire not only to maintain, for the good of their respective states and subjects, the peace, friendship, and good understanding which happily subsist between them, but farther, to make them contribute to the re-establishment and security of the general tranquillity, so salutary for humanity, and at present so much disturbed, have resolved to draw still more close the bonds which unite them, by the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance. Accordingly, their majesties have chosen and nominated for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans, Esseid Ibrahim-Ihmed Bey, with the title of Cadisleskier of Romelia, heretofore Istamboul Effendi, and Achmed Alif, Reis-Effendi; and his majesty the emperor of Russia, the noble Vassili Tamara, his privy counsellor and ambassador-extraordinary at the Ottoman porte; who, after having exchanged their full powers in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. There shall be always peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans and the emperor of all the Russias, their empires, and subjects, as well by land as by sea, in such manner as that, by this defensive alliance, there shall be established between them an union so intimate that they shall, in future, have the same friends and the same enemies; in consequence, their majesties promise to open their minds, without reserve, the one to

the other, upon all subjects which concern their respective tranquillity, and safety, and to take all necessary measures to oppose themselves to every hostile enterprise that might prove injurious to them, and for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

II. The treaty of peace concluded at Jassy, December 29, 1791, of the Hegira, 1206, the 15th of the moon of Gemaziel Coxel, as well as all other treaties comprised in it, are hereby confirmed in their full tenour and extent, as if they had been inserted word for word in the present treaty of defensive alliance.

III. To give to this alliance full and complete effect, the high contracting powers reciprocally guarantee their possessions. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias guarantees to the Sublime Porte all its possessions, without exception, such as they existed before the invasion of Egypt: and his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans guarantees all the possessions of the court of Russia as they at present exist, without exception.

IV. Although the two parties reserve to themselves the right of entering into negotiations with other powers, and of concluding with them all treaties that their interests may require, they bind themselves, however, one to the other, in the most formal manner, to insert nothing in such treaties that may be able to cause the least prejudice, injury, or loss, to either of the two, or affect the integrity of their states. On the contrary, they bind themselves reciprocally to do every thing which may tend to preserve and

maintain the honour, security, and advantage, of both the one and the other.

V. If there should be formed any plan or enterprise hurtful to the two powers, or one of them, and that the forces, which may be employed to baffle such hostile enterprises, shall not be found sufficient, then the one party shall be bound to assist the other, by land or by sea, either to act in concert or to make a diversion, or it shall assist with money according as the common interest of the allies and their security shall require. In such case they shall previously communicate to each other with frankness, they shall make all necessary dispositions with the greatest possible promptitude, and shall immediately fulfil their obligations with fidelity.

VI. The choice of such assistance, whether it consists in auxiliary troops or money, shall depend on the party attacked; and in case that it requires the former, they shall be furnished within three months after demand made. If it prefers subsidies in money, they shall be paid, year by year, at fixed periods, from the day of the declaration of war, by the aggressor, on the commencement of hostilities.

VII. The two high contracting parties, thus making common cause, whether with all their forces or only with stipulated succours, neither of the two shall conclude a treaty of peace or armistice without comprising in it the other, and providing for its security; and in case there should be formed any enterprise or attack against the party called upon, in contempt of the alliance concluded, on the

succours lent, the other party shall be obliged to fulfil, with fidelity and punctuality, the same obligations for the defence of the former.

VIII. In case where the two high allied powers are called upon to act in concert with all their forces, or a stipulated aid, they promise to communicate reciprocally to each other, with frankness and without reserve, the plan of their military operations, to facilitate, as much as possible, their execution, to communicate their intentions relative to the duration of war and the conditions of peace, and to understand themselves on this subject as guided by pacific and moderate principles.

IX. The auxiliary troops shall be provided by their sovereign, in proportion to their number, with artillery, ammunition, and other necessities. They shall be also paid and kept by him. The party requiring them shall furnish them with provisions and forage, in kind, or money, according to certain prices to be fixed and agreed upon, from the date of the day on which they shall quit their frontiers. The party requiring them shall procure them quarters and other accommodations, such as his own troops enjoy, or such as those of the country called upon have been used to in time of peace.

X. The party requiring shall furnish the auxiliary squadron with all provisions that it shall want, on certain terms which shall have been agreed upon, to commence from the day of its arrival, and during all the time it shall be employed against the common enemy. The party requiring shall furnish, without hesitation, from its arsenals and magazines,

at the ordinary prices, every thing necessary for the squadron, should it stand in need of repairs. The ships of war and transports of the two allied courts shall have, during the whole time of the continuance of the common war, free entrance into their ports, either to winter there or repair.

XI. All trophies taken from the enemy, and all the prizes, shall belong to the troops which shall acquire them.

XII. Their majesties, the emperor of the Ottomans and the emperor of all the Russias, having no views of conquest, by the present treaty of defensive alliance, but only to maintain the integrity of their respective possessions, for the security of their subjects; and also to support the other powers in the respectable situation in which they are at present placed, and according to which they may form a political counterpoise, if necessary, for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, their majesties will not fail to invite his majesty the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, and also all other potentates, to accede to this treaty, the object of which is so just and so salutary.

XIII. However sincerely the two high contracting powers may intend to maintain this engagement to the most remote period of time, yet as it may happen that circumstances should hereafter require some changes to be made in it, it is agreed to limit its duration to eight years, from the date of the day of the exchange of the Imperial ratifications. The two parties, before the expiration of that term, shall concert, according

to the state of affairs at that period, on the renewal of the said treaty.

XIV. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor of the Ottomans and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Constantinople, within the term of two months, and even sooner if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of defensive alliance, and have hereunto put our seal.

(Signed) Esseid-Ibrahim-Ismet,
with the title of
kadileskier of Romania.

Achmed-Atif,
reis-effendi.

Vassili Tamara,
privy-counsellor.

Constantinople, Dec. 23, 1798.

Proclamation to the Batavian People.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Batavians,

Since it is but too manifest that the revolution, which the victorious arms of the French effected in the year 1795, has been either openly counteracted, or secretly undermined, by those whom you have chosen to support and confirm it; since the unity and indivisibility of the sovereignty of the people, the consolidations of the debts of the provinces, the equality of the civic rights and duties, the abolition, in this respect, of all distinction between ranks and stations, and lastly, the entire separa-

tion of the church from the state, have been continually, some in a more, and others in a less open manner, the apples of discord in the present times; since the voice of truth, and the welfare of the whole people, have been obliged to yield to error, and provisional or personal self-interest; and since, lastly, the constant clashing of opposite and contradictory principles, has enfeebled all the branches of political administration, and threatens to render perpetual the unsettled and uncertain state of revolution; it must certainly be the wish of all, that a powerful, steady, and well-adjusted authority, should at length put an end to all these uncertainties, divisions, and contradictory principles, prevent their destructive consequences, and establish a wise form of government, founded on the acknowledgement of the great truths above-mentioned, and confirmed by justice and prudence.

You flattered yourselves that these principles would be restored on the 22d of January last, and in whatever light you might, at first, view the events of that day, you were willing to excuse the irregularity of the proceeding, from the state of affairs, and the necessity of the circumstances, and to support the authority of the new intermediary administration, the constituent assembly representing the Batavian republic. You only required proof that the events of that day were not the acts of a faction, but the triumph of true principles, tending to promote the welfare of the people. Under these conditions you were willing to place unlimited confidence in the intermediary administration,

and transmit the names of your patriots with unbounded gratitude to the latest posterity.

Such, Batavians, was your generous and noble conduct; but soon it appeared, that the spirit of the new intermediary administration had no tendency to render all former differences forgotten by just and generous measures. Soon it appeared, that, instead of a restoration of principles, you had obtained a change of persons, by a revolution similar, in that respect, to all the former which your commonwealth had suffered, during more than two centuries, but much more dangerous than them all, since, by the precipitation and ignorance of the authors of it, every thing was overturned, and the country rendered a prey to anarchy and tyranny, in a manner of which its history affords no example. Not merely were the heads of the federative aristocratic administration excluded from the direction of affairs, but ignorance and disguised self-interest contrived to render suspected almost every person of abilities and merit in the country. Worthy men, and even such as had continually declared themselves the friends of the principles now established, and who had been constantly devoted to the interests of the people, but who had shewn too much spirit to be slaves of a faction, or idolize individuals, were excluded both from the provincial and general administrations, which were filled with men whose conduct had rendered them contemptible in the eyes of the nation, or who, at least, had no other merit than that of being the blind supporters of a faction.

There is not a more certain sign of the approaching fall of a state, than when justice is publicly violated. Exiles returned secretly into the country—sentences which had been pronounced against offences, and prosecutions against persons accused, were annulled. At the same time the seekers after offices, a race of men destructive to every nation, thrust from their places a great number of upright and able men, throughout the whole country; and the order to remove those who were unfit to remain in their posts and employments, was enforced in the most arbitrary manner.

Such, Batavians, were the proceedings of some anarchists, who every where flocked together, and who were favoured by the majority of the members of the constituted assembly, and by the executive power, either because these latter were weak enough to promise themselves a durable support from them, or because they had not sufficient strength to oppose them; they so far extended their influence, that many of those who had been members of the last national assembly, and who had shewn themselves devoted to the principles of the revolution, whose only offences were, that they would not, without your previous assent, annul the federative government sanctioned by the national assembly, were declared to have lost the confidence of the people, and to be deprived of their right of voting.

The measures of safety, as they were called, should have had for their object the annihilation of all factions, without distinction: but they were, for the most part, car-

ried into execution in so partial and arbitrary a manner, that the whole nation was rendered adverse to the order of things. All freedom of speech was taken away, and many resolutions too evidently flowed from the corrupt sources of revenge and private interest. The motto of unity and indivisibility should have united the whole nation, and excited all to combine and sacrifice their individual advantage for the general good of the country; but in such a manner were these terms employed, as to transform them into a perfect tyranny; and the transaction of the 22d of January, by the ignorance and precipitation with which it was conducted, became the object of general contempt, aversion, and ridicule.

At length, Batavians, the constituent assembly presented to you the plan of a constitution for your acceptance, and from that time began an avowed disregard of the established principles; the spirit of the intermediary administration was no longer disguised, and your grievances reached their utmost height.

Faithful Batavians! the principles themselves had not been in danger, had the new executive directory, established by the constitution, been chosen as that constitution prescribes. Would the constitution have been less freely accepted, had the meeting of the primary assemblies not been so long delayed? Was it necessary that emissaries, such as the men before-mentioned, should be employed on this occasion? Was it necessary to entrust to them the dangerous power of depriving citizens of the right of voting? Was

not this a violent attack on the sovereignty of the people, not justified by the urgent necessity pleaded in some other cases?

And as if all this were not sufficient, the injury offered to the insulted sovereignty of the people, on the 4th of May last, was still greater. Then, after the acceptance of the constitution, and when the will of the people had been expressly declared, with respect to the manner in which their representatives in their legislative body should be chosen, the majority of the members of the constituent assembly, by their own authority alone, declared themselves the legislative body of the Batavian people, leaving no other free election to the people, but merely to fill the vacancies in that body. At that moment a flagrant breach of the constitution was committed, and a direct violation of the inalienable rights of the people perpetrated.

No disgraceful pretexts, no contemptible perversion of the words of the constitution, will ever be found sufficient to justify this act of violence in the opinion of any nation in Europe.

These things, Batavians, you have all seen; they could escape the observation of no person. But we, whose different situations have placed us around the intermediary administration, have been able to view the whole of these transactions, and discover their motives and consequences. Numerous complaints of the inhabitants, which would not have existed, had it not been for the violent event of the 22d of January, have incessantly diverted the attention of the intermediary administration from

the great interests of the country, and fixed it on matters of less importance. The negligence of the ruling powers has spread from commune to commune through the country: and had not we, and some others exerted ourselves to stem the torrent, a general listlessness and inactivity must have pervaded the whole land, and disaffection and alarm seized on all.

And will you then, Batavians, any longer suffer in silence the injustice done you? Do you not feel, like your ancestors, the value of civil freedom? Can you not distinguish reality from appearance, and the substance from the name? Have you not long wished and expected that we, who have sworn fidelity to our country, who, from our situation, must be most capable to deliver you, should attempt your deliverance? The resistance of the people must be fatal to oppression, and each Batavian who feels his worth, must at this moment be transformed into another Brutus. Batavians! you have wrested the authority from your tyrants, who have stolen it from you under the pretence of being your friends.

But think not, Batavians, that we will never restore to you that which is your inalienable property, or that, in the mean time, we will deliver it into unworthy hands. We here declare, that we are responsible for it to you, and each of you, to our own consciences, and to the eternal cause of all things.

The event will shew whether we have delivered you from usurpation, or seized the authority as usurpers ourselves. Let the first constitutional legislative body that

shall meet, decide upon this fact; and, as we have already observed, since the majority of our former representatives, legally elected, who, on the 22d of January last, formed themselves a constituent assembly, and now have declared themselves a constitutional legislative body, by which they have been guilty of an open attack on your sovereign power; and as your other representatives, who acted as the heads of the federative or aristocratic administration, now annulled, have scrupled to take their seats in the assembly, we, compelled by the urgency of circumstances, and observing what is directed in the 31st article of the regulation annexed to the constitution, in case of a vacancy in the executive directory, have decreed, and hereby do decree,

1. That all such legislative authority of the Batavian people as shall require to be exercised for the daily and necessary interests of the country, shall, as soon as possible, be committed to citizens whose honour and integrity cannot be suspected.

2. That the late intermediary administration of the Batavian republic shall be required, as bound by their responsibility, to carry into effect the constitution of the Batavian people, in a speedy and regular manner, for the restoration and establishment of the constitutional legislative body.

3. That all authority of legislation, or in general of sovereignty, exercised by the intermediary administration, shall, immediately after the establishment of the legislative body of the Batavian people, pass to that body; and after the

election by the latter of a legal executive directory of the Batavian republic, all the executive authority which we now necessarily exert, for the deliverance of our country, shall be resigned to that directory.

4. That we engage to be answerable for the just and faithful use of our authority, and the resignation of it at the time we have mentioned, to the legislative body that shall be elected, or by delegation from it, to the high national tribunal hereafter to be chosen.

Perfectly convinced that what we have done will be approved of by the majority and most enlightened of the Batavian people, we hereby command in their name, all constitutional authorities, provincial administrations, or administrations of communes, all justices of peace, civil officers, and commanders of the military, and all and each of the inhabitants of the Batavian republic, to obey our commands, and acknowledge no other authority than ours, until the intermediary administration shall have met; which notification shall be made public, and be affixed up in such places as similar notices usually are.

Done at the Hague the 12th of June, the 4th year of Batavian freedom.

J. Spoors, agent of marine.

G. J. Pyman, agent for the war-department.

J. G. A. Gozel, minister of finance.

R. W. Tadamar, minister of justice.

A. J. La Pierre, minister of the interior.

Treaty of Campo Formio.

Secret Articles and additional Convention, of the Treaty of Campo Formio, of the 20th Vendemiaire, 6th Year (October 17, 1798.)

Article I.

His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia consents that the boundaries of the French republic shall extend to the under-mentioned line, and engages to use his influence, that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundary; namely; the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching off of the Nette, above Andrenach; including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch. From thence, the line passes by Kenscherade and Borley to Kerpen, and thence to Lutersdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territory of these places, along both banks of the Olf, to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer; including Heimbach, Nideggen, Durin, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as also the places on the banks, to Linnig, included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern, and Kylensdalen, Papelernod, Lutersforst, Rodenberg, Haverstoo, Anderscheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herigen, and Grosberg, including the town of Venloo, and its territory. And if, notwithstanding the mediation of his imperial majesty, the German

empire shall refuse to consent to the above-mentioned boundary line of the republic, his imperial majesty hereby formally engages to furnish to the empire no more than his contingent, which shall not be employed in any fortified place, or it shall be considered as a rupture of the peace and friendship which are restored between his majesty and the republic.

II. His imperial majesty will employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the empire, to obtain, 1, That the navigation of the Rhine, from Hunningen to the territory of Holland, shall be free, both to the French Republic and the states of the empire on the right bank; 2, That the possessors of territory, near the mouth of the Moselle, shall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and passage of ships and other vessels, from the Moselle into the Rhine: 3, The French republic shall have the free navigation of the Meuse; and the tolls and other imposts from Venloo to Holland, shall be abolished.

III. His imperial majesty renounces, for himself and his successors, the sovereignty and possession of the county of Falkenstein and its dependencies.

IV. The countries which his imperial majesty takes possession of, in consequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty, this day signed, shall be considered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article.—This renunciation shall only be in force, when the troops of his imperial majesty

shall have taken possession of the countries ceded by the said articles.

V. The French republic will employ its influence, that his majesty the emperor shall receive the archbishopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria, which lies between the archbishopric of Saltzburg, the river Inn, Salza, and Tyrol; including the town of Wasserburg, on the right bank of the Inn, with an arondissement of 3000 toises.

VI. His imperial majesty, at the conclusion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the sovereignty and possession of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Basle, provided his majesty, at the conclusion of the said peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in consequence of particular arrangements to be made, shall unite the above mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without farther interference on the part of his imperial majesty or the empire.

VII. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the ensuing peace with the German empire, the French republic shall make an acquisition in Germany, his imperial majesty shall receive an equivalent; and if his imperial majesty shall make such an acquisition, the French republic shall, in like manner, receive an equivalent.

VIII. The prince of Nassau Dietz, latestadtholder of Holland, shall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the

vicinity of the Austrian possessions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

IX. The French republic makes no difficulty to restore to the king of Prussia his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquisition shall, however, be proposed for the king of Prussia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

X. Should the king of Prussia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics some small parts of his territory on the left bank of the Meuse, as Sevenger, and other possessions towards the Yssel, his imperial majesty will use his influence that such cessions will be accepted and made valid by the empire.

XI. His imperial majesty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been disposed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majesty will use his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feudal sovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; as also the imperial fiefs, such as Laniguiana, and those which lie between Tuscany and the states of Parma, the Ligurian and Lucchese republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Cisalpine republic.

XII. His imperial majesty and the French republic will, in concert, employ their influence, in the course of concluding the peace of the empire, that the princes and states of the empire, who in consequence of the stipulations of the present treaty of peace, or in con-

sequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, shall suffer any loss in territory or rights (particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, the Margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau Saarbruck, Salm, Coburg, Lowenstein, Westheim, and Wied-Runckel, and the Count de Leyn), shall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which shall be settled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

XIII. The troops of his imperial majesty, twenty days after the ratifications of the present treaties, shall evacuate the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburgh, Mannheim, Kunistein, Ulm, and Ingulstadt, as also the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary states.

XIV. The present secret articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day signed, and shall in like manner be ratified at the same time, by the two contracting powers; which ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797, 16th of Vendemaire, in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

Buonaparte.

Marquis de Gallo.

Louis, Count Cobenzel.

VOL. XL.

Count Meerfeldt, maj. gen.
Count Degelmann.

Declaration of the Sovereign Council of Berne, on the 31st of January, 1798.

We being assembled this day, upon oath, to deliberate upon the measures to be taken for the safety of the country, have personally bound ourselves by a solemn oath, and have firmly resolved to defend the country at the price of our property and our blood, to the last extremity, and with all our power, against any enemy whatever, and to employ to that end all the means dependant upon us, in concert with our dear and faithful burghers.

The Deputies of the Bernese People to their Fellow-citizens.

When, some days ago, we were called by your meetings to sit in the midst of the government, you justly hoped that great advantages would result from it, and that the closer union of the citizens of the state would be the true means of protecting us successfully against the dangers that were every moment increasing, and more and more threatening our country. Your hope will not be disappointed, dear fellow-citizens; and though in so short a time, it has not yet been possible for us to remove your fears upon the arrangements without, we have, nevertheless, taken a great step towards the triumph which we should desire; that is, by having increased our strength,

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by a union most wise and most necessary. As a thousand little streams, running by themselves, and which by a happy inclination, fall into one channel, from a powerful and majestic river, so are we going to become a striking and formidable mass, whose courage, and assurance of a good cause, cannot fail to obtain success.

Man is designed to improve his state; it is one of the great blessings attached to his nature. All the human dispositions should make a progress according to circumstances;—but the most important of all is the union of men under laws and government, which we call the state. The edifice of our constitution, existing for ages—its very antiquity would be a respectable testimony in its favour, even if we had not a still more perfect proof in the general prosperity which the nation has enjoyed, to the present time, under its influence. However, as nothing, which is the work of man, can be perfect, our government, perhaps, has need of some reforms; and the fathers of the country have been long occupied in the means of effecting them, without shocks, and without agitations; for, nothing is more dangerous, than to touch, though ever so slightly, the constitutional laws of a state. It seemed, therefore, that the present moment was not proper for this great work, and surely it might have produced much more valuable advantages, had it been possible to delay it till happier times. Nevertheless, confess it, dear fellow-citizens, a strong desire of innovation has appeared on your part. This wish was that of a small number, it is

true; but it was imprudent, if it came from yourselves; it was incompatible with that noble pride which ought to animate a free people, if it was the result of a foreign impulse.

It was to satisfy your views that, as soon as we had taken our places in the assembly of the government, alterations were proposed to us which appeared useful to the general good of the country, and suitable to circumstances. We have supported those propositions with firmness, as you entrusted to us the care of co-operating as we should judge necessary for the safety of the country.

If it be true that our constitution was not exempt from abuses, which human weakness renders almost inseparable from governments, how many have already disappeared, through the wisdom and prudence of the administration? Did we not possess in the fullest extent we could have, the security of persons and property, the two most precious advantages of civil society? Can the administration be accused of a single deviation from justice? Can the members of our government be reproached with the least inclination that could look like corruption? Could the treasures of the state be administered with stricter responsibility, with greater economy? And if the fertility of a parched and rocky soil, if the prosperity of a loyal nation, that has preserved the ancient purity of its manners, be the most certain proofs of the goodness of its government, it is not yourselves who render this glorious testimony to the supreme power? Woe be to you, if ever you can forget it!

And, farthermore, the rights,

which in future you will enjoy, have not been demanded, but freely granted: for the wish of the majority had not yet appeared among you. It remains for you, dear fellow-citizens, to render yourselves worthy of these blessings. If liberty be the greatest blessing to the people, the basis which secures it ought to be so much the more sacred; there is nothing great or sublime, which may not be yet effected under its auspices; but a good constitution can only be the effect of profound discernment, and the result of tranquil labour, directed by wisdom and experience. If, on the contrary, it be hurried by the heat of the passions, it is stifled in its birth. The elevation of such an edifice is the work of time, by which alone every thing is matured. To begin by demolishing what gives us a sure shelter, would be to expose ourselves naked to the violence of a tempest. When a lowering storm gathers on the horizon, the pilot, who has a sense of his duty, stands more stoutly at the helm, but still keeps his sails spread, the sooner to bring his ship to anchor.

The welfare of your country, dear brothers, your own, and that of your children, is in your hands. Your wishes are now satisfied. All that could be granted, consistently with the general good, has been granted. Whoever at this time, should dare to require more, could only do so from selfish views, and not for his country; his object could only be to destroy, not to preserve it. We have but a choice between two things; either an intire obedience to the law and supreme power, which alone can

save our threatened state; or, the overflow of all the wild and ungovernable passions, the ruin of a flourishing country, the annihilation of public prosperity, the havoc occasioned by the corruption of morals; in short, a view of the most frightful disasters and misfortunes, for us and our generation. Who should dare to doubt our resolution? Yes, dear fellow-citizens! you have honoured us with your confidence; you have imposed upon us the task, exceedingly grateful to our hearts, of supporting your dearest rights and interests. It is for you, then, it is in your name, it is from the bottom of our hearts, that we swear to save the country; and you cannot bely us.

If this act of union, which we this day announce to you, were not enough to disarm all our enemies, and annihilate their designs; if there be one yet remaining, who would impose laws upon us, violate the sanctuary of our liberty, and, in fine, render useless the wise reforms we have been making in our constitution; then the country will summon her children; they will assemble, they will press round her; and if you should have the misfortune to be forced to fight, the thorough knowledge you have of your cause will support your courage, while it ensures you success. The solemn assurance of your rights will be the standard round which you will form an impenetrable wall; it will be the banner you will carry against a powerful enemy, who thenceforth will no longer be to be feared by you: we will place ourselves beside you, and in the first ranks; it will wave, bleeding in the air,

but we will never desert it; we will bring it back with us, or never more return ourselves; and, if pushed to extremity, we are resolved to die, but in such a manner as to recall to the remembrance of posterity the glorious name of our ancestors. We will bury ourselves under the ruins of our country, rather than bow our heads under an ignominious yoke. We may cease to be, but our honour must never be annihilated.

Berne, Feb. 5th, 1798.

Proclamation of the General-in-chief of the French Army in Helvetia, to the Helvetic Nation.

*Head Quarters at Berne,
July 8.*

Brave Helvetians,

One of the most perfidious means which the enemies of our regeneration have employed to shut your hearts against confidence in us, and to spread around suspicion and anxiety, is to ascribe to the French republic the design of uniting the territory of the Helvetic republic to that of the French republic. Cowardly wretches! Finding they were unable to resist those victorious arms which broke asunder the chains of the patriots, and delivered the victims of oligarchy, they wished at least to avenge their disgrace, by exciting hatred and disgust against a government which fostered among you the establishment of an order of things to which itself owes its force and its lustre: against an army which overwhelmed anarchy and fanaticism by turns, which, but for its valour, would have converted Switzerland into one vast tomb.

Brave Helvetians! to you, who have recovered those rights of which a free constitution will secure the enjoyment; to you, who do not confound the transient crisis of a revolution with the blessings which must succeed to it; to you it will, doubtless, be sufficient to point out this new stratagem of your enemies to insure its defeat, and to turn its effect against its authors themselves.

Is not France already sufficiently powerful; sufficiently extensive? Has she added to her territory Holland, and the fine countries of Italy, which were conquered by the force of her arms? Are not the Batavian, Cisalpine, Ligurian, and Roman Republics, monuments of her respect for the independence of nations and the sovereignty of every people? Have not yourselves received the most unequivocal proofs of it?

No! Switzerland is not destined to augment the number of our departments. The country of William Tell is worthy of ranking among free states and representative governments; she will accomplish that splendid destiny, and she will find in the French republic a faithful ally and sincere friend, always ready to protect her against all her enemies.

(Signed)
SCHAUBENBOURG.

Felix Desportes, Commissary of the Government, to the Executive Directory.

*Geneva, 27 Germinal,
(April 16).*

Geneva is now happy; its union with the French republic has been

unanimously proclaimed by the extraordinary commission, after the sovereign council which had been held in the morning. A solemn deputation, preceded by a crowd of citizens, who made the air resound with cries of "Live the great nation! Live the Executive Directory!" came to announce this resolution to me: I accepted, in your names, the wishes of the Genevese people. The most criminal and unparalleled intrigues were made use of to interrupt the designs of the sovereign council. The hosts of anarchists wished to destroy the hopes of the people, they wished to prevent the prolongation of the powers of the commission. But the patriots of Geneva braved the vociferations and poniards of their tyrants, and out of 3197 voters, 2204 gave their suffrages for the prolongation, and 33 votes were declared null and void. The commission then could no longer doubt of the voice of the citizens, and hastened to satisfy their impatience. At this moment that committee is treating with me in negotiating a treaty of union. After the sitting of the sovereign council under the express demand of the Genevese, I put within their walls an armed force commanded by General Gerard, and only consisting of about 1200 men, merely sufficient to suppress the fury of the brigands, who threatened to destroy the friends of the French. The half of this force returns this morning to its cantonments at Carrange and Ferney, the remaining part rest in barracks at Geneva. Such is the wish of the Genevese people, and it is the promise of my keeping amongst them the conquerors

of the Rhine, that the friends of France have mounted the tri-coloured cockade. I will not speak to you, citizen directors, of the enthusiasm with which our brave defenders were received by their new fellow-citizens; all their wants were anticipated; there was a general emulation to afford them every species of accommodation; nothing was heard on any side but songs which sounded the praises of the French heroes! every heart seemed to be united in the bonds of fraternity! So, flattering a reception, so real an attachment, should prove to you, citizen directors, how much the twig of Geneva figures in the fasces of the great republic.

*Decree of the Legislative Body of
Helvetia.*

Arau, 20th Sept. 1798.

The legislative councils, considering that the legislators of the republic have sacred duties to fulfil, after the sad events in which they have seen on one side a portion of the children of Helvetia misled by fanatical priests, and deceived by foreign and perfidious emissaries, rise against the mother-country, abjure the constitution, which they had accepted, and arm against their brethren; and on the other side, magistrates, equally courageous and wise, repressing revolt by the sole force of the republic, that is to say, by the zeal of the good citizens who are animated by the love of liberty and the Helvetic union; that they have seen too the brave French army lavishing their blood in the support of their allies, and gaining a victory,

afflicting without doubt, because obtained over our misled brethren; but glorious and salutary, inasmuch as it overwhelms fanaticism, and establishes the republic upon bases not to be shaken: considering that as faithful organs of the Helvetic people, the representatives ought to express the sentiments as well as the will of the people, and that it belongs to them to decree in their name to the valiant defenders of the country the sole recompence worthy of them, the expression of the gratitude of a free people; to the rebels, and, above all, to the infamous authors of this parricidal plot, the penalty due to their crimes; finally, to the unfortunate who have suffered the destructive scourge of war, the succours which they may expect from a mother-country:—the legislative councils taking into consideration the message of the directory of the 17th September, decree, after having declared urgency:

1. The legislative body declare solemnly, that the French army and the citizen General Schauenbourg have deserved well of the Helvetic republic.

2. Honourable mention shall be made in the register of the energetic conduct of Citizen Bolt, prefect of the canton of Sentis, of the communes of the cantons that have risen for the cause of liberty; of Citizen Hoes, prefect of the canton of Linth; of the prefects of Lucerne and Wadstatten; of the sub-prefects; of the communes and citizens of Helvetia who have signalized themselves for the maintenance of freedom and the constitution.

3. The rebels, and principally

the authors and accomplices in the conspiracy against the country, shall be prosecuted criminally, and tried according to the constitution, articles 93 and 94.

4. The orphans left by the patriots who perished on that occasion shall be brought up at the expence of the republic.

Finally, there shall be made, throughout Helvetia, a voluntary collection in favour of the persons burnt out in the district of Stantz, and of those in the adjacent parts who may have suffered in consequence of those events: the amount of the collection shall be transmitted to the directory, who shall distribute it.

Treaty of Peace, and of Alliance offensive and defensive, concluded between the French and Helvetic Republics.

The French and Helvetic republics being equally desirous to make the most perfect peace and the strictest friendship succeed to a war which an oligarchy had provoked, and which, for a time, had caused a division between the two nations, have resolved to unite themselves together by an alliance grounded on the real interests of the two countries: the respective governments have accordingly appointed, on the part of the French directory, citizen C. M. Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, and on the part of the executive directory of the Helvetic republic, Citizens P. J. Zeltner and Amadee Jenner, who, after a mutual exchange of their full powers, agreed to the following articles:

I. There shall be, for a perpe-

taity, peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French and Helvetic republics.

II. There exists, from the present moment between the two republics, an alliance offensive and defensive. The general result of this alliance is, that each of the republics may, in case of war, claim the co-operation of its ally. The power claiming this co-operation shall then specify against whom the co-operation is required, and, in consequence of that special requisition, the power called upon enters into war against the power or powers designated; but it remains in a state of neutrality with respect to such powers as may be at war with the claiming power, and whom it may not have particularly designated. It is acknowledged that the effect of the requisition, on the part of the French republic shall never be to send the Swiss troops beyond the sea. The troops called for shall be paid and maintained by the power calling for them; and in case of such requisition, neither of the two republics shall separately conclude any treaty of armistice or of peace. The particular effects of the alliance, when on either side a requisition shall take place, the nature and the quantity of the succours to be mutually afforded, shall be amicably determined by special conventions, grounded on the principles contained in this article.

III. The French republic accordingly guarantees to the Helvetic republic its independence and the unity of its government; and, in case the oligarchy should attempt to overturn the present Helvetic constitution, the French re-

public binds itself to grant to the Helvetic republic, upon its requisition, such succours as it may stand in need of, in order to triumph over such internal or external attack as may be made against it. It promises its good offices to the Helvetic republic that may insure it the enjoyment of all its rights with regard to other powers, and, in order to furnish it with the means of speedily re-establishing its military strength, on the most important footing, the French republic consents to restore the artillery that has been taken from it during the present war, and which may be still at the disposal of the French government at the moment of signing the present treaty, provided the Helvetic republic will send for such pieces of artillery, and carry them back into its own territory.

IV. The frontiers between France and Helvetia shall be determined by a particular convention, the basis of which shall be, that every thing which formed part of the *ci-devant* bishopric of Basil, and the principality of Porrentruy, shall remain definitively united under the French territory, as well as the intersection of the Swiss territory comprehended in the department of the Upper Rhine and Mont Terrible; with reservation of the counter-cessions and exchanges, which may be judged indispensable for rendering these frontiers perfectly straight from Basil to Geneva, and which shall not affect the unions which have already been definitively made to the French territory.

V. In order to secure the communications of the French republic with the south of Germany and

Italy, there shall be granted to the said republic the free and perpetual use of two commercial and military roads, the first of which shall pass the north of Helvetia up the Rhine, along the west and southern banks of the lake of Constance; the second, beginning at Geneva, and traversing the department of Mont-Blanc, shall go through the Valais, running into the territory of the Cisalpine republic by a course to be fixed; and it is determined that each state shall, within its own territories, execute the works necessary for the construction of these two roads.

VI. It is likewise stipulated, that, in order to give to the internal navigation of the two republics all the beneficial improvements of which it is susceptible, each of them respectively shall, within its own territories, execute the works of art which shall be necessary for the establishment of a communication by water from the lake of Geneva to the Rhine, and from Geneva to that part of the Rhone which is navigable.

VII. The French republic binds itself to furnish to the Helvetic republic all the salt which it may stand in need of, from the salt-pits of La Meurthe, of Jura, and of Mont Blanc. The prices of the said salt, the expences of carriage, the places and the periods of delivery, shall be regulated at least every ten years between citizens charged by the French government with the preparing of the salt, and the officers of the Helvetic government, without ever permitting the price of the said salt to exceed that paid by the French citizens, and without the

subjects of the Helvetic government being ever subjected to paying the taxes which in France may be laid upon that commodity.

VIII. According to the latter article, the Helvetic republic expressly renounces all the drawbacks on salt which it might be entitled to claim in virtue of ancient treaties which existed between France and the cantons; and it binds itself to take annually, from the salt-pits, at least two hundred and fifty thousand quintals of salt.

IX. The citizens of the French republic may go and come to Helvetia furnished with regular passports; they shall be at liberty to form all manner of establishments there, to exercise every kind of industry which the law permits and protects; their persons and property shall be subject to the laws and usages of the country. The citizens of the Helvetic republic shall enjoy in France, and in all the dominions of the French republic, the same rights on the same conditions.

X. In all litigated points respecting individuals, which cannot be settled by reference, or by the decision of the courts, the plaintiff shall be obliged to follow up his action before the natural judges of the defendant: unless the parties be present on the very spot where the bargain had been contracted, or have agreed upon the choice of the judges to whose decision they would leave the matter in dispute. In litigated points, having for object landed property, the suit shall be carried on before a tribunal or a magistrate of that place, where the property is situated. The litigations that may

arise between the heirs of a Frenchman who dies in Switzerland, with regard to his succession, shall be transferred before the judge of the residence which the Frenchman possessed in France: and the same shall be observed with regard to the succession of a Swiss who may die in France.

XI. The definitive judgment in civil causes, that are regarded as settled points, and that have been pronounced by French tribunals, shall be executed in Switzerland, and *vice versa*, after they shall have been sanctioned by the respective ministers.

XII. In case of the failure or bankruptcy of a Frenchman possessed of property in France, if there are Swiss creditors and French creditors, the Swiss creditors, who shall have conformed to the French laws for the security of their hypothetic, shall be paid, according to the order of their hypothetic, on the footing of French creditors: and *vice versa*, if Swiss, possessing property in the Helvetic republic, shall have both French and Swiss creditors, the French creditors, who shall have employed the requisite formalities to secure an hypothetic, in Switzerland, shall be arranged with Swiss creditors, according to the order of their hypothetic. With regard to simple creditors they shall be treated in the same manner, without respect to which of the two countries they belong.

XIII. In all criminal proceedings for heinous offences, instituted either before Swiss or French courts, witnesses shall be mutually bound to attend from either country in person, under the penalties to be fixed by the two countries.

The necessary passports shall, in this case, be granted by the government of the party requiring, according to distance, &c.

XIV. The two republics shall mutually engage to grant no asylum to the emigrants or persons banished from the other. They likewise bind themselves, to exile, on the first requisition, the persons of either nation who shall judicially have been declared guilty of conspiracy against the interest or external security of the state, of murder, poisoning, fire-raising, forgery, violence, theft and robbery, or persons accused of these crimes; and the property stolen in either country, and taken to the other, shall be restored.

XV. There shall immediately be concluded between the two republics, a treaty of commerce founded upon the most complete reciprocity of advantage. In the mean time, the subjects of both nations shall be treated upon the footing of those of the most favoured nations.

Concluded and signed at Paris,
2d Fructidor (August 19),
of the French republic, one
and indivisible, 6 (1798).

(Signed) Ch. M. Talleyrand.
P. J. Zeltner.
H. A. Jenner.

Proclamation of A. J. H. Mallartie, General-in-Chief, Governor-General of the Isle of France, and of the Re-union, and Commandant-General of the French Establishments to the East of the Cape of Good Hope.

Citizens,
Knowing, for many years, your

zeal and attachment for the interest and glory of our republic, we are very impatient, and consider it a duty to make known to you the propositions that we have received from Tippoo Sultaun, by two ambassadors which he had sent to us. This prince has written particular letters to the colonial assembly, and to all the generals employed in that government: he has likewise addressed to us a packet for the executive directory.

First, He demands to make an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French, proposing to maintain, at his charge, as long as the war shall continue in India, the troops they can send him.

Second, He promises to furnish every necessary for that war, except wine and brandy, of which he finds himself absolutely destitute.

Third, That all preparations are made ready to receive the succours which they shall give to him; and on the arrival of the troops, the chiefs and officers shall find every thing necessary to carry on a war that Europeans are little accustomed to.

Fourth, Finally, he only waits the moment when the French shall come to his aid, to declare war against the English, ardently wishing to drive them from India.

As it is impossible for us to reduce the number of the 107th and 108th regiments, and *de la garde soldée du port de la Fraternité*, on account of the assistance we have sent our allies, the Dutch, we invite the citizens voluntarily to embody themselves in their respective municipalities, to serve under the colours of Tippoo. This prince desires also to have the citizens of

colour, freemen; and we invite all those who wish to serve under his banners to enrol themselves.

We can assure all the citizens who wish to enrol themselves, that Tippoo will make advantageous treaties, which will continue with his ambassadors who may engage for themselves, besides in the name of their sovereign, in such way, that the French, who shall have taken part in his armies, shall not be retained when they wish to return back to their country.

Done this 10th Fluvoise (29th Jan.), the sixth year of the French republic.

(Signed)

Mallartie.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Elders of the 24th May.

Citizens Representatives,

England has hazarded a new expedition, which has ended only in its disgrace.

On the morning of the 19th of May, an English fleet appeared before Ostend, and bombarded that city violently. Protected by the fire of the fleet, their boats disembarked 4000 men, who took possession of the shore, threw up batteries there, and attempted to blow up the sluices of the Sas de Sleyken, and the gates of Ostend. The enemy summoned the place to surrender within half an hour. The garrison consisted only of 30 men. "You shall never become masters of the port which is entrusted to me," said the brave commander, Muscar, "until my garrison and I shall be buried in the ruins." Republicans are unable to confine themselves to de-

ensive operations. On the 20th, at break of day, 300 men only of the 46th and 94th demi-brigades, conducted by Keller, commandant of the square of Bruges, marched to the English column. They attacked with an ardour and an intrepidity which partook of the nature of a prodigy: the courage of republicans always increases in proportion to the number of their enemies. The entrenchment thrown up against them soon gave way; and, after two hours fighting the English, being entirely routed, threw down their arms. The bombardment, which had recommenced, ceased; from 1500 to 1800 prisoners were taken, eight pieces of cannon, two howitzers, and a great number of muskets of the enemy, remain in our power. The rest of the enemy re-embarked with precipitation, having lost a great number of men, who were drowned in their attempting to escape.

The commandant of the British artillery was killed: one of their major-generals had his thigh taken off; another, together with 800 officers, as well superior as inferior, are prisoners. In short, the troops who had been disembarked were, according to the accounts of the prisoners themselves, the flower of the English army: they had been selected for the occasion; and among them were four companies of the guards, and the whole regiment of the Prince of Wales.

You will hardly repress your indignation, citizen representatives, at learning that the plans of the enemy were seconded by traitors at Ostend. The cries of "Long live King George! Brave

English!" were heard there; the national cockade was insulted, and the arms of the volunteers employed in manning the batteries, for want of artillerymen, were broken by some traitors. These atrocious acts shall not remain unpunished; but it cannot be denied, that the slow progress of the ordinary tribunals is insufficient to the punishment of those who should be struck down with the rapidity of the thunderbolt. You will consider, citizen representatives, of the propriety of declaring, by a law, that the traitors who by any means give encouragement, during an attack, to the enemies of the republic, shall be tried by a military commission.

The directory invites you to take this message into your earliest consideration.

(Signed)

Merlin, president.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, sent on the 1st July, 1798.

For a long time the government of Malta has shewn itself hostile to France. It afforded protection to emigrants, as also to the soldiers of Condé's army. Her constitution ought to have obliged her to observe a strict neutrality, but she always acted in favour of the enemies of France. The French, who were friends to liberty, at Malta, were ill-treated and confined. In a manifesto, of the 10th of October, 1793, the grand master declared, that the ports of the island should be shut against French vessels, and that

he should recognise the ambassador but as a chargé d'affaires of the King without saying any thing of the republic; he declared, he could not, nor would not, recognize it. On the 9th of June, of the present year, a request was made, by the French general, for water, which was refused by the grand master, who declared ironically, that he could admit but two ships into the port. Dared he thus insult a French army, commanded by Bonaparte? The 10th of June, the French were on shore early in the morning, and Malta was invested, and the town cannonaded on all sides. The besieged made a sally, in which General Marmont, at the head of the 19th brigade, took the standard of the order. On the 11th the knights surrendered the town and port, and renounced their property in the island to the French republic. We found, at Malta, two vessels, one frigate, four galleys, 1200 pieces of cannon, 40,000 muskets, 1,500,000 rounds of powder and other ammunition, of which the directory have not received the particular details.

Order of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, in Consequence of the Refusal of the Council of Elders of the Cisalpine Republic, on the 15th March, 1798, to accede to the Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, between the French and Cisalpine Republics.

The directory, considering that their refusal is the effect of the manœuvres of the enemies of the two countries, and that it gives

the French republic a title to resume all those rights which it was before willing to wave, has ordered—First, that a contribution shall be raised, to defray the expences of maintaining the troops of the French republic in Italy; and, second, that twenty-one citizens, named by the commander-in-chief, members of the council of elders of the Cisalpine republic, shall be superseded and arrested.

Message to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 28th Fructidor (September 14)

The executive directory is desirous to inform you, that the French troops have entered Egypt. The French nation, the Ottoman Porte itself, and the oppressed people of that fine but unfortunate country, are at last avenged.

This memorable event had been long foreseen, by a small number of men to whom glorious and useful ideas are familiar; but it was too much the custom to rank it among chimerical projects. It was reserved for the French republic to realize this new prodigy.

The causes which prepared and insured its success are now to be retraced.

For nearly forty years, the beys, with their mamelukes, those domineering slaves of Egypt, practised the most shameful vexations on the French, settled in those countries on the faith of our treaties with the Porte. From the period of the domination of Ali Bey, about 1760, we may particularly date the excess of those outrages. That audacious usurper,

after having thrown off the yoke of the grand seignor, by ignominiously expelling his pacha, refusing to pay tribute, and arrogating the right of making money of his own coin, insulted our consuls, menaced our dragomans with the most infamous punishments, and practised numerous impositions on our merchants. His successors, Krahil Bey, and Mohamed Bey, partly deserve similar reproaches; but their vexations were more moderate. Mourad Bey, and Ibrahim Bey, who reigned after them, surpassed (the first particularly) all their predecessors in extortion and plunder. Indignant at the conduct of these oppressors, the Ottoman Porte appeared, in 1786, to wish to take vengeance upon them. With the aid of the forces commanded by Hassan Pacha, she compelled them to fly, and placed a successor; but she did not know how to secure her authority; and these two beys, in 1791, at the death of Ismael Bey, who had replaced them, recovered their power without obstacle, and consequently assumed their former domination.

From that instant, but particularly since France has been constituted a republic, the French have experienced, in Egypt, vexations a thousand times more revolting. It was easy to recognise the influence and the fury of the British cabinet. The extortions of all sorts multiplied, often without the pretext of necessity;—and all remonstrances were vain.

In the second year of the republic, the consul wished to make just representations to Mourad Bey, on the subject of the extraordinary exactions, ordered by

that usurper, from the French merchants. The bey, far from shewing a disposition to acquiesce in his request, confined him instantly to his own house, by an armed force, till all the produce of that odious extortion had been entirely paid him.

Towards the end of that same year, the vexations arose to such a pitch, that the French settled at Cairo, desirous to put their persons, and the remainder of their fortunes, out of imminent danger, decided to remove their establishments to Alexandria: but Mourad Bey took offence at this resolution: he ordered them to be pursued in their flight: such as remained were treated as vile criminals, and redoubled his rage against them all, after he knew one of the fugitives was brother to a member of the national convention, against which he vomited forth his implacable hatred.

Thus his tyranny knew no bounds, and the French nation found itself a prisoner in Egypt. The bey tormented every instant with the apprehensions that some attempt might be made to escape his vigilance, dared to tell our consul, that if a single Frenchman should engage in such an undertaking, all, even the consul himself, should forfeit their heads for his escape. Such audacity and madness can scarcely be conceived: but he soon perceived that this excessive tyranny would not long continue profitable. He returned, on the demand of the grand vizir, not the sums that had been extorted, but their liberty to the French; and even as the price of that, which was regarded as a favour, he imposed new pecuniary

sacrifices. The French then were afraid to settle, in the third year, at Alexandria; but there, as at Rosetta and other places on the coast of the Mediterranean, they were exposed to the rapacity of all subaltern agents. These agents of the bey, more base and felonious even than himself, violently seized upon the French merchandises as they arrived in port. They fixed their own prices on the goods, and even settled the mode of payment. Should they meet the least resistance, even of the most lawful kind, force was immediately employed to repel it. At Rosetta, the gates of our vice-consul were forced, his windows broken, and even weapons raised against him, because he refused to submit to a contribution, from which even Mourad Bey himself had ordered the French to be exempted. Notwithstanding this order of the bey, the consul was obliged to yield to force. Finally, on the 10th of January last, Coram, a custom-house officer of Mourad Bey, at Alexandria, assembled all the dragomans, and declared to them, that the slightest violation, of what he called the rights of his master, should be punished with five hundred strokes of the bastinado, without regard to the consular character. A few days before, he threatened a dragoman to cut off his head, and send it to his consul.

Thus all the rights of nations were violated in the persons of the French with the most audacious impudence; all our treaties with the Porte, all our agreements disregarded by the beys, and by the meanest of their agents, under the pretext, as they say, of not

having been parties to them; the character of our consul disowned, outraged; the liberty and lives of the French compromised every moment, and their properties given up to pillage. The French republic could not suffer much longer those numerous aggressions, evidently instigated by England, to remain unpunished. Its patience has been extreme. The audacity of its oppressors had attained its full growth. How, then, was the French government to procure redress for such complicated injuries? Several times, through the medium of its envoy, it addressed its complaints to the Porte; but, if we except the expedition of Hassan Pacha, in 1786, who merely chastised two beys, without making compensation for the past, or provision for the future, every thing the porte thought proper to be done, was, to write in our favour some letters to the pacha of Egypt, who could do nothing, and to the two beys, who had power, but were firmly resolved to grant nothing, on this recommendation, but a deceitful submission. And thus, in the fourth year, the French ambassador at the Porte having sent into Egypt an agent, accredited with letters from the grand vizir, this agent obtained not real reparation, not a restitution of the immense sum extorted from the French, but some illusory stipulations respecting a reduction of the duties upon certain merchandises, conformable to ancient treaties; but, scarcely had he turned his back, when Mourad Bey gave orders, which were punctually obeyed, to place the duties on precisely the same footing they stood before his arrival.

The effort of the Ottoman empire to protect the French, was, therefore, evidently without weight or energy; and how could it be expected to produce a durable effect in our favour, when the Porte was reduced to that state in which it was not able to protect itself against the beys; when it felt itself obliged to suffer three millions of Egyptians, whom it called its subjects, to become the miserable victims of foreign tyranny; when its pacha was treated in Egypt as the basest of slaves; when the grand seignor was insensibly stripped of his rights; and, finally, when they no longer paid the contributions reserved on the conquest of Egypt by Selim the Second? All this proves, beyond a doubt, that the sovereignty of the Porte, in this country, was but an empty title; and, after its fruitless efforts in our favour, it would be to little purpose to expect from it a degree of interest for us, which it is neither able, nor dares to manifest for itself. Nothing, then, remains for us, but to do justice to ourselves, and by our armies to make those base usurpers, supported by the cabinet of St. James's, expiate those crimes which they have committed against us,

The French army presented itself the 1st of July. It was received at Alexandria, at Rosetta, and, on the 23d of July it entered Cairo. Thus these odious usurpers will no more oppress this ancient and fruitful land, which time cannot exhaust; which annually recruits itself by a kind of prodigy; where vegetation is of astonishing activity, and almost

spontaneous; and where the richest productions of the four quarters of the globe may be found together. But it may be said, no declaration of war preceded this expedition. Against whom could it have been made? Against the Ottoman Porte? We were far from being willing to attack this ancient ally of France, and imputing to it an oppression, of which it was the first victim itself. Is it, then, against the isolated government of the beys? Such an authority does not exist, and could not be recognised. When we chastise robbers, we do not declare war against them. And thus, in attacking the beys, it was, in fact, only England we were going to combat. It is, therefore, with a superabundance of right, that the French republic is put into a situation for speedily obtaining the immense reparations due from the usurpers of Egypt. But it did not wish to conquer for itself alone. Egypt was oppressed by these rapacious plunderers. The people of Egypt shall be avenged, and the cultivator of these fruitful countries shall at length enjoy the fruit of his labours, which has been torn from him with the most stupid barbarity. The authority of the Porte was totally disowned. It will receive, from the hands of the victorious French, the immense advantages of which it has been long deprived. Finally, for the good of the whole world, Egypt will become the country, in the whole universe, richest in productions, the centre of immense trade, and, above all, a most formidable post against the odious power of the

English in India, and their usurped commerce.

(Signed) Treilhard, president.
Legarde, sec. gen.

*Arrêté of the Executive Directory,
on the 8th Brumaire, (Oct. 29.)*

The executive directory in consequence of the report of the minister of foreign relations, observing that the squadrons, privateers, and ships, both of England and of Russia, are in a great measure equipped by foreigners; seeing, moreover, that this violation is a manifest abuse of the law of nations, and that the European powers have taken no steps to check it, decrees:

Art. I. That every person, either native or originally from the countries in amity or alliance with France, or in a state of neutrality, who is bearer of a commission granted by the enemies of France, or who composes a part of the crews of the ships of war, or others belonging to the enemy, shall, by virtue of this act alone, be declared a traitor, and treated as such, without his being permitted, in any case whatever, to plead that he was compelled into such service by force, threats, or otherwise.

Art. II. The executive directors of the Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, shall be informed of such threat.

Art. III. The provisions contained in the first article shall be notified to neutral, and to the powers allied with the French republic.

Art. IV. The minister of foreign

relations is charged with the execution of the present arrêté, which shall be published in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) Treilhard, president.
Lagarde, sec. gen.

*Message from the Directory to the
Council of Five Hundred, De-
cember 5.*

Citizens representatives,

The court of Naples has crowned its perfidies: you see, by the letters of generals Joubert and Championet, and by the copy of a letter from the Neapolitan general, Mack, to general Championet, that the French troops in the Roman republic have been attacked by the Neapolitan troops. Thus the moderation of the French republic only serves to increase the audacity of its enemies. The details which will be sent you, will convince you, that both the one and the other have been carried to their height.

Now the first care of the government will be to take measures to repel the insolent attack of a perjured court.

The executive directory has likewise to declare to you, that the court of Turin, equally perfidious, makes common cause with our enemies; and this crowns a long train of crimes against the French republic.

Citizens representatives, the executive directory does not dissemble that the danger is imminent; but republican energy is still great; and if all differences of opinion now disappear, and all wishes unite, and the legislative

body will second, by every means in its power, the efforts of government, the projects of the enemies of the republic will again be confounded, and the triumph of liberty will be for ever secured.

The executive directory proposes to you formally to declare war against the king of Naples and the king of Sardinia.

Bonaparte to the Pacha of Egypt.

*On board l'Orient, 12 Messidor,
(June 30.)*

The executive directory of the French republic have frequently applied to, the Sublime Porte, to demand the punishment of the beys of Egypt, who oppressed, with their vexations, the merchants of France.

But the Sublime Porte declared, that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refused to listen to the principles of justice, and not only that the Porte did not authorize these insults, but withdrew their protection from the persons by whom they were committed.

The French republic has resolved to send a powerful army, to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the same manner as it has been several times compelled, during the present century, to take these measures, against the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the master of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority, you ought to regard my arrival with pleasure. You are, doubtless, already apprised that I come not to attempt any thing against the alcoran or the sultan. You know that the

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French nation is the only ally which the sultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curse, along with me, the impious race of the beys.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

*Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief
to the Commander of the Caravan.*

*On board l'Orient, 13 Messidor,
(July 1.)*

The beys have oppressed our merchants with vexation; I am come to demand reparation. Tomorrow I shall be in Alexandria. You ought to feel no uneasiness; you belong to our grand friend, the sultan; conduct yourself accordingly. But if you commit the least hostility against the French army, I shall treat you as an enemy; and for this you must be accountable, as it is far from my heart and from my intentions,

(Signed) Bonaparte

*Bonaparte, General-in-Chief, to
the People of Egypt.*

For a long time the beys who govern Egypt, have insulted the French Nation, and oppressed the merchants with exactions.

For a long time this heap of slaves, purchased in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the fairest part of the world.

But God, upon whom all depends, has directed that their empire should finish.

Inhabitants of Egypt, when the beys tell you I come to destroy your religion, believe them not, Answer them, that I come to res-

*Y

cue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and that the French respect, more than the mamelucks, God, his prophet, and the koran.

Tell them that all men are equal in the eyes of God. Understanding, ingenuity, and science alone, make a difference between them; and what wisdom, what talents, what virtues distinguish the mamelucks, that they should have exclusively all that renders life sweet and pleasant?

Is there a beautiful woman? She belongs to the mamelucks. Is there a handsome slave, a fine horse, a fine house? They belong to the mamelucks.

Is Egypt their farm? Let them shew the lease which God has given them. But God is just and merciful to all people. All the Egyptians are entitled to the possession of all places. The wisest, most enlightened, and most virtuous will govern, and the people will be happy. You had once great cities, large canals, much trade: who has destroyed them but the avarice, injustice, and tyranny of the mamelucks?

Cadis, cheiks, imans, teherbadjies, tell the people that we are the friends of true mussulmen. Did not we destroy the pope, who saw that it was necessary to make war against the mussulmen? Did we not destroy the knights of Malta, because those foolish men thought that God wished war to be carried on against the mussulmen? Have not we been at all times the friends of the grand seignor, (may God accomplish his wishes!) and the foe of his foes? The mamelucks, on the

contrary, are not they ever revolting against the authority of the grand seignor, whom they still refuse to acknowledge?

Thrice happy those who are with us! they shall prosper in their fortune and rank—happy those who are neuter! they will have time to learn, to know us, and will be with us. But miserable, thrice miserable those who shall arm for the mamelucks, and fight against us—there shall be no hope for them, they shall perish!

Art. I. All places which shall be three leagues distant from the route of the French army, shall send one of their principal inhabitants to the general, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the French flag, which is blue, white and red.

II. Every village which shall arm against the French army, shall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which shall submit to the French, shall hoist the French flag, and that of the Sublime Porte, their ally.

IV. The cheiks shall seal up the houses and effects of the mamelucks, and take care that not the smallest article shall be lost.

V. The cheiks, cadis, and imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions. Each inhabitant shall remain in his house, and prayers shall continue as usual: every one shall return thanks to God for the destruction of the mamelucks. Glory to the sultan, glory to the French army his friend! Curses to the mamelucks, and happiness to the people of Egypt!

(Signed) Bonaparte.

Declaration of the Mufti, and principal Cheiks of the City of Alexandria, in the name of the Inhabitants.

Glory to God, to whom all glory is due, and peace to the holy prophet Mahomet, his family, and the companions of his divine mission.

The following agreement has been concluded between us, the chief men of the city of Alexandria, whose names are hereunto subjoined, and the general-in-chief of the French army encamped in this city.

The undersigned chiefs shall continue to observe the law and sacred institutions. They shall determine all differences according to the purest justice, and carefully keep at a distance from the crooked path of iniquity. The *cadi*, to whose care the tribunal of justice is to be confided, shall be a man of the purest moral and the most irreproachable conduct; but he shall not pronounce any sentence without first consulting the chiefs of the law, and his final judgment shall be regulated by their decision. The subscribing Cheiks shall study the means of making righteousness flourish, and direct all their efforts to that object, as if animated with the same spirit. They shall take no resolution but what is adopted with one accord. They shall zealously labour for the good of the country, the happiness of the people, and the destruction of the children of vice and iniquity. They farther promise never to betray, or attempt to ensnare the French army, to act contrary to its interests, nor enter into any conspi-

racious that may be formed against it.

To all these promises they have bound themselves by the most solemn oath, which they renew by this act in the sincerest and most religious manner.

The general-in-chief of the French army promises, on his part, that no one of the soldiers shall molest the inhabitants of Alexandria, by vexatious proceedings, rapine, or menaces; and those who shall commit such excesses, shall be punished with the utmost rigour.

The general-in-chief has also most solemnly promised, that he shall never attempt to compel any of the inhabitants to change their religion, nor to make any innovation in their religious usages; but, on the contrary, assures them, that his wish is, that they shall continue to profess their religion, and that he will continue to maintain their tranquillity and property by all the means in his power, as long as they shall abstain from any attempt against his person, or the army which he commands.

The present convention was prepared and signed on the morning of Wednesday, the 20th of the moon Mubarem, 1213th year of the Hegira, corresponding to the 17th Messidor, 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

The signatures of the mufti and cheiks are as follow:

The poor Seuleiman, mufti of Maliki.

The poor Ibrahim el Bourgi, chief of the sect Hamste.

The poor Muhamed el Messira.

The poor Ahmed, &c.

Translated by me, secretary-interpreter to the general-in-chief.

Venture.

*Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief,
to the Cheiks and Notables of
Cairo.*

Head-quarters at Giza, 4th Thermidor, (July 20,) 6th year.

You will see, by the annexed proclamation, by what sentiments I am animated. Yesterday the mamelucks were, for the most part, killed, or taken prisoners, and I am now in pursuit of the few that remained. Send hither the boats which are on your banks of the river, and send also a deputation to make known to me your submission. Cause bread, meat, straw, and barley, to be provided for my army, and be perfectly easy, for no one has a greater desire than I to contribute to your happiness.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

*Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief,
to the People of Cairo.*

Head-quarters at Giza, 4th Thermidor, 6th year.

People of Cairo, I am satisfied with your conduct. You have done right not to take any part against me; I am come to destroy the race of the mamelucks, and to protect the trade and the natives of the country. Let all those who are under any fear be composed; and let those who have quitted their homes return to them. Let prayers be offered up to-day as usual, for I wish that they may

be always continued. Entertain no fear for your families, your houses, your property; and, above all, the religion of your prophet, whom I love. As it is absolutely necessary that some persons should be immediately charged with the administration of the police, in order that tranquillity may not be interrupted, there shall be a divan, composed of seven persons, who shall assemble at the mosque of Ver; and there shall always be two with the commandant of the place, and four shall be occupied in maintaining public tranquillity, and in watching over the police.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

*Bonaparte, Commander-in-Chief,
to the Pacha of Cairo.*

Head-quarters at Cairo, 2d Fructidor, (August 19,) 6th year.

The intention of the French republic in taking possession of Egypt, is to drive out the mamelucks, who were both rebels to the Porte, and declared enemies to the French government. At present, when master of it by the signal victory which its army has gained, its intention is to preserve to the pacha of the Grand Seigneur his revenues and appointment. I beg then you will assure the Porte, that it will suffer no kind of loss, and I will take care it shall continue to receive the tribute heretofore paid to it.

(Signed) Bonaparte.

*Proclamation of Bonaparte to the
Inhabitants of Cairo, dated Ni-
vose (December 28th.)*

Perverse men had succeeded in

misleading a party amongst you : they have perished. God has ordered me to be merciful towards the people, and I have been clement and merciful towards you : I have been incensed against you on account of the revolt ; I have deprived you for two months of your divan : but this day I restore it to you ; your good conduct has effaced the stain of your rebellion. Sheriffs, vimas, orators of the mosque, cause the people well to understand, that those who, through any levity, shall become my enemies, shall find no refuge in this world or in the next. Shall there be a man so blind as not to see that all my operations are conducted by destiny ? Can there be a man so incredulous as to doubt that every thing in this vast universe is subjected to the empire of destiny ? Instruct the people that since the world has existed it was written, that, after having destroyed the enemies of Islamism (Mahometanism), and destroyed the cross, I should come from the farthest part of the west to fulfil the task which was imposed upon me. Make the people see that in the second book of the Koran, in more than twenty passages, that which has happened was foreseen, and that which shall take place has also been explained : let those then whom the fear of our arms alone prevents from pronouncing imprecations on us, now change their dispositions ; for in offering prayers to heaven against us, they solicit their own condemnation : let the true believers then offer their vows to heaven for the success of our arms. I could call to account each individual amongst you for the most secret sentiment

of his heart ; for I know every thing, even that which you never communicated to any person : but the day will come when all the world shall see it proved, that I am commanded by orders from above, and that all human efforts are of no avail against me. Happy those who in good faith shall be the first to attach themselves to me.

(Signed) Bonaparte,

Note presented by the Turkish Ambassador to the French Executive Directory, respecting the Occupancy of Dalmatia and Istria by the Imperial Troops.

Citizen Directors,

The unexpected occupancy, by the Austrian troops, of Istria and Dalmatia, the reports circulated that his Imperial Majesty proposes to maintain himself in the possession of these provinces, will not suffer the Ottoman Porte to remain indifferent as to the future state of a country so near to its dominions, and belonging to an ancient republic, its faithful friend and ally. The ambassador of the Ottoman Porte finds himself obliged to explain to the directory his sentiments on an object which the interests of his court, and the friendship subsisting between it and the French republic, require to be taken into serious consideration. The ambassador is far from believing, that the abovementioned occupancy could have been made by the silent or explicit consent of the general-in-chief, Bonaparte ; and he is firmly persuaded, that that illustrious general must have seen with displeasure a proceed-

ing so arbitrary, and so contrary to the interests of the Ottoman Porte, as well as to those of the French nation, in whose name he commands the armies of Italy. The ambassador knew how to appreciate, as highly as he ought, the loyalty of the French nation. He knows that, constant to the principles of real friendship, it could not fail to remark the firmness which the Porte has shewn, since the first moments of the political regeneration of France, to remain its faithful ally, and how much the influence of its sovereign on the powers of Barbary has contributed towards provisioning the French southern provinces, in circumstances the most critical. The French nation is too dear to its heart for it to believe, that in the moment of negotiation for peace, and when it is about to restore tranquillity to Europe, the French government would consent that the above provinces should remain under the power of Austria. The ambassador cannot think but the Executive Directory will employ all means, and even the force of arms, to oblige the Emperor to relinquish them.

The ties of strict amity and alliance which unite the Ottoman Porte to the French nation require that the French Directory should use all its efforts to that effect. This affair is of such importance, that the utmost precautions are necessary to prevent the grievous consequences that might result from the contrary. It is a common interest. If Istria and Dalmatia be granted to the emperor, there can be no doubt, but, having become master of

those naval forces which belonged to a peaceful Republic, he will rise to the rank of a maritime power, and acquire means terrible and perfectly disastrous to the Ottoman empire. This alliance with Russia and England, whose known designs are to drive the Sublime Porte, if possible, from the European provinces, will acquire a strength to which it will not be easy to oppose sufficient obstacles. The Black sea will be open to the Russian fleets, and the Adriatic sea to those of the emperor. If he remains master of Dalmatia, to which will necessarily be united the Republic of Ragusa and Albania, Bosnia will be entirely uncovered, and must yield to the first shock, because it is destitute of fortresses, and would be surrounded every where, but on the east, by the Austrian countries. Epirus, Macedonia, and the other countries as far as the Morea, would run the same risk. The commerce of the French would be annihilated in the Levant, since the productions and merchandizes of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Germany, could be more easily and speedily embarked and conveyed, by a shorter passage than those coming from the Mediterranean. This short exposition will, no doubt, offer ample materials for the reflections of the Directory, and it will have no difficulty to convince itself, that the glory and interest of France require them to take decisive and efficacious measures. The French Republic will shew the same loyalty and constancy that it has always done towards its ally the grand seignor. Firm in its sentiments, it will not suffer

itself to be the cause of injury to a state, which, on all occasions, and in moments of the greatest embarrassment, knew how to resist the intrigues and insinuations of its enemies. The ambassador, fully convinced that such are the sentiments which guide the Executive Directory, expect shortly to see the happy effects of them; it will be to him the highest satisfaction to be able to transmit to the Sublime Porte assurances to that purpose.

Memorial delivered by the Porte to all the Foreign Ministers.

The Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the strictest amity and good understanding, which good understanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmost surprise, therefore, has it seen the Turkish territories abruptly, and in a most extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms. A man of the name of Bonaparte, giving himself out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkish province of Egypt. It is impossible for the Porte to believe that such a proceeding, so contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much less commanded, by the French Executive Directory. A considerable force has, however, been sent to Egypt, to stop the progress of the invaders. Some of the emissaries of Bonaparte have pretended to persuade the people of Egypt, that they have been sent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happi-

ness, and render their religion the sovereign religion on earth; but the people have answered, that Mahomet authorizes no injustice, and that they can place no faith in such promises, from those who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet.

Constantinople, Sept. 2.

Manifesto of the Sublime Porte, communicated to our esteemed Friend, the minister Plenipotentiary of the Court of Great Britain, at Constantinople, 11th of September, 1798.

Translation.

It is notorious that the peace and good harmony which, since time immemorial, have existed between the Sublime Porte and the court of France, have never been interrupted by enmity and misunderstanding, but that, on the contrary, until this period, the Sublime Porte has made it her uniform and constant study, scrupulously to maintain the treaties, to fulfil the duties of amity with care, and, upon every occasion, to give proof of her sincerity and friendship.

At the time when the revolution first broke out in France, six years ago, when most of the powers in Europe confederated against that country, the Sublime Porte, although a witness to the improper proceedings of those who held the reins of government by usurpation, chose rather, in observance of her ancient amity with the French nation, to remain neutral: and though she had been several times invited by the al-

lied courts to join with them, and to break with France; although the troubles of that country had become more and more violent; at that particular period, when an army had reached near Paris; whilst, soon after, the fortresses of Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, the keys of France on the northern side, were taken by the Austrian arms; Toulon, the only arsenal of the French in the Mediterranean, had fallen into the hands of the English; with the ships of war which were in it; and, by an increased party of royalists in their provinces, the situation of the government had become more critical, and perplexity and distress prevailed on every side; yet the Sublime Porte, notwithstanding that it depended only upon herself to join with the other powers, nevertheless, giving way to her known principles of justice, did no ways consent to deviate from the line of a neutral conduct.

On the contrary, considering that if, under the circumstances of a strong famine, by which France, blocked up by sea and land, was afflicted, the Sublime Porte had also broken off her connection, their distressed situation would have been such as to throw the inhabitants into total desolation and despair; she abstained from that measure: and she hereby asks, whether it be not a fact, that the liberality which she has shewn to them, from time to time, has brought complaints against her from other powers?

The extensive advantages which the French have reaped from the Sublime Porte's remaining neutral,

during the course of the war, become more clear and evident, by a moment's glance at the events of the war, and the public transactions during that period. Whilst, therefore, in consideration of the uniform acts of condescension thus observed to them by the Sublime Porte, they, on their side, ought to have been steady in preserving peace; yet, those among them who found the means of assuming to themselves the reins of government, by favour of the revolution, began to devise various pretences, and under an illusive idea of liberty—a liberty so called in word, but which in reality knows no other laws but the subversion of every established government (after the example of France) the abolishment of all religions, the destruction of every country, the plunder of property, and the dissolution of all human society; to occupy themselves in nothing but misleading and imposing upon the ignorant amongst the people, pretending to reduce mankind to the state of the brute creation; and this to favour their own private interests, and render the government permanent in their own hands.

Actuated by such principles, they made it their maxim to stir up and corrupt, indiscriminately, the subjects of every power, whether distant or near, either in peace or at war, and to excite them to revolt against their natural sovereigns and government.

Whilst, on one hand, their minister at Constantinople, pursuant to that system of duplicity and deceit which is their custom every where, made professions of friendship for the Ottoman em-

pire, endeavouring to make the Sublime Porte the dupe of their insidious projects, and to forward their objects of exciting her against other friendly powers; the commanders and generals of their army in Italy, upon the other hand, were engaged in the heinous attempt of perverting the subjects of his Majesty the grand seignor, by sending agents, (persons notorious for their intriguing practices) into Anatolia, Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago, and by spreading manifestoes of the most insidious tenour, among which, the one addressed by Bonaparte to the people of Macrio, with several others, distributed by the same, are sufficiently known to the public.

Upon the Sublime Porte's complaining to the Directory of this conduct of their commanders and generals, their answer was, that all proceedings, on the part of their officers, contrary to friendship, were not with the consent of the Directory, and the same should be prevented, and their officers warned against it; the wish of the French government being to strengthen more and more the ancient friendship subsisting with the Sublime Porte.

In consequence of this answer, delivered officially on their part, it was expected that the said generals would have left off their seditious pursuits. But, nevertheless, no change appearing in their conduct, and their perseverance in such insidious practices being greater than ever, it became obvious that the answers of the Directory were only fictitious and deceitful; that the intriguing attempts of their agents could not

but be dictated by the instructions which were given them, and consequently that any farther complaint would be of no avail whatever.

Notwithstanding these transactions, however, the Sublime Porte, in the hopes of the Directory altering its system of conduct, and laying aside the senseless pursuit of wishing to overturn the universe; in expectation of seeing things in France, from the harassed situation of that country, at length take a different turn, by the people refusing to bear any longer those intolerable evils and disasters which have been brought upon them, from the personal views of a few upstart individuals, since the commencement of the revolution, and with the view of preventing secret enmity from producing an open rupture, she did not alter her course, but preferred keeping silence.

In the beginning of the war with the other powers, the French government had declared, that their intention was not to acquire new territory, but, on the contrary, to restore every such conquest as might have been made by their arms during the contest: contrary to which, they not only have kept possession of various extensive provinces, snatched by them from the Belligerent powers; but, not content with this, profiting of the changes which had prevailed among the allied courts through their intrigues, have put off the mask entirely, and, developing their secret views, without reason or justice, have fallen upon several free and independent Republics and states, who had held themselves neutral, like the Sub-

lime Porte; invading their territories when least provided with the means of defence, and subjecting them to their will by open force and hostility.

Thus, no one being left to control them, they tore off the veil of all decorum at once, and unmindful of the obligations of treaties, and to convince the world that friendship and enmity are the same thing in their eyes, contrary to the rights of nations, and in violation of the ties subsisting between the two courts, they came, in a manner, altogether unprecedented, like a set of pirates, and made a sudden invasion in Egypt, the most precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte, of which they took forcible possession, at a time when they had experienced nothing from this court but demonstrations of friendship.

Upon the first surmise of the French project to invade that province, Ruffin, their chargé d'affaires at this residence, was invited to a conference, where he was questioned officially about this business: he first declared he had no intelligence whatever respecting it, but he gave it as a speculation of his own, that, if such an enterprize ever proved true, it probably may be to take revenge of the beys, and to annoy and attack the English settlements in the East Indies.

In answer to this, it was circumstantially stated to him, that the smallest attempt on the part of the French upon Cairo, on whatever pretext it might be founded, would be taken as a declaration of war, and thereby the friendship subsisting between the

two courts, since the most ancient times, would, both in a legal and political sense, be converted into enmity; that the Ottoman empire would not suffer the loss of a handful of sand of the Egyptian territory; that the whole Ottoman sect would set itself in motion for the deliverance of those blessed lands; and that if the chastisement of the beys of Egypt was necessary, it behoved the Sublime Porte to inflict it on them as her dependents; that the interference of the French in this business was inconsistent with the rights of nations; that the Court of Great Britain, being the dearest friend of the Ottoman empire, the Sublime Porte would never consent to the passage of French troops through her territory to act against their settlements; that, in short, should even their expedition to Egypt have no other object but this, it would be equally construed into a declaration of war, of all which he was charged to make the earliest communication to the Directory in this very language.

Despatches, bearing instructions to the same effect, were, at the same time, written to Ali Effendi, the Sublime Porte's ambassador, at Paris, who was moreover directed to demand officially an explanation of the matter upon the spot.

Before the communications sent by Ruffin to the Directory, and the despatches transmitted by the Sublime Porte to her ambassador before named, a letter of an old date was received, by the old Ruffin, expressing that Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt was

true, but that the object was, to secure some commercial advantages, by bringing the beys to an account, and to hurt Great Britain; that an ambassador had been appointed to prefer several propositions favourable to the interests of the Ottoman Porte, and to adjust the affair in question; with this farther ridiculous hint, that, were the Porte to declare war for this against the Republic, both courts would lay themselves open to an attack on the part of the emperor: all this the said chargé d'affaires delivered officially, and he also presented a copy of that letter.

Upon the other hand, in the answer received meanwhile from the Ottoman ambassador above-mentioned, it was stated, that in conformity to his instructions, he had an interview with Talleyrand Perigord, the minister of external relations, in which he had produced his despatches, explained their purport, and demanded officially a categorical answer: that the said minister (forgetting, as is to be supposed, the tenor of the letter which had been written to Ruffin sometime before) positively disavowed the expedition against Egypt, and said that Bonaparte's commission had no other object but the conquest of Malta; that the abolition of the order there being a measure conducive to the benefit of all the Turks, the Sublime Porte ought to feel even obliged by it; that the Directory had nothing more at heart than to maintain the peace existing with the Porte since time immemorial, and more and more to strengthen the same, thus barefacedly exhibiting a farce of the

most artful duplicity: the wide contradiction between the above two communications being visibly a fresh artifice by which to mislead the Ottoman Porte with her eyes open, and to gain time until intelligence could be procured respecting the affair of Egypt, the result of which had not then come to their knowledge. Must not this most extraordinary event be taken as a palpable demonstration, that the directors of the French government, to second their own ambition and arrogance, have actually lost all recollection of those laws observed and maintained in every regular government, and that no faith whatever is to be placed in their words and professions?

From the tenour of their arbitrary proceedings and despotic conduct, as too well witnessed from first to last, it is clear and evident that their project is no other but to banish every orderly institution from the face of the world; to upset human society, and, by an alternate play of secret intrigue or open hostility, as best suits their end, to derange the constitution of every established independent state, by creating (as they have done in Italy) a number of small Republics, of which the French is to be the parent-mother, and thus to sway and to conduct every thing after their own will every where.

Now Egypt being the portal of the two venerable cities (Mecca and Medina) and the present operations in that quarter being of a nature affecting all the Mahomedan sect at large, the Sublime Porte, consistently with her express declarations to the above

French chargé d'affaires, and, through her ambassador, to the Directory, at Paris, feels compelled, by every law, to resist the sudden and unprovoked aggressions and hostilities committed by the French as above, and, with a full confidence in the assistance of the omnipotent God, to set about repelling and destroying the enemy by sea and land. Thus, to wage war against France is become a precept of religion incumbent upon all Mussulmen.

In consequence whereof, the afore-named chargé d'affaires, together with the officers of that mission, have been sent to the seven Towers, to be detained there as hostages, until such time as Ali Effendi, before-named, and those of his retinue, be arrived from Paris: and the consuls, merchants, and French properties, in Constantinople, and in other parts of the Ottoman empire, shall also be kept in deposit, and as a security, until the merchants, dependents of the Sublime Porte, with their shipping and properties, as also the public ships, with their equipages, detained in the province of Egypt, (prisoners of war excepted) be set at liberty.

To repel the perfidy of these usurpers, who have raised the standard of rebellion and trouble in France, is a measure in which not the safety and tranquillity of the Sublime Porte alone, but also that of all the powers in Europe, is concerned. Wherefore the best hopes are entertained of the cordial co-operation of all friendly courts, as well as their disposition to fulfil by every means in their

power, their duties of friendship and of assistance in the present cause.

1 Rebullakhir, 1213, (11th of September, 1798.)

Imperial Decree, promulgated at the Porte, on Saturday, 1st of September.

Translation.

To you, Kaimakam, Pasha, these are addressed.

Ever since, the supreme vizir, Izzed Mehemmed Pasha, came to that office, instructions were constantly given him to attend to the defence of the Ottoman dominions, and never to be off his guard against the plots of enemies. He, however, from selfish motives, has attended to nothing but his own interest; so that in the dark himself, with respect to the evil designs of those brutish individuals*, the French, from not procuring proper intelligence, he did not apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof in good time.

When the unhappy tidings from thence came to our imperial ear, a full month after that insufferable event had come to pass, such were our grief and concern, that we take God to witness, it drew tears from our eyes, and deprived us of sleep and rest.

We have therefore immediately deposed him from the office of grand vizier, and have appointed in his place Youssouff Pasha, governor of Erzerum, until whose arrival at our sublime gate, we appoint and constitute you, Mustasa Bey, to be Kaimakan.

* Original, Swine.

Now it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat those faithless brutes, the French, and it being become a positive duty for our imperial person to deliver the blessed territories from their accursed hands, and to revenge the insult which they have offered to all true Mussulmen, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizier; but the most vigorous measures must be pursued to attack them by sea and land.

Wherefore by a deliberation with the illustrious lawyers, ministers, and chieftains, our subjects, you must (with a full confidence in God and his prophet) fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the presence of such wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers in the respective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and turning night into day, will apply your utmost efforts to take revenge of them.

You will adopt the most vigilant conduct towards defending the other Mahomedan provinces, and our imperial frontiers, from the plots and malice of the enemy, by the due reinforcement of every port and place with troops and military stores.

You will likewise direct your zealous attention towards the due supply of daily provisions to the inhabitants of this our imperial residence; and will watch over the affairs of all persons in general, until the supreme vizier do arrive.

We shall observe your exertions; and may the omnipotent God ordain his divine favour to attend our undertakings, and ren-

der us successful in the vindication of our cause!

*Manifesto published by the King
of Naples.*

San Germano, Nov. 22, 1798.

Dear faithful and beloved subjects,

After having, for almost forty years, exerted every effort to render you happy, and to succour you in all the calamities which it has pleased God to send you, I am now about to leave my beloved country, for the sole purpose of defending our holy religion, almost overthrown; to reanimate the divine worship; and to secure to you, and to your children, the enjoyment of the blessings which the Lord has given you. If I had been sure of attaining that object by any other sacrifice, believe me, I should not have hesitated a moment to prefer that alternative; but what hopes could be entertained of success after the many fatal examples with which you are well acquainted? I set out, therefore, at the head of the brave defenders of their country, full of confidence in the Lord of Hosts, who will guide our steps and protect our operations. I go to brave all danger with the greatest cheerfulness, because I do it for my fellow-citizens, for my brothers, for my children, for such I have ever considered you. Be always faithful to God, and to her whom I leave in my stead to conduct the government of these states, my dear and well-beloved consort. I recommend to you, then, your tender mother: I recom-

mend to you, my children, who are not more mine than they are yours. At all events, remember that you are Neapolitans; that those are brave who are willing to exert their courage; and that it is better to die gloriously for God and our country, than to live shamefully oppressed! Meanwhile, may God bestow upon you all the blessings and the happiness which is the wish of him, who is, and while he lives shall be, your most affectionate father and sovereign,

Ferdinand.

Head-quarters, Turin, Dec. 9.

*Act of Renunciation of the King
of Sardinia.*

The commander-in-chief gives orders that the present act shall be printed in both languages, French and Italian, and made public.

Article 1. His Majesty declares, that he renounces the exercise of all power, and he especially orders all his subjects whatever to obey the provisional government which is about to be established by the French general.

2. His Majesty orders the Piedmontese army to consider itself as an integral part of the French army in Italy, and to obey the French commander-in-chief as their own.

3. His Majesty disavows the publication of the proclamation circulated by his ministers, and he gives orders to Monsieur le chevalier Danigen to surrender the citadel of Turin, as a pledge that no resistance whatever shall

be attempted against the present act, which has emanated purely from his own will.

4. His Majesty issues orders to the governor of the city of Turin to receive and execute precisely all orders which the French general commanding the citadel shall think proper to order for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

5. No change shall be made that can affect the Catholic religion, or the safety or property of individuals.

The Piedmontese who are anxious to change their abodes, shall have liberty to take with them their moveable effects, to sell and liquidate their property, in order to export their value. The Piedmontese who are absent are at liberty to return to Piedmont, and to enjoy the same rights there as other citizens, nor shall they, on any account, be questioned as to any actions or writings previous to this present act.

6. The King shall be at liberty to repair to [Sardinia was afterwards determined upon as the place.] In the mean time, no arrangement shall be made that can affect the security of his person. Until the moment of his departure his palaces and country-houses shall not be taken possession of by the French troops; nor shall any property be carried off, and the guard shall be kept by those who have hitherto been employed in that service.

7. The passports and necessary orders shall be given, that his Majesty and all his family may arrive in safety at the place of their retreat. They shall be ac-

accompanied by an equal force of French and Piedmontese.

9. In case the prince de Carignan shall remain at Piedmont, he shall enjoy his property there, and shall be at liberty to leave it, as provided for the other subjects of Piedmont.

9. The state of the public archives, chests, &c. shall be immediately given in, and the seal shall be placed on the chests.

10. The ships of powers at war with the French Republic shall not be received in the ports of the island of Sardinia.

Done at Turin, the 9th day of December, 1798.

(Signed) Clauvel, Adj.-gen.

C. Emmanuel.

Consented to and approved by me,
Raimond de St. Germain,
chamberlain.

I undertake that I will throw no impediment in the way of the execution of this treaty.

Victor Emmanuel.

Approved and accepted,

Joubert, commander-in-chief.

Manifesto of the Executive Directory against the King of Naples, and Sardinia, in a Message to the Council of Five Hundred.

The Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizen Representatives,

The executive directory in their message of the 6th inst. announced to you that they should shortly transmit to you the details which make manifest the long train of perfidy of which the court of Na-

ples have been guilty, brought to the height by an audacious attack on the French Republic. It this day lays before you details which will prove not less clearly the hostile connivance of the court of Turin, which, joined to the machinations of the Sicilian king, have rendered that proposition necessary which they made to you to declare war against the kings of Naples and Sardinia. For a long time has Europe resounded with accounts of the perfidy of the Neapolitans, and for a long time must it have been astonished at the magnanimous moderation of the executive directory; while, on the other hand, the sincere desire of the French government to live at peace with the king of Naples, was not less manifest. Superior to the just indignation which this court had provoked in so many ways—a court that, during the whole course of the war of the coalesced monarchs, distinguished itself by the most insensate fury against the republic—the French government received with the most pure benevolence the first propositions which were made to them for a good understanding between the two states; they made no other use of the superiority which our victories gave them than for the purposes of moderation; in a word, all the advantages of the treaty were as reciprocal as if the successes of the war had been equal.

Such magnanimity should have for ever put an end to the malevolent dispositions of this court, and should have attached them to the republic by ties of gratitude as well as of interest. But its blindness prevented it from laying aside its hostile prejudices. It gave way

without reserve to all the hopes to which the idea of the destruction of the republic gave rise, while we alone were capable of defending them; and it took advantage of peace only for the purpose of carrying on secret hostility; while we on our part were the most rigid observers of the treaty. This contrast will be made to appear from incontestible facts. It would be needless here to recall to the recollection of our readers the odious and revolting conduct which distinguished the cabinet of Naples during the continuation of the war. Let us begin from the period when the republic, putting a stop to the progress of their victories, consented to grant it peace. From that period, from October 1795, by what inexplicable conduct has that perfidious court been distinguished!

When the French government shewed itself resolute to overthrow that impious government which caused our warriors to be assassinated, the court of Naples, whose agents, it is obvious, were not strangers to these crimes, after having in vain tempted to aggrandise themselves with the ruins of that of Rome, which they feigned to respect, opposed all the resistance in their power to prevent the establishment of a republic on that soil, which was become the conquered land of liberty; this court increased her armaments, and marched towards the frontiers troops, prepared to enter the Roman territory. All these extraordinary preparations she justified on futile pretences. She received the discontented at Rome with open arms, fomented the troubles which she had excited there; furnished the rebels with provisions

and an asylum, and never ceased to assume towards this new republic the most threatening attitude. While she dared not openly declare war against France, she sought to destroy in Italy all the free states which were under her protection.

The French government might without doubt have inflicted signal vengeance for this public protection which was granted to the frequent insurrections formed at Rome against the French army, as well as for the increased number of spies with which our agent at Naples was surrounded. But far from giving way to this just sentiment, the directory did not think proper to oppose the taking possession of the duchy of Benevento. They even offered their mediation to deliver the king of Naples from the feudal pretensions which Rome had on his estates. But this was not all. They sent to Naples a new ambassador, furnished with the most amicable and conciliatory powers. At the moment in which the army commanded by Buonaparte sailed, the executive directory were anxious to satisfy the king of Naples as to the object of this expedition. In short, they addressed to him the most repeated protestations of their unalterable desire to maintain tranquillity in Italy; adding, it is true, a not less energetic wish, that the Roman republic, which had been placed by the current of events under the special protection of the French republic, might be able to consolidate its political existence.

But neither friendly intercourse, nor the voice of reason, nor the necessity of peace, could inspire these sentiments in the breast of

that court. Every pretence was made use of to justify her complaints, her threats, and at length, her numerous infractions of treaty.

The French republic replied to the manifesto of Malta by the conquest of that island; at that moment the court of Naples, with the most ridiculous hauteur, dared to revive its pretensions on a country which it had neither governed by its laws nor by its arms; and the French government did not disdain to reply at length to this nonsensical pretension, as if it could have been supported by the least appearance of reason.

From the moment of signing of peace, all the acts, as well public as private, of this court, have been distinguished for perfidy and hatred towards the French. The treaty was signed, and the court delayed to publish it from motives of respect for the courts of London and Vienna. The seventh article promised liberty to all the French who were detained for political opinions, and all the Neapolitans suspected of having any connection with them, who were imprisoned. At the solicitation of our agents, some of the peaceful friends to the French republic were restored to liberty, but upon the most vain pretences they were loaded with fresh chains. At length the French, whom commercial affairs alone detained in the states of the king of Naples, were every day, merely because they were French, publicly insulted, attacked, and even assassinated; and these attempts remained unpunished.

The third article of the treaty stipulated that "his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies shall observe the most strict neutrality to-

wards all the belligerent powers; and he therefore engages to forbid, without distinction, the entry into his ports, of all armed vessels belonging to the hostile powers, exceeding the number of four, at most, according to the known laws of neutrality. All ammunition or merchandise known as contraband, shall be refused to them."

How has this article, the sense of which is by no means ambiguous, been executed?

Forty days after the conclusion of the treaty, the English had seven frigates in the port at Naples; on the 9th Thermidor the fourteen vessels of admiral Nelson entered, at full sail, the ports of Augusta and Syracuse, and in whatever manner this article be interpreted, it is obvious, that this was an infraction of it. The government of Naples thought themselves obliged to justify this proceeding, by representing that it was not in their power to resist force; a contemptible subterfuge, because it did not even attempt resistance, and because the senate of Syracuse received the English admiral with honours. About this period too, the 17th Thermidor, five Portuguese ships of war and three English ships were received with equal eagerness in the port of Naples.

With respect to the furnishing of articles forbidden by this treaty, is it not notorious that immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the French attempting to prevent the English from getting provisions, the Neapolitan government gave orders to the governor of Orbitello to hinder them from passing, while he suffered a considerable corps of emigrants, who were in the service of England, to

be disembarked? Is it not notorious that the fleet of admiral Nelson was first victualled in the port of Sicily; that on its return afterwards to Naples, it received, from the arsenal of the king, the stores of which it stood in need? Is it not notorious that long before this epoch, on the 29th Prairial, the whole of the English fleet having appeared before Naples, a brig was detached, which anchored in the port, and two officers who came from on board it had a conversation with general Acton and the queen, in order to secure whatever might be necessary to the success of the attack upon the French fleet; that in addition to the assistance and the assurances they received from them, pilots were also furnished to clear the streights of Messina, a passage which no squadron, without such assistance, would have dared to attempt, and in consequence of which they hoped to be able to cut off the French fleet, which were supposed to be yet at Malta? In a word, is it not clear that nothing that could be injurious to France has been refused, by the court of Naples, to our implacable enemies?

If in addition to this the conduct which Naples has directly manifested towards us be considered, if it be recollected that in spite of the fourth article of the treaty, which stipulates "that the king of Naples shall be bound to grant in all his roads and ports surety and protection to all French merchant ships, however numerous, and to all ships of war, which shall not exceed four;" several of the convoy of the French fleet having been obliged to anchor in the roads of Sicily, commotions, evidently ex-

cited by the government of Naples, broke out at Trapani, at Gergenti, and at Messina, in which several of the French soldiers who went on shore were assassinated; if it be recollected, that, since Malta has been in the hands of the French, the Maltese boats which came as usual to take in provisions in Sicily were prevented, the gates shut against them, and they were repulsed with fire-arms; that the plan of surprising Malta while it remained in the hands of the French, was not even dissembled by the Neapolitan government; and that a Maltese bark which was carrying French commissaries sent to the viceroy of Sicily, having been forced by an English shallop to take refuge at Alciata, the crew having landed, were immediately pursued with musketry by the Sicilians, and forced to reembark, when the bark was immediately taken by the English, without the Neapolitan government making the smallest representation to cause the neutrality to be respected. If too it be added, that on another occasion one of our corsairs having been carried off by force in the port of Baratto, the governor of that place did not condescend to take any measures to prevent such an attack upon the sovereignty of the king of the Two Sicilies, and in short, that such is the hostile delirium and hatred of the king of Naples towards the French and their allies, that, in contempt of all the ties which should bind him to the king of Spain, he has had the impudence to receive in his ports a Spanish prize taken by the English.

If too we recollect the inconceivable joy which was manifested

at Naples on the sight of the English fleet, the public honours which the court itself lavished on admiral Nelson, in going out to welcome him: his triumphal entry, the large reward granted to the messenger who brought the first account of his victory, and the illuminations and rejoicings which took place on the occasion:

If it be remembered, that from the time of this victory the audacity of the Neapolitan government has known no bounds; that lately an unrestrained populace broke the windows of our consul at Naples, without the Neapolitan government having taken any measures to repress such an insult; that the late sedition at Malta was openly protected in the Neapolitan states; that the markets and all the public places resounded with the most terrible invectives against us; that all who were inclined to encourage peace with France, were persecuted with the most acrimonious rage; that at length a barbarous order was issued by the king of Naples, menacing with death whoever should carry provisions to the French at Malta—If all these circumstances are considered, it must be allowed that more hostile sentiments never were manifested than on one side, nor more patience shewn than on the other.

The executive directory, however, put off as long as possible the moment in which it was to wreak the vengeance of the nation. It was made clear to demonstration to them that the court of Naples did not confine its hostility against the republic to complaints, menaces, or fury; that after having for a long time after the conclusion of

the peace shewn the most hostile disposition, it had for a long time been at open hostility, and had lavished succours of all kinds on our most cruel enemy; that in short she was become the ally of Great Britain, and as useful to that power as she was prejudicial to us; and yet the French government, faithful to its desire of preserving peace even with Naples, was willing to hope that there was yet a possibility of repentance. This honourable illusion has been, however, dissipated by the Neapolitan government, which has brought its long train of perjuries to the height. It has dared to attack suddenly the French army, and to accompany this aggression with the most insolent menaces. The republican energy, long confined, will now break forth with the strength of thunder; and this court, too long time spared, which, imitating the illegal conduct of the British government, has dared to be guilty of breaking the laws of peace, without having the courage to declare war, will at length receive the reward of its demerits.

But it is necessary too, that those who have shewn themselves its accomplices, should also share the same fate. The Sardinian government has been the associate of its perfidies, and a similar fate awaits it. Its guilt, as an accomplice with Naples, is manifest from a thousand circumstances; its sentiments, its language, and even its actions, in proportion to its means, have been the same, and its artifice and hypocrisy exactly resemble that of Naples. It would be difficult to account for its recent conduct towards France, if history did not, in all ages, make manifest

the cunning and versatile politics of this court, constantly occupied in fomenting war among its neighbours, in taking a part in all the wars of Italy, and in shamelessly deserting its allies, in constantly joining that side which appeared most strong, in order to oppress the weak, and in gratifying its revenge, its ambition, and in offering its support for sale, to whoever was inclined to purchase it.

Independently of every other cause of complaint, who would believe that the treaty which we deigned to conclude with the court of Turin, and which they ought to have considered as a signal favour, has not yet been published in all the states of the king of Sardinia. The agents of the republic have in vain requested that this might be done; their resistance has been invincible, and the most futile reasons have been assigned as a pretence for this delay, or rather for this refusal. In fact, they have never ceased to make war in every way which their imbecility and their cowardice suffered them to put into execution. Our most cruel enemies, the emigrants and refractory priests, have constantly met with a welcome reception in his dominions: there they have been suffered to give free vent to their hatred, and to the expressions of their barbarous wishes against the republic. They have even been able to excite the people against the French by the most atrocious calumnies. This is not all: from the moment in which peace was signed, the French, almost under the eyes of their ambassadors, have been assassinated in cold blood, and that chiefly by the regular troops. These assas-

sinations have been committed almost daily, and the number of them is dreadful when the total amount shall be known. Some of them have fallen by the stiletto, some have been mutilated in the most dreadful manner. A volunteer, of the 68th demi-brigade, was buried alive, after having been barbarously wounded. He was seen coming alive out of the grave in which he had been buried. He was destined to escape, in order to offer a proof of this dreadful cruelty.

The agents of the French republic have expressed, in the name of the republic, the most energetic indignation; but they have been unable to prevent these crimes from going unnoticed or unpunished. Some banditti, enrolled under the name of Barbets, whose business it is to rob and pillage, but whose amusement it is to kill republicans, far from being dissipated by public authority, appear to be encouraged by it. Their thefts on the Piedmontese were forgiven, in consideration of their murder of the French. On this subject a long negociation was entered into, which was considered by the Sardinian government as a public calamity, the object of which was not to obtain the suppression of, but the mere promise to repress these banditti. On this condition the support of our arms was promised to them. But the Sardinian government was unwilling to obtain tranquillity at this price, and after all would not consent to issue a law against stilettoes and concealed arms, so fearful were they that the French should by any means be secure in their states; and during the course

of the negociation, and in spite of the formal promise to suspend a proceeding in which the most furious passions were manifested, several Frenchmen who were implicated in an unhappy affair were shot without pity.

Besides these enrolled banditti, besides judiciary banditti, the Duc d'Aost, a monster, the brother of the King, and the heir to the throne, like another Old Man of the Mountain, never ceased to keep under his orders, and in his pay, a band of cut-throats, to whom he issued orders to assassinate such and such a Frenchman, and these orders were but too faithfully executed.

It is in vain to suppose that all these crimes were not imputable to the Sardinian government, since the whole of its conduct has proved that it was privy to every one of them. The principal places in Piedmont were occupied by French troops; for those no provisions were to be obtained. The friends of the republic were constantly thrown into prison, the Frenchmen insulted, and even their dress turned into derision; the emigrants were encouraged in their audacity; those public officers who were most distinguished for their hatred towards the French, chiefly promoted; the Barbets protected, even openly by their first magistrates; poniards forged and distributed to a vast number: in short, the most dreadful plots against the French were planned and ready to be carried into execution. From an interrogatory exhibited to one of the chiefs of the Barbets, it appears that a person who was employed in the cus-

tom-house at Turin, and who was commissioned to pay these banditti, had received from the Sardinian government orders to distribute among the chiefs of them boxes of poison, to be thrown into the wells which lay nearest to the French camp.

It is evident that there exists the most intimate connection between the conduct of such a government as this and that of the court of Naples, in their hostility to the French republic; this connection, maintained and supported by so many crimes, would alone be sufficient to implicate the court of Turin in the guilt of the other: but a stronger proof is added, in the circumstance of the preparations for war being increased at Turin, in proportion as those at Naples were multiplied. The militia in the former place were called forth, and thirty thousand stand of arms were delivered to them.

The Piedmontese troops marched towards Loana and Oneilla at the same moment in which the Neapolitan army attacked the French troops on the territory of the Roman republic, in which six thousand Neapolitans disembarked at Leghorn, and in which a new disembarkation was threatened on the coast of Liguria. It was in the same moment that the order to march on the first signal was given; that Turin was filled with troops; that 1500 poniards were distributed; that the citadel was nearly besieged; that the heights which command it were furnished with an extraordinary number of cannon; and that the Sardinian government dared to

require the evacuation of the citadel and the diminution of our troops in Piedmont.

In this situation of affairs it was impossible for the French government to separate two courts obviously so hostilely united against the French republic. But the directory declares solemnly to Europe, that, whatever may be the result of this war, no ambitious views shall intermeddle in the pu-

rity of the motives which have induced them to take up arms; and they declare to all governments, guiltless of the perfidy of the Neapolitans; that the treaties which bind them shall never have been more faithfully observed in times past, than they shall be in times to come.

(Signed)

La Reveillere Lepaux.

CHARACTERS.

Character and Description of the Sicques. From Forster's Journey from Bengal to England.

I FIND an embarrassment in applying a term to the form of the Sicque government, which, on the first view, bears an appearance of aristocracy; but a closer examination discovers a large vein of popular power branching through many of its parts. No honorary or titular distinction is conferred on any member of the state, and the chiefs are treated with a deference that would seem to arise only from the military charges they may at the instant be invested with, and from a self-preserving regard to the subordination necessarily required in conducting an armed body. Though orders are issued in a Sicque army, and a species of obedience observed, punishments are rarely inflicted; and the chiefs, who often command parties of not more than fifty men, being numerous, its motions are tumultuous and irregular. An equality of rank is maintained in their civil society, which no class of men, however wealthy or powerful, is suffered to break down. At the periods when general councils of the nation were

convened, which consisted of the army at large, every member had the privilege of delivering his opinion; and the majority, it is said, decided on the subject in debate. The Khalsah Sicques, even of the lowest order, are turbulent people, and possess a haughtiness of deportment, which, in the common occurrences of life, peculiarly marks their character. Examples of this disposition I have myself witnessed, and one of them I think merits a distinct notice. In travelling through the Sirringnaghur country, our party was joined by a Sicque horseman, and being desirous of procuring his acquaintance, I studiously offered him the various attentions which men observe to those they court. But the Sicque received my advances with a fixed reserve and disdain, giving me, however, no individual cause of offence: for his deportment to the other passengers was not less contemptuous. His answer, when I asked him the name of his chief, was wholly conformable to the observations I had made of his nation. He told me, (in a tone of voice, and with an expression of countenance, which seemed to revolt at the idea of servitude) that he

disdained an earthly superior, and acknowledged no other master than his prophet !

The civil and military government of the Sicques, before a common interest had ceased to actuate its operations, was conducted by general and limited assemblies, which presided over the different departments of the state. The grand convention, called in their language *Goorimotta*, was that in which the army met to transact the more important affairs of the nation ; as the declaration of war or peace, forming alliances, and detaching parties on the service of the year. The amount of the contributions levied on the public account was reported to this assembly, and divided among the chiefs, proportionably to the number of their troops. They were at the same time obliged to distribute a certain share of this property to their soldiers, who, on any cause of dissatisfaction, made no hesitation in quitting their service, and following a more popular leader. Subordinate officers were established for registering the political correspondence of the state, and for providing warlike stores ; and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was entrusted to a certain society of *religieuse*, composed chiefly of the descendants of their original priests, but they did not possess any influence in the temporal regulation of the state. These were the principal ordinances enacted by the first chiefs, when the people were united, and a common object governed their public conduct. The dominions of the Sicques, now widely extended, have been since divided into numerous states, which pursue an independent in-

terest, without a regard to general policy. The grand assembly is now rarely summoned, nor have the Sicques, since the Afghan war, been embarked in any united cause.

Their military force may be said to consist essentially of cavalry ; for though some artillery is maintained, it is awkwardly managed, and its uses ill understood, and their infantry, held in low estimation, usually garrison the forts, and are employed in the meaner duties of the service. A Sicque horseman is armed with a match-lock and sabre of excellent metal, and his horse is strong and well formed. In this matter I speak from a personal knowledge, having in the course of my journey seen two of their parties, each of which amounted to about two hundred horsemen. They were clothed in white vests, and their arms were preserved in good order : the accoutrements, consisting of priming horns and ammunition pouches, were chiefly covered with European scarlet cloth, and ornamented with gold lace. The predilection of the Sicques for the match-lock musquet, and the constant use they make of it, causes a difference in their manner of attack from that of any other Indian cavalry ; a party, from forty to fifty, advance in a quick pace to the distance of a carbine shot from the enemy, and then, that the fire may be given with the greater certainty, the horses are drawn up, and their pieces discharged ; when, speedily retiring about a hundred paces, they load and repeat the same mode of annoying the enemy. The horses have been so expertly trained to the performance of this operation,

that, on receiving a stroke of the hand, they stop from a full career. But it is not by this mode of combat that the Sicques have become a formidable people. Their successes and conquests have largely originated from an activity unparalleled by other Indian nations, from their endurance of excessive fatigue, and a keen resentment of injuries. The personal endowments of the Sicques are derived from a temperance of diet, and a forbearance from many of those sensual pleasures which have enervated the Indian Mahometans. A body of their cavalry has been known to make marches of forty or fifty miles, and to continue the exertion for many successive days.

The forces of this nation must be numerous, though I am not possessed of any substantial document for ascertaining the amount. A Sicque will confidently say, that his country can furnish three hundred thousand cavalry; and, to authenticate the assertion, affirms that every person, holding even a small property, is provided with a horse, match-lock; and side-arms. But, in qualification of this account, if we admit that the Sicques when united can bring two hundred thousand horse into the field, their force in cavalry is greater than that of any other state in Hindostan. A passage, which I extracted from a memoir, written at Delhi in 1777, exhibits a lively picture of this people in their military capacity. "The Sicques," it represents, "are in general strong and well made; accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious life, and hardest fare, they make marches, and undergo fatigues that really

appear astonishing. In their excursions they carry no tents or baggage, except, perhaps, a small tent for the principal officer: the rest shelter themselves under blankets, which serve them also in the cold weather to wrap themselves in, and which, on a march, cover their saddles. They have commonly two, some of them three horses each, of the middle size, strong, active, and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Moultan, noted for a breed of the best horses in Hindostan, afford them an ample supply; and indeed they take the greatest care to encrease it by all means in their power. Though they make merrry on the demise of any of their brethren, they mourn for the death of a horse: thus shewing their love of an animal so necessary to them in their professional capacity. The food of the Sicques is of the coarsest kind, and such as the poorest people in Hindostan use from necessity. Bread, baked in ashes, and soaked in a mash made of the different sorts of pulse, is the best dish, and such as they never indulge in but when at full leisure; otherwise, vetches and tares, hastily parched, is all they care for. They abhor smoaking tobacco, for what reason I cannot discover; but intoxicate themselves freely with spirits of their own country manufacture. A cup of the last they never fail taking after a fatigue at night. Their dress is extremely scanty; a pair of long blue drawers, and a kind of checkered plaid, a part of which is fastened round the waist, and the other thrown over the shoulder, with a mean turban, form their clothing and equipage.

The chiefs are distinguished by wearing some heavy gold bracelets on their wrists, and sometimes a chain of the same metal bound round their turbans, and by being mounted on better horses: otherwise, no distinction appears amongst them. The chiefs are numerous, some of whom have the command of ten or twelve thousand cavalry; but this power is confined to a small number, the inferior officers maintaining from one to two thousand, and many not more than twenty or thirty horses; a certain quota of which is furnished by the chief, the greater part being the individual property of the horsemen.

*Character of a British Sailor.
From Medical Discipline; by
Alexander Stewart.*

The able and experienced seaman is a truly valuable character; he is only thoughtless and inattentive as far as regards his own health and welfare. As a man, he will yield to no one in his detestation of whatever is mean, ungenerous, and dishonourable. He has an open, a noble, and an honest heart. As a seaman, to be cheerful, active, and prompt in the execution of his duty; to bear fatigue, and the vicissitudes of weather and climate, without murmuring; to be steady and collected in the hour of difficulty and danger; to be obedient, respectful, and attached to the officer that is worthy to command him; to be faithful and true to his king and country, courageous in action, and humane in victory, are the virtues in which he eminently

excels. But there are many men on shipboard, the reverse of the character I have drawn, indolent, profligate, and debauched. It is among such men as these, that sickness generally makes its appearance, and is thence disseminated among, and destroys the health of the whole crew, while their vicious conduct proves equally destructive to the morals of the men. Slothfulness, drunkenness, theft, and gaming, should meet with exemplary punishment; and temperance, industry, and regularity, be strongly inculcated and enforced. The regular and solemn performance of public worship, in presence of the whole ship's company, on the quarter deck, once in the week, should never be neglected, either at sea or in harbour. A proper idea of religion tends to introduce cleanliness, sobriety, and good order; it teaches obedience, and a faithful and regular discharge of their respective duties. It produces a serenity of mind; banishes melancholy, discontent, and all the train of depressing affections; and thence contributes to the improvement and preservation of health.

*Account of Bantam. From John
Splinter Stavorinus's Voyages to
the East Indies.*

Shortly after our arrival at Bantam, Mr. Van Tets, and the company that were with him, had asked leave to pay their respects to the king, and the 17th of May was fixed upon for that purpose.

Accordingly, on that day three of the king's courtiers, magnificently arrayed in the Javanese

fashion, came to fetch the company, at the head of whom was the commandant Reinouts; while I likewise made part of it. The garrison of fort Speelwyk was under arms, and drawn out in two files, from the commandant's house to the gate, whither we had to walk between them. Having passed the draw-bridge of the fort, we found there in waiting three of the king's coaches, with European coachmen, dressed in his livery, which is yellow, with red flowers. The deputies from the court, desired the company to take their places in these coaches. In the first, were seated the ladies of the company; in the second, was the commandant Reinouts, and Mr. Van Tets, escorted by the usual guard of the former, consisting in twelve grenadiers, and preceded by ten of the king's body guards; and in the third coach followed the rest of the company.

We rode in this order over the Pascébaan, as far as the draw-bridge of fort Diamond, where we left our equipages; and coming over the bridge, found part of the sultan's body guards likewise ranged in two files, as far as the gate of the fort. They were armed with half-pikes, and were naked down to their middle, which was girded by a piece of dark blue or blackish cotton cloth, which came round between their legs, and hung about half way down their thighs.

While we were passing between their ranks, the *gomgoms* and other Indian musical instruments, were played. Coming to the gate of the fort, we were met by the king, who took the commandant Reinouts, and Mr. Van Tets, by the

hand, and led them in, while we slowly followed in procession. Within the gate stood the guard under arms, and the drums were beat incessantly. There were besides two trumpeters stationed at the entrance of the palace, and dressed in the king's livery, who sounded a lusty peal of wind-music.

The entrance to the palace is through an arched gateway; the plaistering of which was, in all likelihood, once of a white hue, but now appeared very black and dirty. It had, upon the whole, more the appearance of a prison than of a regal palace, and gave me but a very indifferent idea of the inside. Passing hence, we came into a large hall, which seemed to the eye to be about fifty-five or sixty feet in length, and of about half that breadth, with a tolerably lofty ceiling, built archwise, and seemingly wainscoted. The walls were white-washed, but looked very dirty, so that it was easily to be seen that little attention was paid to them. The floor was paved diamondwise, with square red tiles. The light and air were let in, on the north side, through three windows, and two large doors, opening towards the inner buildings of the court, which wore likewise not the most inviting appearance.

The door by which we entered was at the lower end of the hall; at the other end was another, leading to the remaining apartments. Near it stood a couch, covered with yellow satin, and also a kind of bedstead with doors; the whole lacquered in the Chinese fashion. A little lower, was an oblong square table, with a

yellow cover, adorned with red flowers; and on it stood three large chased silver dishes, with *firi* leaves, *areca* nut, and the further requisites for the preparation of *pinang**. Against the wall were two side-tables, with beautiful marble slabs; and, between them, chairs of walnut-tree wood, made in the European fashion.

At the lower end of the room, was a large mat of split rattans, spread upon the floor, on which the king's courtiers, with the prince or prime-minister, who had the administration of the empire, at their head, sat down upon their heels, as soon as we had taken our places at the table. The king, having led the two abovementioned gentlemen into the room, placed himself upon a raised chair, at the upper end of the table. Next to him, on the left hand, having his face turned towards the windows, sat the commandant Reinouts, then Mr. Van Tets, and the other gentlemen of the company. On the opposite side of the table, on the right hand of the king, sat his first queen, the mother of the prince, heir apparent of the crown; next to her was Mrs. Van Tets, then the second queen, then followed the lady second in rank of our company, then the third queen, then again one of our ladies, and the fourth queen, and the next to her, the last on that side, sat a little boy, the son of Mr. Van Tets.

The two first of these queens seemed to be already pretty far advanced in years, but the two others were younger, and, though somewhat brown, looked very well; yet I remarked some of the female slaves who served us, who were incomparably handsomer and fairer than any of the four legal wives of the king. Their dress too, had not any thing peculiarly graceful in it, consisting in long chintz *kabays* or robes, of a sufficiently fine quality it is true, but hanging loose down to the feet, in the Indian fashion, as I shall hereafter more particularly describe.

Their hair, which was of a jetty black, was combed smooth up over the head, and fastened behind with a wreath, which is here commonly called a *condé*, richly adorned likewise with gold and jewels. They sat on chairs, in the same manner as we do, although this is quite contrary to the general custom of the orientals, who every where are used to sit with their legs crossed under them. These ladies were very talkative, and conversed much with ours in the Malay language, while the chewing of *betel* or *pinang* was not forgotten, either by the Indian sultanas, or the Dutch ladies.

The king, who was addressed by the title of *Touang Sultan*, or My Lord the King, appeared to me to be a man of between forty-five and fifty years of age. His

* *Pinang* is the name of the kernel of the areca-nut (*areca cathecu*); but it seems likewise to mean the mixture of the ingredients they use for mastication. The *siri* leaves are betel leaves (*piper betel*). Into one of these leaves a piece of the areca nut, which is generally divided into six parts, one of which serves at a time, being put with a little lime, the leaf is folded together, and kept in the mouth till all the strength is drawn out of it. The universality of the practice of chewing betel and areca, throughout the east, is well known. T.

colour was chesnut brown, with a friendly countenance which was not belied by his manners or behaviour. He had a little beard, and black hair, curling a little: he seemed more inclined to spareness than to corpulency. His dress consisted of a long Moorish coat, made of a certain stuff, interwoven with gold, which is manufactured at Surat, and is called *soesjes*. This hung down almost to his feet. The sleeves, which were loose and wide above the elbow, set close to the lower part of the arm, where they were fastened by a row of small gold buttons. Under this coat, he wore a white shirt, and a pair of drawers, that reached down to his heels, of the same stuff as the coat. On his feet he had Turkish shoes drawn on slip-shod, the forepart of which was turned upwards; and white stockings on his legs. His head was covered by a round, and somewhat sharp-pointed cap, of a violet colour laced with silver. Behind his chair stood one of his female lifeguards, who was relieved from time to time, armed with a large gold *kris*, in a sheath of massy gold, which she continually kept raised on high; and which the king, when he stood up to conduct us out, took from her, and put under his arm. Two female slaves, one on each side, were seated next to him on the ground. One of these held his tobacco-box and his betel-box, both of which were made of gold, and of a pretty large size. When he wanted either the one or the other, it was handed to him, wrapped up in a silk handkerchief. The other female attendant, had a golden spitting-pot in her hand, which she

handed from time to time to his majesty, as he stood in need of this utensil.

As soon as we were seated, pipes and tobacco were presented to us; after which the commandant Reinouts and Mr. Van Tets entered into conversation with the king, on indifferent subjects in the Malay language. Hereupon the king called the *pangorang*, or prince, prime minister, who, as I have before mentioned, was sitting at the lower end of the hall, at the head of the nobles, to come to him. He accordingly crept along the floor, till he came near the king's chair, where he remained sitting on the ground, answering the questions which the king put to him. He often replied with the word *inghi*, which is the Javanese affirmative, *yes*; but as I understood little of the language which was spoken, I was neither edified nor entertained by the dialogue.

About half past eleven o'clock, the cloth, which consisted of a white piece of cotton, was laid upon the table; and in a moment it was provided with a number of small dishes, filled with all kinds of Indian food, dressed in various manners. The chief ingredients of most of them were, however, fish and poultry, varied by numerous sauces, according to the custom of the country, of sugar, vinegar, or tamarinds. A square scarlet woollen cloth, was laid upon the table before the king, and upon this, the dishes were placed which were designed solely for his use, and of which he ate heartily. With regard to myself, it was only with the greatest difficulty, I could swallow a part of what was set before me, which

was fish preserved in sugar, and which indeed I should not have touched at all, if politeness had not required that I should taste of something. Mr. Reinouts had taken care to provide himself with a few bottles of wine and beer, which it would else have been in vain to have looked for at the king's table, and we could therefore, now and then, indulge in a glass of those liquors, during the dinner.

The king frequently broke wind upwards, during his meal, and his example was assiduously followed by all the gentlemen in company, which afforded matter of no little surprise to me. But I afterwards was informed, that this custom, so contrary to European notions of decency, was an etiquette of the court of Bantam, and was affected, in order to shew that one's appetite was good, and the victuals tasteful, which was very pleasing to the king.

After this course was taken away, three large dishes of confectionary and pastry were put upon the table; and these were more to my liking than what had preceded; but neither the king, nor his queens, seemed to care much about them.

In the mean time, some large china bowls with boiled rice, and some dishes of fish, which came from our table, were set before the nobles, who were at the end of the hall, and who speedily emptied them, with continual eructations, which echoed through the hall; after which, they again sat down as before, upon their heels, each according to his rank. On their right hand, but separate from them, sat the second son of the

king, who seemed to be a youth of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, of a good countenance, but squinting a little. I was told that he possessed a good judgment, and more understanding and abilities than the heir apparent. This prince had his victuals brought him, at the same time with the nobles, but separately; and he was attended by a female slave, who sat by him.

About two o'clock we rose from table, and took our leave of the king, who conducted us out, in the same manner as he had led us in, as far as the gate of the fort, followed by the prince, his son, who led the counsellor Meyer by the hand; the whole accompanied by the continued performance of music, by the *gomgoms*, trumpets, &c. Without the gate the king took his leave, and returned to his palace, and we went over the esplanade, and the drawbridge, to the same coaches in which we had come, and which carried us back to Fort Speelwyk.

Character of Pope. From Warton's Edition of his Works.

The vigour, force, and activity of his mind were almost unparalleled. His whole life, and every hour of it, in sickness and in health, was devoted solely, and with unremitting diligence, to cultivate that one art in which he had determined to excel. Many other poets have been unavoidably immersed in business, in wars, in politics, and diverted from their favourite bias and pursuits. Of Pope it might truly and solely be said, *Versus amat, hoc studet unum*. His whole thoughts, time, and ta-

lents were spent on his works alone; which works, if we dispassionately and carefully review, we shall find, that the largest portion of them, for he attempted nothing of the epic or dramatic, is of the didactic, moral, and satiric kind; and, consequently, not of the most poetic species of poetry. There is nothing in so sublime a style as the bard of Gray. This is a matter of fact, not of reasoning; and means to point out, what Pope has actually done, not what, if he had put out his full strength, he was capable of doing. No man can possibly think, or can hint, that the author of the *Rape of the Lock*, and the *Eloisa*, wanted imagination, or sensibility, or pathos; but he certainly did not so often indulge and exert those talents, nor give so many proofs of them, as he did of strong sense and judgment. This turn of mind led him to admire French models; he studied Boileau attentively; formed himself upon him, as Milton formed himself upon the Grecian and Italian sons of fancy. He stuck to describing modern manners; but these manners, because they are familiar, uniform, artificial, and polished, are, for these four reasons, in their very nature unfit for any lofty effort of the Muse. He gradually became one of the most correct, even, and exact poets that ever wrote; but yet with force and spirit, finishing his pieces with a patience, a care, and assiduity, that no business nor avocation ever interrupted; so that if he does not frequently ravish and transport his reader, like his master Dryden, yet he does not so often disgust him, like Dryden,

with unexpected inequalities and absurd improprieties. He is never above or below his subject. Whatever poetical enthusiasm he actually possessed, he withheld and suppressed. The perusal of him, in most of his pieces, affects not our minds with such strong emotions as we feel from Homer and Milton; so that no man, of a true poetical spirit, is master of himself while he reads them. Hence he is a writer fit for universal perusal, and of general utility; adapted to all ages and all stations; for the old and for the young; the man of business and the scholar. He who would think, and there are many such, the *Fairy Queen*, *Palemon* and *Arcite*, the *Tempest*, or *Comus*, childish and romantic, may relish Pope. Surely it is no narrow, nor invidious, nor niggardly encomium to say, he is the great poet of reason; the first of ethical authors in verse; which he was by choice, not necessity. And this species of writing is, after all, the surest road to an extensive and immediate reputation. It lies more level to the general capacities of men, than the higher flights of more exalted and genuine poetry.

*Character of Cosmo De Medici.
From Tenhove's Memoir of the
House of Medici.*

After eight years of involuntary and forced dissimulation the genius of Cosmo de Medici seemed to be again soaring, and on the point of triumphing over every inferior obstacle, which had embarrassed it. Death abridged his

fresh career of glory, and carried him off at the age of seventy-five, a term of life at which none of his descendants arrived, the cruel and celebrated female alone excepted, in whom the legitimate branch of the family expired. He was universally regretted, and the respect for him even put some bounds to the general rapacity. Public extortion reigned afterwards almost without controul, and fears were entertained, that every puny despot would extend his little circle of oppressions as far as he was able. Most of the Christian princes lamented his loss, and the whole city in tears followed his ashes to the grave. The church of St. Lawrence was chosen for the place of his interment, and every order of the state unanimously bestowed on him the title of the Father of his Country! A great and glorious title! superior to every other which his posterity might have added on his tomb!

If Cosmo de Medici had been the legal and established sovereign of his country, the sententious maxim of Bruyere, "Nommer un roi pere du peuple, ou de la patrie, c'est moins faire son eloge, que l'appeller par son nom, ou faire sa definition," would have been his due.

It is of little consequence what was the colour of his complexion, and whether his hair was black or brown; but his stature was majestic, and his countenance inspired respect and awe. A vulgar air, a crippled figure, with the face of Thersites, are powerful impediments in the way of elevation, when it depends on popular favour; and the Roman Emperor, compared by Vopiscus to a dis-

graceful deity of the Latin calendar, had the good fortune to have hereditary claims to the throne he filled, and to be born within the purple of the palace.

Posterity has not yet determined whether the virtues of Cosmo de Medici were real, or only specious and affected. Henry Stephens, a bitter enemy of the House of Medici, hath passed a severe censure on him in the following passage: "Côme a été loué pour sa libéralité envers le peuple, mais cela ne tendait qu'à tyrannie, et n'était cette douceur si non un appas et hameçon jetté pour prendre les poissons et les manger puis après. Cette finesse ne se peut appeller vertu, d'autant que les actions vertueuses n'ont d'autre but que la vertu, et perdent ce nom incontinent qu'elles visent ailleures. L'effet a montré à quelle fin tendait cette ombre de vertu."

Cosmo de Medici was ambitious without doubt, but ambition is a middle term between vice and virtue. Beyond a certain point it ceases to be virtue; before it reaches that point it is scarcely vice. They who judge of human actions, as they are extraordinary rather than as just, and as brilliant rather than as virtuous, will not fail to applaud the system on which Cosmo governed. There are others to whom his ambition, according to the point of view from which they draw their observations, will appear as laudable, excusable, or criminal: laudable, considering the great talents it brought forward and into play; excusable, in contemplation of his formidable opponents, and the just fears that might be enter-

tained from them of his own ruin, and that of the republic; criminal, if the maxim is well founded that the government, whatever it may be under which we live, is sacred! The most scrupulous might perhaps be of opinion that D'Albizzi would have thought and acted as he did, and that Florence, doomed to perish, might have been dragged to the precipice by the hands of some of her more abandoned sons. The supposition may be correct, yet are we justified on the broad sound principles of morality, in the commission of an evil action to prevent another, and are our crimes to be defended by those of others?

It is a lamentable truth that states and kingdoms have often sunk from freedom into servitude, provided they have not been startled by the name, and have suffered without emotion their dearest liberties, by little and little, to be wrested from them. Cosmò, from his knowledge of the world, had learnt the important lesson, and studiously concealing the power he had usurped, he made no attempt at any apparent change in the constitution, whilst he destroyed its substance, and reduced it to a skeleton and to a shadow. An additional honour or title might have created an alarm, and he guarded against it with uncommon care and prudence. Fear and hope, the two great springs of government, were the ladders and the steps by which he mounted; and his masterly use of them raised him, as it were without design, above the other magistrates. Of his fortune he was certainly the founder, but two able friends lent their assist-

ance in pushing on the wheel; his relation Everardo of singular intrepidity, and Pucci Pucci, whose talents and address were so much acknowledged, that the party for a long time bore his name.

*Character of Queen Caroline.
From Walpole's Works.*

Queen Caroline was said to have been very handsome at her marriage, soon after which she had the small-pox; but was little marked by it, and retained a most pleasing countenance. It was full of majesty or mildness as she pleased, and her penetrating eyes expressed whatever she had a mind they should. Her voice too was captivating, and her hands beautifully small, plump, and graceful. Her understanding was uncommonly strong; and so was her resolution. From their earliest connection she had determined to govern the king, and deserved to do so; for her submission to his will was unbounded, her sense much superior, and his honour and interest always took place of her own: so that her love of power, that was predominant, was dearly bought, and rarely ill-employed. She was ambitious too of fame; but, shackled by her devotion to the king, she seldom could pursue that object. She wished to be a patroness of learned men: but George had no respect for them or their works; and her majesty's own taste was not very exquisite, nor did he allow her time to cultivate any studies. Her generosity would have displayed itself, for she va-

lued money but as the instrument of her good purposes: but he stinted her alike in almost all her passions; and though she wished for nothing more than to be liberal, she bore the imputation of his avarice, as she did of others of his faults. Often when she had made prudent and proper promises of preferment, and could not persuade the king to comply, she suffered the breach of word to fall on her, rather than to reflect on him. Though his affection and confidence in her were implicit, he lived in dread of being supposed to be governed by her; and that silly parade was extended even to the most private moments of business with my father: whenever he entered, the Queen rose, curtsied and retired, or offered to retire. Sometimes the King condescended to bid her stay; on both occasions she and Sir Robert had previously settled the business to be discussed. Sometimes the King would quash the proposal in question; and yield after re-talking it over with her; but then he boasted to Sir Robert that he himself had better considered it.

One of the Queen's delights was the improvement of the garden at Richmond; and the King believed she paid for all with her own money; nor would he ever look at her intended plans, saying, he did not care how she flung away her own revenue. He little suspected the aids Sir Robert furnished to her from the treasury. When she died, she was indebted twenty thousand pounds to the King.

Her learning was superficial; her knowledge of languages as little accurate. The King, with a

bluff Westphalian accent, spoke English correctly. The Queen's chief study was divinity; and she had rather weakened her faith than enlightened it. She was at least not orthodox; and her confidante lady Sundon, an absurd and pompous simpleton, swayed her countenance towards the less believing clergy. The Queen however was so sincere at her death, that when archbishop Potter was to administer the sacrament to her, she declined taking it, very few persons being in the room. When the prelate retired, the courtiers in the anti-room crowded round him, crying, "My lord, has the Queen received?" His grace artfully eluded the question, only saying most devoutly, "her majesty was in a heavenly disposition," and the truth escaped the public.

She suffered more unjustly by declining to see her son, the prince of Wales, to whom she sent her blessing and forgiveness; but conceiving the extreme distress it would lay on the King, should he thus be forced to forgive so impenitent a son, or to banish him again if once recalled, she heroically preferred a meritorious husband to a worthless child.

The Queen's greatest error was too high an opinion of her own address and art: she imagined that all who did not dare to contradict her, were imposed upon; and she had the additional weakness of thinking that she could play off many persons without being discovered. That mistaken humour, and at other times her hazarding very offensive truths, made her many enemies: and her duplicity in fomenting jealousies

between the ministers, that each might be more dependent on herself, was no sound wisdom.

Anecdotes of Peter III. and the Empress Catharine. From Bulhiere's History of the Revolution in Russia in 1762.

In order to gain a conception of the strange character of Peter, it is necessary to know that, in his infancy, he was committed to the care of two persons of singular merit, but who, considering rather his fortune than his genius, blameably conducted his education after the greatest models. On being called to Russia, these preceptors of manners and morals too severe for that court, afforded room to fear the success of the strict education which they continued to give him; he was taken from their hands, and put into those of vile corrupters: but the first principles which he had received, remaining strongly impressed on his mind, occasioned a motley mixture of good intentions degenerated into ridiculous pursuits, and of silly views directed towards grand objects. Brought up in an abhorrence of slavery, in the love of equality, and in an enthusiastic admiration of heroism, he was strongly attached to these noble ideas: but he was fond of what is truly great, with littleness of mind; and, while he proposed to imitate the heroes from whom he sprang, his genius restricted him to puerilities. He affected to take pleasure in the lowest functions of the soldier, because Peter the Great had resolved to pass through the several degrees of the

army; and, in conformity with this conceit, so surprising in a sovereign, of marking the progress of his instruction by the gradations of advancement, he boasted, at the concerts of his court, that he had formerly assisted the musicians, and was made first violin on account of his talents. A sort of military mania insinuated itself into all his actions; his favourite passion was that of exercising his troops; and in order to indulge in this pleasure at all times, without raising murmurs in the Russian regiments, the management of some wretched Holstein soldiers, of whom he was the sovereign, was given up to him. His figure, naturally ridiculous, became much more so in a dress that carried the Prussian manner to the height of extravagance. The gaiters which he always wore, were so tight that they deprived him of the flexibility of his knees, and obliged him to sit down and to walk as if he had no joints. An enormous hat fantastically cocked, covered a little face, sharp and ugly, but of a lively physiognomy, and he delighted in disfiguring himself still more by perpetual grimaces in the way of amusement. His mind was not entirely devoid of vivacity, and he discovered a talent pretty strongly marked for buffoonery. One princely action completely revealed his character. He had ill-treated one of his courtiers for no cause whatever; and immediately on perceiving his injustice, to repair it, he sent a challenge to the injured party. Whatever was the intention of the courtier, who was a man of shrewdness and dexterity, he accepted it. They met in

a wood ; and, drawing their swords at ten paces from each other, they made fierce thrusts, without approaching nearer : when, on a sudden, the prince stopped short, saying, " It were pity that two brave men like us should cut one another's throats ; let us embrace." Making great compliments to each other as they left the spot, they had now regained the road to the palace, when the courtier, seeing a throng of people, eagerly exclaimed : " Ah ! monseigneur ! you are wounded in the hand ; take care that the blood is not seen ;" at the same time hastily pulling out his handkerchief, and binding it round the prince's hand. The grand-duke, imagining that the other really thought him wounded, did not undeceive him, but publicly boasted of his courage in bearing a wound ; and, to shew his generosity, he took the courtier into his greatest favour.

The princess Catharine of Anhalt-Zerbst, had passed the first years of her life, bounded by the limits of a moderate fortune : her father, sovereign of a petty state, and a general in the service of the king of Prussia, lived in a fortified town, where she was brought up, amid the flattering homages of a garrison ; and if sometimes, after she had ceased to be a child, her mother took her to court, hoping that she might attract some notice from the royal family, she was scarcely distinguished from the crowd of courtiers.

A prince, however, to whom she was nearly related, having, by a series of revolutions been called to Russia in order to succeed to the empire, and the great princesses of Europe having refused

to unite their lot to that of the heir of a throne which was so violently agitated, she was selected for his bride. Her parents made her quit the religion in which they had educated her, in order to her embracing the Russian faith ; and it was expressly stipulated in the contract, that, if the prince should die without leaving children of this marriage, his consort should inherit the empire.

Nature seemed to have formed Catharine for supreme command. Her looks immediately announced what was to be expected from her ; and, perhaps, before we proceed farther, my readers will be pleased to contemplate the portrait of this famous woman.

Her figure is agreeable and noble ; her gait is majestic ; her person and deportment are replete with graces. Her air is that of a sovereign. All her features are declarative of a great character. Her neck is raised, and her head distinct and free ; the union of these two parts, especially in the profile, is remarkably beautiful ; and, in the movements of her head, she takes some pains to disclose that beauty. She has a large and open forehead, the nose almost aquiline, with a pleasing mouth and good teeth ; her chin is rather large, and doubled a little, without being fat. Her hair is of a chestnut colour, and extremely fine : her eye-brows are brown ; she has animated hazel eyes, which, from the reflections of light, discover shades of blue ; and her complexion is particularly fine.—Haughtiness is the true character of her physiognomy. The grace and kindness which are likewise visible in it seem, to the penetrat-

ing observer, only the effect of an extreme desire of pleasing; and these seducing expressions leave but too perceptible even the design of seducing. A painter, desirous of expressing this character by an allegory, proposed to represent her under the figure of a charming nymph, who, with one hand extended, presents wreaths of flowers, and in the other, which she holds behind her, conceals a lighted torch.

Six days were already elapsed since the revolution, and that great event was apparently terminated without any violence that might have left odious impressions. Peter was kept in a pleasant house called Ropsha, about eighteen miles from Petersburg. The soldiers were amazed at what they had done: they could not conceive by what fascination they had been hurried so far as to dethrone the grandson of Peter the Great, in order to give his crown to a German woman. The majority, without plan or sentiment of what they were doing, had been mechanically led on by the movements of others; and each individual now reflecting on his baseness, after the pleasure of disposing of a crown had vanished, was filled only with remorse. The sailors, who had never been engaged in the insurrection, openly reproached the guards, in the cabaks [or tipling-houses] with having sold their emperor for beer. Pity, which justifies even the greatest criminals, pleaded irresistibly in every heart. One night a band of soldiers, attached to the empress, took the alarm, from an idle fear, and exclaimed, "that their mother was in danger; and

that she must be waked, that they might see her." During the next night, there was a fresh commotion, more serious than the former. So long as the life of the emperor left a pretext for inquietude, it was thought no tranquillity was to be expected.

One of the Counts O****, for each of them always bore this title,—the same soldier, surnamed *le balafre* [from a scar on his face] who had stolen the billet from the princess *Dashkof*,—and a certain *Teplof*, who had raised himself from the lowest employments by a peculiar talent at destroying his rivals, went together to the unhappy prince: they told him, on entering, that they were come to dine with him; and, according to the custom of the Russians, before dinner, glasses of brandy were served round. The glass out of which the emperor drank contained poison. Whether they were in haste to report their news, or whether the very horror of the deed made them hasten it, they proceeded in the next moment to pour him out a second glass. Already his bowels were burning, and, the atrociousness of their looks exciting his suspicions, he refused the glass: they used violence to make him take it, and he exerted himself to repel them. In this horrible conflict, to stifle his cries, which began to be audible at a distance, they fell on him, seized him by the throat, and threw him down: but, on his defending himself with all the strength afforded by ultimate despair, and as they avoided to mark him with any wound, and began to fear for themselves, they called to their assistance two officers who

were charged with the custody of the emperor, and who at that instant were at his prison door. These officers were the youngest of the princes *Baratinski*, and a youth named *Potemkin*, about seventeen years of age. They had shewn so much zeal in the conspiracy, that, notwithstanding their juvenility, they had been trusted with this guard. They obeyed the call; and three of these murderers tied a napkin round the neck of this unfortunate emperor, while O****, with both his knees, pressed on his stomach, and stopped his breath: they thus accomplished his suffocation, and he remained lifeless in their hands.

It is not known with certainty what share the empress had in this event:—but this may be affirmed, that on the very day in which it happened, while this princess was beginning her dinner with much gaiety, O**** precipitately came into the apartment, with his hair dishevelled, covered with sweat and dust, his cloaths torn, and his countenance agitated with horror and dismay. On entering, his eyes, sparkling and confused, sought those of the empress. She arose in silence, and went into a closet, whither he followed her; a few moments afterward she sent for Count *Panin*, who was already appointed her minister; and she informed him that the emperor was dead, and consulted him on the manner of announcing his death to the public. *Panin* advised her to

let one night pass over, and to spread the news next day, as if they had received it during the night. This counsel being approved, the empress returned with the same countenance, and continued her dinner with the same gaiety. On the day following, when it was published that Peter had died of an hæmorrhoidal cholic, she appeared bathed in tears, and proclaimed her grief by an edict.

The corpse was brought to Petersburg, there to be exposed.—The face was black, and the neck excoriated. Notwithstanding these horrible marks, in order to assuage the commotions which began to excite apprehension, and to prevent impostors from hereafter disturbing the empire, he was left three days, exposed to all the people, with only the ornaments of a Holstein officer. His soldiers, disbanded and disarmed, mingled with the crowd; and, as they beheld their sovereign, their countenances indicated a mixture of compassion, contempt, and shame. They were soon afterward embarked for their own country: but, as the sequel of their cruel destiny, almost all of these unfortunate men perished in a storm. Some of them had saved themselves on the rocks adjacent to the coast: but they again fell a prey to the waves, while the commandant of Cronstadt dispatched a messenger to Petersburg to know *whether he might be permitted to assist them!*

NATURAL HISTORY.

Curious Account of Birds in the Galapago Islands. From Captain Colnet's Voyage in the South Atlantic.

I was very much perplexed to form a satisfactory conjecture, how the small birds, which appeared to remain in one spot, supported themselves without water; but the party on their return informed me, that, having exhausted all their water, and reposing beneath a prickly pear-tree, almost choaked with thirst, they observed an old bird in the act of supplying three young ones with drink, by squeezing the berry of a tree into their mouths. It was about the size of a pea, and contained a watery juice, of an acid, but not unpleasant taste. The bark of the tree produces a considerable quantity of moisture; and, on being eaten, allays the thirst. In dry seasons the land-tortoise is seen to gnaw and suck it. The leaf of this tree is like that of the bay-tree; the fruit grows like cherries; whilst the juice of the bark dyes the flesh a deep purple, and emits a grateful odour: a quality in common with the greater part of the trees and plants in this island; though it is soon lost, when the branches are separated

from the trunks or stems. The leaves of these trees also absorb the copious dews which fall during the night, but in larger quantities at the full and change of the moon; the birds then pierce them with their bills, for the moisture they retain, and which, I believe, they also procure from the various plants and evergreens. But, when the dews fail in the summer season, thousands of these creatures perish; for, on our return hither, we found great numbers dead in their nests, and some of them almost fledged. It may, however, be remarked, that this curious instinctive mode of finding a substitute for water, is not peculiar to the birds of this island; as nature has provided them with a similar resource in the fountain-tree, that flourishes on the isle Ferro, one of the Canaries; and several other trees and canes, which, Churchill tells us in his voyages, are to be found on the mountains of the Phillipine (Phillipine) islands.

Observations on the Irritability of Vegetables. From Dr. E. Smith's Tracts.

Having often heard that the

stamina of the Barberry, *Berberis communis*, were endued with a considerable degree of irritability, I made the experiment in Chelsea Garden, May 25, 1786, on a bush then in full flower. It was about one o'clock P. M. the day bright and warm, with little wind.

The stamina of such of the flowers as were open were bent backwards to each petal, and sheltered themselves under their concave tips. No shaking of the branch appeared to have any effect upon them. With a very small bit of stick I gently touched the inside of one of the filaments, which instantly sprung from the petal with considerable force, striking its anthera against the stigma. I repeated the experiment a great number of times; in each flower touching one filament after another, till the tips of all six were brought together in the centre over the stigma.

I took home with me three branches laden with flowers, and placed them in a jar of water, and in the evening tried the experiment on some of these flowers, then standing in my room, with the same success.

In order to discover in what particular part of the filamenta this irritability resided, I cut off one of the petals with a very fine pair of scissors, so carefully as not to touch the stamen which stood next it; then, with an extremely slender piece of quill I touched the outside of the filament which had been next the petal, stroking it from top to bottom; but it remained perfectly immoveable. With the same instrument I then touched the back of the anthera, then its top, its edges,

and at last its inside; still without any effect. - But the quill being carried from the anthera down the inside of the filamenta, it no sooner touched that part than the stamen sprung forwards with great vigour to the stigma. This was often repeated with a blunt needle, a fine bristle, a feather, and several other things, which could not possibly injure the structure of the part, and always with the same effect.

To some of the antheræ I applied a pair of scissors, so as to bend their respective filaments with sufficient force to make them touch the stigma; but this did not produce the proper contraction of the filament. The incurvation remained only so long as the instrument was applied; on its being removed, the stamen returned to the petal by its natural elasticity. But on the scissors being applied to the irritable part, the anthera immediately flew to the stigma, and remained there. A very sudden and smart shock given to any part of a stamen would, however, sometimes have the same effect as touching the irritable part.

Hence it was evident, that the motion above described was owing to an high degree of irritability in the side of each filament, next the germen, by which, when touched, it contracts, that side becomes shorter than the other, and consequently the filament is bent towards the germen. I could not discover any thing particular in the structure of that or any other part of the filament.

The purpose which this curious contrivance of nature answers in the private œconomy of the plant,

seems not hard to be discovered. When the stamina stand in their original position, their antheræ are effectually sheltered from rain by the concavity of the petals. Thus probably they remain till some insect, coming to extract honey from the base of the flower, thrusts itself between their filaments; and almost unavoidably touches them in the most irritable part: thus the impregnation of the germen is performed: and as it is chiefly in fine sunny weather that insects are on the wing, the pollen is also in such weather most fit for the purpose of impregnation. It would be worth while to place a branch of the Barberry flower in such a situation, as that no insect, or other irritating cause, could have access to it; to watch whether in that case the antheræ would ever approach the stigma, and whether the seeds would be prolific.

On the same Subject. From Brown on the Zoonomia.

I have before remarked, "that the brain of plants, the source of their motion, has not been discovered, though vessels have been traced, which, according to Dr. Darwin, must terminate in that gland. To prove the existence of the spirit of animation, he does not attempt to demonstrate the existence of its cause, but contents himself with stating phenomena, to the production of which he conceives it to be necessary. In conformity with his division of the modes of life, he endeavours to shew, that vegetables are endued

with irritability, sensibility, voluntariness, and associability; and therefore contends that they are animals in the strictest sense of the term. That they possess a susceptibility of motion, distinct, in many cases, from the common qualities of matter, cannot be denied," and, if this be all which is meant, when they are said to be irritable, the expression may be allowed. It is objectionable only as it denotes an animal power; and thus seems to imply, that the principle of motion in animals and vegetables is the same. Of this we have not, and perhaps from the difference of their external circumstances, cannot have evidence. It is therefore necessary, however much we may gratify ourselves by tracing analogies, that we should have separate terms to express their principles of motion. The sensibility of vegetables, Dr. Darwin conceives, is evinced by their closing their petals during cold, darkness, or moisture; for, as cold and darkness are only terms which express the absence of stimuli, they cannot be considered as immediate causes of motion. Hence it is argued, that, as many flowers close their petals during cold, darkness, or moisture, the motion must be referred to sensation. This argument, the author replies, "supposes expansion to be the natural state of the petals; though it is surely more probable, that this state is induced by the action of external stimuli, as heat and light. The leaves of the bud are closed, and it is not until after it has arrived at maturity, and been for sometime acted upon by these stimuli, that it unfolds itself.

As all plants do not close their petals, on the absence of their accustomed stimuli, heat and light, it is evident that the phenomenon is not referable to a cause common to all plants, but to peculiar circumstances in the nature of some particular plants only. Sensation cannot therefore be the cause; as sensorial power is, on Dr. Darwin's hypothesis, common to all, and the phenomenon should accordingly be general.

When excited amber was first observed to attract light substances, and the magnet to attract iron, the motions were probably ascribed to life, till a more refined philosophy allowed them to live only in metaphor, and substituted peculiar fluids as the causes of their motion. The history of the mimosa, and the other plants, which we are almost led to consider as having sense, will probably be the same. The voluntariness of vegetables is said, by Dr. Darwin, "to be evinced, in their efforts to turn their flowers, and the upper surface of their leaves to the light; in the circular movement of the tendrils of climbing plants; and in their disposition to sleep. Whatever be the cause of the motion of plants towards light," this author replies, "it evidently is not volition, as it would in that case be immediate. The gradual slowness of the effect, proves it to result from peculiar attractions, which act on it mechanically. The same objections are applicable to ascribing the circular motion of the tendrils of plants to volition; as this motion takes place, though there be no external object in the vicinity of the tendrils, consequently no object of desire."

*Account of the Paris Mountain.
From Skrine's Tour in Wales.*

Our next, as well as our principal object, was to visit the Paris Mountain, by far the greatest curiosity Anglesea can boast, and its most considerable source of wealth. The copper mines in this part of the island are supposed to have been known to and worked by the Romans, and a lake on the mountain, which is now filled up, has been distinguished, long before the present works were formed, by the title of "the Mine Pool." Various are the modes of accounting for the modern name of this mountain, the most probable of which makes it derived from the old Welch word *Praas*, signifying *brass*, which might easily be corrupted into *Paris*. Whatever may be the foundation of this conjecture, the Paris Mountain cannot fail to excite the admiration of all strangers, both from its appearance, the extent of its works, and the regularity with which they are conducted. This mine is considerably more than a mile in circumference, and on an average 1300 men are employed in it constantly; it has also the singular advantage of being worked in the open air, a circumstance which contributes much to expedite the several branches of labour and superintendence, as well as to secure the health of the persons employed. As a spectacle, it is not a little striking to behold a large arid mountain entirely stripped of its herbage by the steam of the sulphur works, and perforated with numberless caverns, which opening under lofty arches one below the other, seem

to disclose the deepest arcana of the earth. The various positions of the crowds of men employed, the ascent and descent of innumerable baskets to bring up the ore, and the perpetual echo of the blasts of gunpowder introduced to dislodge it from the rock, produce an effect on the mind which I have seldom known to arise from the complicated and difficult investigation of mines otherwise circumstanced. Abundance of vitriolic water is found in these works, and its strength is so great as to turn in an instant whatever steel or iron is dipped in it to the colour and appearance of copper. This water is exposed to the sun in large open troughs, and the copper quality is extracted from it by a very curious process; great quantities of sulphur also are produced, and its sublimation is carried on in various spots upon the mountain, till at last the whole is collected in some large boiling houses, and formed into rolls of brimstone. The copper ore is then carried down in carts or sledges to some smelting-houses constructed in the valley below, near the sea-side, where every remaining operation is performed with the utmost care and regularity.

In consequence of the riches extracted from this mountain, the neighbouring village of Amlwch has risen into eminence, which Lord Uxbridge and Mr. Hughes (the two great proprietors of the mines) have adorned with two elegant houses for their occasional residence, calling one the Mona, and the other the Paris lodge. The little port of Amlwch is placed in a small cove among the cliffs

about half a mile below the village, and admirably formed to receive and arrange the several vessels which are employed in the copper and brimstone trade. It often also affords a safe haven to those ships which in their passage from Ireland are driven to the north-east round the point of Holyhead, and cannot make that harbour.

Particulars connected with Natural History. From Stavorinus's Voyages.

Many rivers precipitate themselves into the bay of Amboyna, from the mountains, though they only deserve that appellation during the rainy or bad monsoon; for in the good season they are mere rivulets, and many of them are nearly dry. I was witness to the remarkable difference occasioned in them by the time of the year; for, on my arrival, when the dry season was not over, the four rivers, which run into the sea, near the town and the adjacent villages, namely, the Way Tome, the Way Alla, the Way Nito, and the Bato Gadja, or Elephant's river, were, at that time, no more than rivulets, in which there was scarcely two or three feet water; but, at my departure, the continual heavy rains had so swelled them, that they carried away, in one night, the strongest and largest bridges, thirty and more feet in length, that were thrown over them, or at least damaged them very considerably.

Minerals are not met with here, though some of the hills yield abundance of good brimstone, with which their whole surface is

incrusted, There is one in particular, on the peninsula of Hitoe, which is famous on that account, and is thence called Wawani, or Brimstone-hill. The hills likewise to the north of Soeli begin, as it is said, to yield sulphur.

A tough reddish clay is found in some parts, of which bricks are made, which are as good as those made in Holland.

Salutary plants and medicinal herbs are not wanting here, with which, I was told, many disorders and infirmities are cured. Amongst others, the *boati* is said to have a singular antifebrile efficacy. Then there is the *cajeput*-tree, from the leaves of which, the hot and strong oil, called cajeput-oil, is distilled. The *sassafras*-tree, the bark of which yields the costly *Coililawang*, and its roots the sassafras-oil. Not to say any thing of the clove and nutmeg-trees, for which this island and the Uliassers are famous.

The wood which is called *Amboyna*-wood, or properly *Lingoa*-wood, is mostly produced in Ceram; as is the *Salmoni*-wood, which is yet more beautiful, but is too scarce to be used for building, the timber for which is mostly brought from Java, though the *Jati*-wood is likewise propagated here with tolerable success; but a sufficient quantity has not yet been reared, to supersede the necessity of a supply of timber from Java.

There are many other species of wood, besides the above, the half of which I am entirely unacquainted with; they are amply described by Valentyn.

Of the products of the country, considered as articles of trade, the

first rank is occupied by its staple commodity, cloves. The tree on which they grow, is too well, and too minutely described by Valentyn, than that I should be required to do it here.

Two large crops of cloves never succeed each other; if the crop be one year very large, that of the next year will be very small; the first generally takes place in uncommon dry seasons; and epidemical fevers are then very prevalent.

When the cloves are almost ripe, they must be soon gathered, or they shoot out in a few days into mother-cloves. The cloves which are dried over the fire, instead of in the sun, are not good; these may be distinguished by their colour, being more inclined to black, and that they bend between the fingers; while those which are properly dried, are, on the contrary, not flexible, but brittle, and snap asunder upon being fillipped with the finger; they are also of a reddish cast.

The crop of cloves depends much upon the temperature of the weather, in the months of June and September. An aftercrop is sometimes made, but the time is uncertain, and it does not often happen.

Although this spice is not an indigenous production of Amboyna, but a native of the Molucca islands proper, whence it was brought hither some centuries ago; it prospers exceedingly well here, and especially upon the islands of Honimoa, Oma, and Noussa-laut, commonly called the Uliassers, which, together with Amboyna, are the only spots where the Company allow it to be

cultivated; and they constantly cause it to be destroyed in every other place within their reach, especially on little Ceram or Hoe-wamoehil; exclusive of the extirpations which take place, from time to time, in the spice-islands themselves, in order to moderate the great abundance of the article, with which their warehouses overflow, both at Batavia and in Holland.

Thus, the supreme Indian government ordered by their letter, of the 26th of December, 1769, that the number of clove-trees should not be allowed to exceed five hundred thousand; and it was further ordered, in the year 1773, that fifty thousand more should be destroyed, so that at present (1775) after three extirpations, the number of clove trees, as near as could be ascertained, amounts to 513,268; whereof

320,491 fruit-bearing trees

104,866 half grown

87,911 young plants

513,268

besides 22,310 *tatanamangs*, which are trees that are not comprehended in the clove plantations, but stand interspersed here and there, near the houses. Every Amboynese plants such a clove-tree when a child is born to him, in order, by a rough calculation, to know their age. Although they do not oppose the extirpation of the clove-trees in the plantations, when the Company think it fit, yet to touch their *tatanamangs* would speedily be the cause of a general insurrection among them: this was manifest on the occasion of one of the last

extirpations, when the extirpators, ignorantly, at least as they pretended, cut down some *tatanamangs*. The whole country was immediately up; and had not the then Governor, Van der V—, speedily provided against it, they would have destroyed all the other clove-trees, set fire to their habitations, and flying to the mountains, they would thus have withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the Company.

I have been assured that a clove-tree will continue to bear fruit for the space of eighty years.

Besides the clove, nutmeg-trees likewise grow here with tolerable luxuriance; but they are all destroyed, by the orders of the government, whenever they are found.

In proportion, as the clove-trees were more and more eradicated, the government at *Batavia* began to think on the means of giving the Amboynese an equivalent for the diminution of that production; as the crop of cloves brought but little money into circulation, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of which I shall say more hereafter. For that purpose, his excellency, governor Mossel, proposed, in his *Secret Considerations on the State of India*, offered to the gentlemen in authority at home, under the head of Amboyna, to encourage the cultivation of pepper and indigo there, as much as possible, in order to furnish a better means of subsistence to the natives; but the little inclination which the rulers of Amboyna have shewn to comply with this proposal, and the little attention they have bestowed upon the subject, or, as

they allege in their own exculpation, the indolence of the Amboynese, have almost wholly frustrated the attempts which have been made in this line.

Of the Tea Plant. From Staunton's Embassy to China.

The perpendicular growth of the tea-plant is impeded, for the convenience of collecting its leaves, which is done first in spring, and twice afterwards in the course of the summer. Its long and tender branches spring up almost from the root without any intervening naked trunk. It is bushy like a rose tree, and the expanded petals of the flower bear some resemblance to that of the rose. Every information received concerning the tea plant concurred in affirming that its qualities depended both upon the soil in which it grew, and the age at which the leaves were plucked off the tree, as well as upon the management of them afterwards. The largest and oldest leaves, which are the least esteemed, and destined for the use of the lowest classes of the people, are often exposed to sale with little previous manipulation, and still retaining that kind of vegetable taste which is common to most fresh plants, but which vanishes in a little time, whilst the more essential flavour, characteristic of each particular vegetable, remains long without diminution. The young leaves undergo no inconsiderable preparation before they are delivered to the purchaser. Every leaf passes through the fingers of a female, who rolls it

up almost to the form it had assumed before it became expended in the progress of its growth. It is afterwards placed upon thin plates of earthenware or iron, made much thinner than can be executed by artists out of China. It is confidently said in the country, that no plates of copper are ever employed for that purpose. Indeed, scarcely any utensil used in China is of that metal, the chief application of which is for coin. The earthen or iron plates are placed over a charcoal fire, which draws all remaining moisture from the leaves, rendering them dry and crisp. The colour and astringency of green tea, is thought to be derived from the early period at which the leaves are plucked, and which, like unripe fruit, are generally green and acrid. The tea is packed in large chests lined with very thin plates of lead, and the dried leaves of some large vegetable. It is too true, that the tea is pressed down into those chests by the naked feet of Chinese labourers, as grapes are pressed by the wooden shoes of European peasants; in which last case the juices are purified by the subsequent fermentation. Notwithstanding this uncleanly operation of Chinese packers, the upper ranks in China are as fond of tea as the people are, and particularly solicitous in their choice of it. That of a good quality is dearer in Pekin than in London. It is sometimes made up into balls. A strong black extract also, is frequently made from it. Many virtues are attributed to tea, which is in universal use throughout the empire.

Account of the Lead Mines in Derbyshire. From Aikin's Description of Manchester.

Lead mines in Derbyshire are of great antiquity, undoubted proof existing that they were worked in the time of the Romans. They may be traced from the Saxon and Norman eras down through successive periods to the present time. The extent to which the business has been carried on at different periods cannot with certainty be determined; but the produce of the mines during the last century has undoubtedly been very considerable. At present, lead ore is found in various parts of the country. Indeed, it has been discovered in different quantity throughout all the tract of lime-stone land; but it is met with in the greatest abundance about ten miles to the north and south of the river Wye.

Veins of lead ore, on account of their position in the earth, are distinguished by the different names of *pipe*, *rake*, and *flat* works. A pipe-work lies between two measures of lime-stone regularly extending above and below. It consists of several lines or branches running nearly parallel to each other, which have a general communication by means of slender threads, or leadings, as they are called by the miners. The rock is sometimes pierced through by these leadings, which it is thought right to follow, as they often conduct to a fresh range. Should no ore be found on such a pursuit, the breadth of the work is ascertained: its length is indeterminate, depending much upon the dipping of the measures.

If this be great, it begins to decline, or cannot be pursued further on account of water. The rake-vein is found in the chasms or clefts of the lime-stone, and consequently breaks through the measures and sinks into the earth. It sometimes penetrates 150 or 200 yards, generally in a slanting direction; and it has been followed to the distance of four miles from the place where it was first discovered. The flat-work resembles the pipe, but has no leader or stem like that. It spreads wider, and seldom extends above 100 yards. It is also found near the surface and in the solid rock, and is very weak and poor, being seldom thicker than a man's finger.

The veins of lead ore are generally enclosed in a yellow, red, or black soil, and are firmly connected with calc, spar, or some other mineral. Their direction is not uniform. The pipes, never penetrating the measures, follow the dip of the country in which they are found. The rakes run still more variously; in the High Peak, generally pointing east and west; in the wapentake of Wirksworth, north and south. Sometimes two veins cut each other at right angles: sometimes the pipe and rake unite and run together a short way, becoming stronger and richer. It is difficult to determine which of these two veins is most common, or most productive; the pipe, however, seem most generally valuable.

Veins are discovered various ways; sometimes by attention to the nature of the ground, which leads the experienced miner to make a search by boring; often

by accidents laying open some branch which rises to day. The more the branches which accompany a vein, the richer it is, and when they begin to diminish, it becomes poorer. Also, for the most part, a vein is impoverished when it runs in such a direction as to receive over it a greater number of measures. In working mines, a principal point is to free them from water; the most common and effectual method of doing which is to drive a sough or level from the bottom of some neighbouring valley, as far as the works; where this cannot be done, pumps must be employed, which are either worked by a water-wheel, or by a fire-engine. Mines are freed from bad air by the introduction of a pipe down the shaft to the work, whence it is extended along the roof of the gallery. The circulation this occasions proves an effectual remedy.

There are numerous and various regulations respecting the rights of miners, and the dues payable for the ore, in different parts of the mining country. The principal tract containing lead is called the *King's-field*. Under this denomination nearly the whole wapentake of Wirksworth is comprized, as well as part of the High Peak. The mineral duties of the King's-field have been from time immemorial let on lease. The present farmer of those in the High Peak is the Duke of Devonshire; and of those in the wapentake of Wirksworth is Mrs. Rolles. They have each a steward and bar-masters in the districts they hold of the crown. The steward presides as judge in the Barmote-courts, and with twenty-four jury-

men determines all disputes respecting the working of mines. The courts are held twice a year; those of the High Peak at Money-ash, and those of the wapentake at Wirksworth. The principal office of the bar-master is putting miners in possession of the veins they have discovered, and collecting the proportion of ore due to the lessee. When a miner has found a new vein of ore in the King's-field, provided it be not in an orchard, garden, or high-road, he may obtain an exclusive title to it on application to the bar-master. The method of giving possession is, in the presence of two jurymen, marking out in a pipe or rake work two *meares* of ground, each containing 29 yards; and in a flat work 14 yards square. But if a miner neglect to avail himself of his discovery beyond a limited time, he may be deprived of the vein of which he has received possession, and the bar-master may dispose of it to another adventurer. As to the other part of the bar-master's office, that of superintending the measurement of the ore, and taking the dues of the lessee or lord of the manor, it is attended with some difficulty from the variety of the claims, which differ greatly in different places. In general, a thirteenth of the ore is the due in the King's-field, but a twenty-fifth only is taken. Besides this, there is a due for tithe. In mines that are private property, such tolls are paid as the parties agree upon.

The miner having satisfied the several claims, proceeds to dispose of his ore to the merchant or smelter. There are four denominations of ore; the largest and best

sort is called *Bing*; the next in size and almost equal in quality is named *Pesey*; the third is *Smit-ham*, which passes through the sieve in washing; the fourth, which is caught by a very slow stream of water, and is as fine as flour, is stiled *Belland*; it is inferior to all the rest on account of the admixture of foreign particles. All the ore as it comes from the mine is beaten into pieces and washed before it is sold. This business is performed by women, who can earn about 6d. per day.

Smelting furnaces are of two kinds, the hearth and cupola. The hearth consists of large rough stones placed so as to form an oblong cavity about two feet wide and deep, and 14 long, into which fuel and ore are put in alternate layers; the heat is raised by means of a large pair of bellows worked by a water wheel. The fuel is wood and coal. The lead procured this way is very soft, pure, and ductile, but a considerable quantity of metal remains in the slags. These are, therefore, smelted over again with a more intense fire of coke; but the metal produced is inferior in quality to the former.

At present a small proportion of ore is smelted this way, only two hearth furnaces remaining in Derbyshire. The cupola, introduced about fifty years since, is of an oblong form, resembling a long, but not very deep, chest, the top and bottom of which are a little concave. The fire being placed at one end, and a chimney at the other, the flame is drawn over the ore placed at the bottom, and by

its reverberation smelts it without any contact of the fuel.

The lead when smelted is poured into moulds of various sizes, according to the different markets for which it is intended, Hull, Bawtry, or London. Two of the blocks make a pig. Some of it, however, is first rolled into sheets at works erected for the purpose near the furnaces. A considerable quantity is also converted into red-lead. This process is performed in a kind of oven, the floor of which is divided into three parts. The middle of these contains the metal, and the two others the fire. This flame being reverberated on the metal, converts it to a calx or powder; which, on being a second time exposed to the action of the fire, acquires a red colour.

Attempts were made some years ago to extract silver from the lead; but no such work now exists in Derbyshire. The sulphur driven off from the ore in smelting is collected at two furnaces.

The annual produce of lead from the Derbyshire mines is not exactly ascertained, but may be estimated at an average of between 5 and 6000 tons. It is generally thought to be on the decline, some of the richest mines being either exhausted, or become more difficult to work; but on the other hand, from the improvements in the art of smelting, and the more effectual methods employed to clear the mines of water by new levels and improved fire engines, advantages have been gained that may, perhaps, supply the deficiency.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Hints relative to Agriculture.
From Billingsley's Somersetshire.*

THAT the present manner of effecting the business of enclosing is susceptible of further improvement, no one conversant with the subject can deny. Yet to accomplish this, many obstacles are to be combated, and perhaps one of the most formidable is, that of its having been regarded, more or less, as a *little system of patronage*. The lord of the soil, the rector, and a few of the principle commoners, monopolize and distribute the appointments. It is well known, that bills of this sort have found their way through parliament without the intervention of a country solicitor. In cases where no opposition was meditated, the parliamentary solicitor, and a surveyor, have answered every purpose. By this, a saving was made of from sixty to a hundred pounds; but this might exclude the friend of one or more of the governing party. In some acts, *five* commissioners have been appointed; in general there are *three*; but *two* would be sufficient, with power to nominate a third under the circumstance of difference of opinion, which, seldom happens; and in small inclosures,

perhaps one commissioner would answer every purpose. If a country solicitor be employed, he should act as clerk to the commissioners, and save the expence of a supernumerary in that capacity. Hereby another saving would be made, without any injury to the concern. The office of surveyor is by no means inconsiderable in the aggregate of expence. This might be disposed of, under a fair competition, to the lowest given sum for executing the whole of the business, (after the act is obtained) by advertising for proposals to such effect; taking care that the contracting party be competent to the undertaking. This alteration, it is probable, would save one-third, and in some cases nearly half of a bill made out by charges in detail.

In the choice of commissioners, it is of the utmost consequence to appoint *one*, at least, in the neighbourhood of the inclosure, familiarized with all the varieties of the soil, with the influence of seasons, and with its local peculiarities; whereby its present value, and capacity for future improvement would be ascertained with precision, and the important office of qualifying the land executed with safety and confidence. The next

in the scale of utility should be a person conversant with all the forms and routine of the business; well instructed from experience in accounts, and in the prices and different modes of fencing, making roads, bridges, gates, &c. of general and comprehensive knowledge of agriculture, both practical and speculative, and of genius to suggest such modern improvements as are best adapted to the situation and soil. Two persons, thus qualified, are fully competent to execute the office with credit to themselves, and justice to the proprietors. But should the concern suffer by the absence of either, through sickness, private business, or any other cause, a clause in the act might be inserted, empowering them, or the proprietors, to choose a third for the purpose of avoiding delay. Commissioners, whose residence is at a great distance, should (on account of the extra charges of time and travelling expences) only be resorted to as an alternative, from the impossibility of getting others properly qualified near home.

The office of commissioner is, without doubt, the first in consequence and authority, under an inclosing act, but with respect to *emolument* the very lowest. Even the clerk's bill of charges, not as a solicitor acting in that capacity, but as any other indifferent person did in times past, exceed twice, and sometimes three times the amount of the fees of the former. The public have been not a little misled in their conceptions of this subject. The real fact is, that the whole of the responsibility attaches to the office of commissioner, which, in pecuniary recom-

pense, is by far the most insignificant.

Thus have I impartially stated the defects of the present system, with their correspondent remedies. In its most improved state it will retain somewhat of imperfection, which perhaps cannot be entirely obviated.

I shall only add, that within a few years past, in the neighbourhood of Wells, an inclosure was *farmed* by an attorney of extensive practice, and well-known respectability, at a sum considerably less than it would have amounted to in the usual way. The commissioners were appointed by the proprietors; the business executed with singular dispatch, and all parties interested perfectly satisfied. Fences, roads, &c. were made by the proprietors.

Let me advise a general investigation of the substrata of all soils about to be improved; for I verily believe, that in most instances a manure may there be found near at hand, and congenial thereunto. Do we not frequently find clay under sand, and sand under clay; under flint, *chalk*; under white-lias or stone-brash, *marle*; under red earth, *lime-stone*; under peat-bogs, sea *mud* or *clay*? Are not these circumstances sufficient indication to the wary husbandman, to examine minutely the interior quality of his land previous to applying extraneous and expensive manures?

The writer has known thirty-two successive crops of potatoes from the same field, and the produce as good at the latter part of the term as at the beginning. This will puzzle the theorist, with his *peculiar substances of nutrition*.

Perhaps there are few things in husbandry more difficult to be accomplished than that of restoring worn-out arable to a good pasture. A few hints on this subject may not be unacceptable.

The first step is to extirpate from the land all noxious weeds. This may be done by a complete winter and summer fallow; or, in place of the summer fallow, by a crop of potatoes, well manured, and kept perfectly clean, and followed by winter vetches, fed off in the spring.

At the latter end of May, or beginning of June, sow one bushel of buck-wheat per acre, and when that is up, and in rough leaf, harrow in (choosing, if possible, moist weather) two bushels of hayseed, collected from the best meadow hay, half a bushel of rye-grass, four pounds of marl grass, and four pounds of white Dutch clover. The buck is intended principally as a screen to the grass seeds.

If, therefore, the harrowing should pull up some of the plants, so much the better. A thick crop is not desirable. After the buck-wheat is harvested, which will be some time in September, let the field be hayned, or shut up for the winter; and let it be fed the next summer with sheep, or any kind of cattle, except horses; the latter animal will tear up the young plants with his teeth.

Should this pasture, in the course of three or four years, decline in fineness of herbage, and become coarse and rough, which is frequently the case, give it a top-dressing of lime, or lime mixed with pond or ditch earth, or the scraping of a road made with

lime-stone, or marl; and if neither of these can be procured, with coal or soapers' ashes; or any kind of compost; and two years after either of the above manures are administered, serve out some good meadow hay on it in the months of January and February, and then give it a complete covering of rotten dung.

By this method a good permanent pasture may be obtained. If the ground so laid down be intended for *pleasure* ground, omit the rye-grass, and add to the natural grass seeds.

In the management and curing of the natural grass, the inhabitants of this district, particularly in those parts where it is intended for sale, are very attentive.

Women or children are employed to spread the grass after the mower. About the middle of the day it is turned, and in the afternoon put into small cocks. Next day it is again spread with great care, shaking it high up in the air, and separating as much as possible every blade. In the course of the second day, it is twice turned; and early in the afternoon, whilst the *sun's rays are strong and powerful, and the hay warm*, it is again cocked in heaps, about double as large as those of the preceding evening. On the third day it undergoes a similar process in regard to the spreading and turning; and if the weather be very fine, and the crop not exceeding thirty cwt. per acre, it will be fit for stacking; if otherwise, it should be put into large cocks, and left till the fourth morning, avoiding on all occasions stacking late in the evening, or in a strong dew. Should the wea-

ther be difficult, and the hay-making be interrupted by frequent showers, or by some days' rain, make a point of drying it thoroughly, and then *salt it* after the rate of a peck of salt to a ton of hay; this will make it palatable to the cattle. On all accounts, avoid making a chimney in the stack, for this will inevitably make the hay mouldy and unwholesome.

Should it heat too much, and be in danger of taking fire, *turn the mow* before the heat is too far advanced.

Receipts for the Preservation of Fungi. From the Transactions of the Linnæan Society.

No. 1. To half a pound of vitriol of copper, called blue vitriol, reduced to powder, add a pint of cold water: stir them together for a minute, and then throw away the water: upon the remaining vitriol pour half a pint of boiling water, and stir them frequently until the liquor be nearly cool. Set it by in a warm place, for two or three days, to crystallize.

Take any quantity of these crystals, add to them as much hot water as will barely dissolve them, and put the solution into a vial.

To two or three quarts of pure spring water, put as much of this solution of blue vitriol as will give to the whole a very slight bluish tinge: then add to it, rectified spirits of wine, in the proportion of a pint to a gallon: filter the liquor through blotting or cap paper, and put it into bottles for use.

No. 2. Dissolve a quarter of an

ounce of sugar of lead in a pint of distilled or very pure spring water, made boiling hot; and seven pints of pure cold water, and one pint of rectified spirit of wine: filter the liquor, and keep it in bottles.

The above proportion of spirits of wine is sufficient for the thickest and most succulent specimens, but less will do for such as are thin and not juicy. If the spirit be sufficient to prevent mouldiness, it is enough, for more has a tendency to extract the colours.

Put the specimens to be preserved into wide-mouthed jars, made of flint glass, and well fitted with corks: fill the jars quite full with one or other of the above liquids, so as to leave in as little air as possible: cork the jars very close, covering the corks with tin foil, or thin sheet lead, such as may be had from the dealers in tea, turning the edge of the lead or tin downwards so as to lap over and under the edge of the jar.

The dark-coloured plants are very apt to discolour the liquor, the milky ones to render it turbid, and some of the juicy ones to excite the vinous fermentation. In any of these cases the liquor must be repeatedly changed.

Agarics may be transported to almost any distance with little damage, by the following method. Put them into an earthen jar upon a layer of moss a little pressed down; cover them with more moss, carefully filling up the interstices; and thus go on stratifying them until the jar be quite full; pour in the liquid No. 1. as long as the moss will continue to imbibe any; then stop the mouth of the jar securely. It may be

useful to mention, that when several species are put into one jar, they may be labelled with slips of card paper, written upon with black lead pencil.

I have principally used the liquor No. 1.; but No. 2. is best adapted to preserve some of the more tender colours, and it also keeps the texture more firm. Let the botanist however be careful not to mix the liquors, nor to change the one for the other after a plant has once been wetted with one of them.

On the Management of Swine during their Autumnal Residence in the Woods. From Gilpin's Forest Scenery.

The first step the swineherd takes, is to investigate some close sheltered part of the forest, where there is a conveniency of water, and plenty of oak or beech mast; the former of which he prefers when he can have it in abundance. He next fixes on some spreading tree, round the bole of which he wattles a slight, circular fence of the dimensions he wants; and covering it roughly with boughs and sods, he fills it plentifully with straw or fern.

Having made this preparation, he collects his colony among the farmers, with whom he commonly agrees for a shilling a head, and will get together a herd of five or six hundred hogs. Having driven them to their destined habitation, he gives them a plentiful supper of acorns or beech mast, (as it is called) which he has already provided, sounding his horn during the repast. He then turns them

into the litter, where, after a long journey and a hearty meal, they sleep deliciously.

The next morning he lets them look a little around them, shows them the pool or stream where they may occasionally drink, leaves them to pick up the offals of the last night's meal, and as evening draws on, gives them another plentiful repast under the neighbouring trees, which rain acorns upon them for an hour together at the sound of his horn. He then sends them again to sleep.

The following day he is perhaps at the pains of procuring them another meal, with music playing as usual. He then leaves them a little more to themselves, having an eye, however, on their evening hours. But as their bellies are full, they seldom wander far from home, retiring commonly very orderly and early to bed.

After this he throws his sty open, and leaves them to cater for themselves; and from henceforward has little more trouble with them during the time of their migration. Now and then in calm weather, when mast falls sparingly, he calls them perhaps together by the music of his horn to a gratuitous meal: but in general they need little attention, returning regularly home at night, though they often wander in the day two or three miles from their sty. There are experienced leaders in all herds, which have spent this roving life before: and can instruct their juniors in the method of it. By this management the herd is carried home to their respective owners in such condition, that a little dry meat will soon fatten them.

Account of the Artificial Slate Manufactory, the Property of Sir James Wright. From the Universal Magazine for August, 1798.

This manufactory was built by the liberal and public-spirited proprietor, about twenty-two years ago, at an expence of nearly four thousand pounds. It is situate near Woodford bridge, on the river Roding. The different sluices which surround it were constructed by the ingenious Mr. Smeaton, and have saved that part of the country from the inundations to which it was formerly much exposed.

The slate manufactured here is used for covering roofs and fronts of houses; for making pendent frames for hay-ricks and stacks of corn; and safe-guards to preserve them from vermin. It is used also for water-pipes and gutters. A considerable quantity has been exported to the West Indies. But its principal use is in the preservation of grain from vermin, and its importance in this respect entitles it to a very high rank among modern improvements or inventions. By means of frames and coverings made of this slate, the price of which and the labour attending them are very inconsiderable, every grain of corn may be completely secured and be kept sweet to the latest period of the winter season, or longer if necessary, which in barns it cannot be. The ingredients introduced into these prepared slates are noxious both in smell, taste, and substance, to all vermin, though not to the human species. It may not, there-

fore, be unsatisfactory to the curiosity of the public to trace the origin of this invention to its source, and what gave the first rise to it.

This we shall do in the words of the inventor, Sir James Wright, who appears to have spared no labour or expence to bring it to its present state of usefulness: 'During my residence of eight years as his majesty's minister at Venice, I had often observed with much pleasure, as well as surprise, that all those rooms in my house, which had stucco floors, called there *Terrazzi*, were free from bugs, fleas, and other small reptiles. Upon investigating the cause, I was convinced it proceeded from what the people, who are called *Terrazzieri*, (and are the persons who come once a month to polish these floors) make use of for that operation.

'Some years after my return to England, I had a mansion-house upon my estate in Essex, to repair; it had long been the jointure of an old lady, and much neglected, especially the chambers in the offices which are detached from the house: probably they had not been inhabited for some years, and when I went into them with my surveyor, we found millions of worm hills all over the boards of every floor, of course they were all condemned to be taken up and new laid: however, recollecting the ingredients used so efficaciously on the terraces at Venice, I determined first to try the experiment, and was not disappointed in my expectations; the old floors were soon free from worms, and it is now (1796) nineteen years since I let

the house to Nicholas Pearse, Esq. from whom I never received the least complaint.

'After this I tried the same experiment with equal success, on the backs of several old pictures that were painted on wood, where the worms had been very busy.

'Some years ago, the duke of Queensbury, who had frequently ordered the artificial slate from my manufactory in Essex, for his house at Aimesbury, in Wiltshire, wrote to me for some to line a granary there, if I thought it would be proof against the rats. I informed his grace I believed I could finish some slates with ingredients, that probably would be efficacious, but that I was not certain, though I knew reptiles of a lesser size would not come near them. Encouraged by this probability of success, his grace ordered a quantity of artificial slate prepared with these ingredients, which were the same as those used for polishing the stucco floors at Venice. Some few years after, the duke informed me, not a rat had been seen in the granary ever since the application of these prepared slates.

'In consequence of this experiment, all the Artificial Slate, that has been sent out to the East and West Indies, where the white ant makes such devastations on the timbers of the houses, has been manufactured with the same ingredients, and no complaints have arrived from these quarters.'

In using these slates as frames to haystacks, in lieu of thatching, a very great saving has been made. In twelve years, the sum of 1964*l.* has been saved on eight stacks of hay at Rayhouse, the

seat of Sir James Wright. In this respect, as well as in the prevention of destruction to grain by vermin, the invention of the Artificial Slate has met the approbation of the best judges, and has come into very general use.

Extract from Mr. Fairnall's Letter to the Society of Arts, on the re-barking Trees which have been peeled by Cattle. From the Transactions of the Society, Vol. XIV.

In the severity of the spring of 1794, some fatted sheep were turned into a valuable Orchard of mine, of about twenty years growth, and they in a short time actually stripped the bark from several of the trees, entirely round the bodies, leaving the wood bare for at least sixteen inches.

I was so much hurt by the accident, as to determine to do something for the preservation of the trees, and save them if possible. The first step which I took was to take off the arms from several of the trees which were most injured; and, from the largest of those arms, I flawed off slips of rind of about two or three inches in width, and placed four or five of them perpendicularly round the naked part of the body; but I should observe, that I first cut away all the rind that was bitten, and then raised the rind up, top and bottom, and put the ends of the slips under, that the sap might circulate; and afterwards bound them exceedingly tight with rope-yarn: I then applied a composition of loam and cow-dung, with a little drift-sand, over which I

tied some old sacking; which was the whole of the process.

Mr. Dyot Bucknall, perceiving this method very likely to succeed, requested I would help to give a recital, the heads of which we wrote on the spot, and he assured me he had sent them to you; but, lest he may have made any mistake, he wished I would send the account myself.

The experiment being made in the spring of 1794, a minute inspection at this time must determine the fate of it; and permit me to assure you, it has succeeded far beyond my expectation: the slips adhere as close, and are as full of sap, as the rind on any other trees. They are now in their full blossom, strong, and vigorous, apparently as if they had received no injury. But I must observe, were I to make the experiment again, I could do it more dexterously; and I must mention an error I was guilty of in my haste, by placing some of the slips the wrong way upwards; consequently the sap could not circulate.

Mr. Ball's Method of preparing Opium from Poppies, grown in England, which gained the Society's Premium of 50 Guineas. Vol. XIV.

Nothing can be more simple, or attended with less expence, than the making or extracting the pure and genuine Opium from the large Poppies, commonly called or known by the name of Garden Poppies; the seeds of which I would advise to be sown the latter end of February, and again about

the second week in March, in beds three feet and a half wide, well prepared with good rotten dung, and often turned or ploughed, in order to mix it well and have it fine, either in small drills, three in each bed, in the manner sallads are sown, and, when about two inches high, to thin them one foot apart; or otherwise, to sow them in beds in the broad-cast way, and thin them to the same distance (if the weather should prove wet at that time, those that are taken up may be transplanted; but I do not suppose the transplanted ones will answer, having but one spill-root, and will require frequent waterings). Keep them free from weeds, they will grow well, and produce from four to ten heads, shewing large and different coloured flowers, which, when the leaves die away and drop off, the pods then being in a green state, is the proper time for extracting the Opium, by making four or five small longitudinal incisions with a sharp-pointed knife, about one inch long, on one side only of the head or pod, just through the scarf-skin, taking care not to cut to the seeds. Immediately on the incision being made, a milky fluid will issue out, which is the Opium, and, being of a glutinous nature or substance, will adhere to the bottom of the incision; but some are so luxuriant, that it will drop from the pod on the leaves underneath. The next day, if the weather should be fine, and a good deal of sun-shine, the Opium will be found a greyish substance, and some almost turning black: it is then to be scraped off the pods, and, if any, from the leaves, with

the edge of a knife or an instrument for that purpose, into pans or pots; and in a day or two it will be of a proper consistence to make into a mass, and to be potted.

As soon as you have taken away all the Opium from one side of the pod, then make incisions on the opposite side, and proceed in the same manner. The reason of my not making the incisions all around at the first, is, that you cannot so conveniently take away the Opium; but every person, upon trial, will be the best judge. Children may with ease be soon taught to make the incisions, and take off the Opium; so that the expence will be found exceedingly trifling.

The small white seeds in that state will be found very sweet and pleasant, and may be eaten without the least danger; and it is the custom in the East to carry a plate of them to the table, after dinner, with other fruits.

On Planting Potatoes. From Kirkpatrick's Account of the Manner in which they are cultivated in Cheshire and Lancashire.

Potatoes of a moderate size are generally used for planting, and a bushel of these will produce more sets than two of the largest sort. I suppose every person knows that it is requisite there should be an eye in every cutting, if it has more it is not detrimental, but if it has none it will never shoot. Endeavour to make your cuttings nearly of an equal size, and not some very small and others very

large; if this is disregarded and a setting stick is made use of, the large ones will not reach the bottom of the hole, neither will they receive that advantage from the manure which they would have done if in contact with it.

If you choose large potatoes for setting (which some prefer) you must cut out the eyes about an inch deep, making the part you take out about as large as a walnut or a pigeon's egg. Plants cut from these large roots will occasion a great quantity of fragments, the middle or heart of the potatoe being left entire and useless, but these remains may be given to the animals in the farm-yard, so that the loss will not be considerable. I do not know of any particular important directions that can be given about cutting the potatoe for sets. It is common to cut the smaller ones into two, and some that are larger into three parts. It is apparent at first sight, that the eyes near the root or tail of the potatoe put out weaker sprouts than those upon the opposite end or crown; and most people throw away these weaker ones, supposing them to be not so prolific, or incapable of producing such strong plants as sets from the other parts of this root. Many persons are bigoted to their own method of cutting, and think there is some peculiar excellency in their execution of this business. But I apprehend there is very little advantage arising from their supposed superior skill. It is common in this neighbourhood for farmers to hire out a field (which they wish to improve) to different persons, to plant with potatoes. This being divided into beds, or ploughed,

and drills opened by the farmer, such portions of it are taken by different persons as they judge will yield them a quantity of potatoes sufficient for their consumption. The farmer lays a proper quantity of dung upon this ground at his own expence, and places it in small heaps at equal distances. If the land is drilled, this is also performed gratis by the landowner, but if it is dug, it is at the expence of the person who hires it. The sum paid for every rod or perch of this field, containing eight square yards, is now about two shillings; whether it is dug or ploughed the price is nearly the same. If there was any great advantage arising from superior skill in cutting the potatoes it would appear when they are got up; but I have never observed any considerable difference in the quantity gathered from equal di-

mensions of the ground planted with the same sort of potatoe, though sometimes twenty or more different persons have exercised their several talents in this operation.

A change of ground as well as seed has been recommended as favourable to the increase of this vegetable. Every person acquainted with land must acknowledge the superior excellence of fresh land as favourable for all kinds of produce: but I know two pieces of land near where I live, which have been constantly set with potatoes, one for the term of fourteen years, the other for more than double that time, without any abatement in the crop. The owners of these plots of land say, they gather as much, and as good produce from them now, as they did the first year they appropriated them to this purpose.

ANTIQUITIES.

Curious State Paper relative to Dress.

A Commandment giuen by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the Twelfth of Februarie, and 22nd of her Highnesses Reigne, and declared by the Lord Chauncellor of England, and other the Lordes of her Maiesties most honourable Priuie Counsel in the Starre Chamber, concerning clokes and ruffles of excessiue length and depth.

It is also to be understoode that the saide 12th day of Februarie in this present yeere 1579, by the Queenes Maiesties expresse commandment, it was declared and published by the Lord Chauncellor, and other the Lords of her Maiesties saide Counsell that from the one and twentieth of this moneth, no person shall vse or weare such excessive long clokes, being in common sight monstrous, as nowe of late are begonne to be vsed ; and before two yeeres past hath not bene vsed in this relme. Neither also shoulde any person use or weare such great and excessiue ruffles in or about the vppermost part of their neckes, as had not been used before two

yeeres past ; but that all persons shoulde in modest and comely sort leave off such fonde, disguised and monstrous manner of attyring themselves, as both was unsupportable for charges, and indecent to be worne.

And this her Maiestie commanded to be observed, upon paine of her high indignation, and the paines thereto due, and willed all officers to see the reformation and redresse thereof, to the punishment of any offending in these cases as persons wilfully disobeying or contemning her Maiestie's commandment.

Giuen the 22nd yeere of her Highnesses reigne, as is before expressed.

God saue the Queene.

Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Maiestie. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. Anno Dom. 1579.

Extracts from Shaw's Antiquities of Staffordshire.

In 1568, during the time of the Duke of Norfolk's intrigues, Mary Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton Castle, a house of

Lord Scroop's, on the borders of Yorkshire, to the Earl of Shrewsbury's seat, at Tutbury, and placed under his care. In this castle, and at Wingfield manor, Hardwicke, and Chatsworth, in the county of Derby, queen Mary was under the care of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Ralph Sadler, seventeen years; during which period many a bitter pang, no doubt, had wrung her sorrowing heart; yet they ever treated her with the utmost gentleness and respect, and sometimes with a humanity and indulgence not always pleasing to the jealous and tyrannical disposition of their royal mistress. Having introduced, in the Appendix, so large and delicious a feast of unpublished papers, relating to the latter part of the unfortunate Mary's confinement here, &c. I shall not detain the reader with any intermediate flowery accounts, from Hume, Robertson, or other historians, but proceed to observe that though, at the time of her confinement here, the castle retained little of its ancient grandeur and magnificence, yet every necessary preparation had been made from time to time for her reception, as the letters in the Appendix fully shew, together with the following accounts from the same curious collection.

“XX^o Januarii, xi^o Elizabethæ
Reginæ.

Wardrobe stuff sent to Tutbury castell, by Rafe Rowlandson, groome of the removing wardrobe of balls, for service of the Scottish queen.

From the Tower.

Six peeces of tapistry hang-

ings, of the history of the passion, lyned with canvas.

It. vi peeces of tapistry hangings, of the story of ladyes, lyned with canvas.

It. vii peeces of hangings of tapistry, of the story of Hercules, lyned.

It. fowre great carpets of Turkey making.

It. fowre beds and bolsters of tyke, filled with fethers.

It. fowre counterpoints of verdure, lyned with canvas.

It. fowre payre of fustians.

It. three chaires, of crimsin clothe of gold.

It. eight cussins, of clothe of gold.

It. towe stooles, the seats embroidered with clothe of gold upon crymsin sattin.

It. three foote stooles, covered with tissue.

It. two bare hydes of ox-leather, to cover carts.

It. one standard.

From the Removing Wardrobe.

It. twelve small carpets, of Turkey making.

It. one fynare stoole, covered with tissue.

From the Great Wardrobe.

It. two payre of sheetes, of fyne Holland clothe.

It. two payre of pillowbeeyes of assay, of lyke Holland.

It. eight payre of pallet seetes, of coarse Holland.

It. two cart canvasses, of vii bredthes of canvas.

It. 2,000 hookes, one thousand crockets, two hammers, one bolt of cords to trusse beds.

It. two clothe sacks.

It. one case of leather, for a bedstead.

"State of the castle at the time Mary, queen of Scots, was confined there; taken from her keeper Sir Ralph Sadler's sketches and papers in 1584, &c.

"The whole aræ, containing about three acres, was encompassed on all sides but one with a strong and lofty embattled wall, and deep foss, as the present ruins plainly shew. The principal entrance was by a bridge under the great gateway to the North, part of which is still remaining. At a small distance to the left of this gateway or lodge, stood a building, containing Mr. Dorel's office and bed-chamber, and four other rooms.

"Along this North-east wall, about 160 feet from the entrance, was a lofty tower, embattled, containing four rooms, viz. storehouse at the bottom; above that Curle's apartment; over which was the doctor's; and at the top the chief cook's. This tower is then said to be very much shaken and cleft, and now very little of it is remaining. At a little distance from this began the principal suite of the queen's apartments, extending along the East side: viz. the queen's dining chamber, her closet, and bed chamber, cabinet, place for wood and coal, and then her women's room. These were all above stairs; and underneath were lodgings for her attendants, &c. viz. Mr. Melvil, Nau, surgeon and apothecary, wardrobe chamber, queen's pantry and buttery, &c.

"On the south side were other large apartments, viz.

"The hall, containing in length

lxi. feet vi inches; in breadth xxix feet.

"The great chamber in length xlv feet, in breadth xxix.

"The lobby within the great chamber, containing in length xlii feet yi inches, in breadth xix.

"The entre into the South tower, in length xxi feet, in breadth xi feet vi inches.

"The outer chamber in the South tower, in length xxxix feet, in breadth xxiii.

"The inner chamber containeth in length xxv feet, in breadth xix.

"The hall and great chamber were one room, and, at the Scottish queen's last being at Tutbury, were divided with a wainscot partition, which yet continueth.

"Adjoining to these were the pantry, buttery, and some other rooms.

"At the South-west corner was the keep, called Julius's tower, but then destroyed. On this mound, an artificial tower has been of late years erected. From hence, along the West side, to the great gate-way, being naturally well fortified by the abrupt declivity, there required but little artificial strength; and the sketch whence the above is principally compiled, represents a fence of pale and old wall alternately, beginning from the said tower with a pale of 20 feet, then an old wall of 60 feet, next a pale of 30 more, then a wall of 30 (opposite to which stood a yew-tree), and another pale of 140 feet; at the end of which stood a small tower, and thence a good embattled wall of about 40 feet to the great gate.

"From these walls, which had so long echoed the sighs of the un-

fortunate queen, she was removed in 1585 to Chartley, and thence, in Sept. 1586, to Fotheringhay castle, in Northamptonshire, where her unhappy life was prematurely terminated in the flower of youth, and in the bloom of beauty.

“The reign of James I. reversed the dreary scene. These venerable turrets, so lately re-echoing the sighs of distressed royalty, now resounded with the acclamations of surrounding multitudes, on the approach of majesty in its most splendid robes of pomp and magnificence. King James, in one of the memorable tours he made through England, honoured Tutbury with a visit. The following is a copy of certain charges, supposed to have been incurred by his majesty in that expedition; but, as it has neither date nor name, the circumstance of James's perambulation is the only reason for that supposition; he being at Hore-cross, August 30, 1617, and at Whichnor, August 21, 1621, the court being then held in the hall there. He also dined at Whichnor, August 19, 1624; and was afterwards at Tamworth, as appears by that register likewise.

“A note of such charges as I have bin at concerninge the king's majestie's progresse at Tutbury, &c.

Imprimis, paid for malt xi s 0 d.

Alsoe paid for hops i s 0 d.

Alsoe paid for ould hay iiis iv d

Alsoe paid for three loads of wood kids - xii s 0 d.

Alsoe for carriage of three loads of kids to Tutbury.

Alsoe wee carried three load of cord wood, and it was turned upon us back agayne.

Alsoe spent with going with the teames two times to Tutbury - x s iii d.

Also paid for lx lb of sweete butter, at iv $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound xxii s vi d.

Alsoe paid for carriage of the butter to Burton, and money that they spent that did carry it xvi d

Alsoe paid for five dozen of pigeons - x s 0 d.

Alsoe spent in goinge two days to seeke for pigeons, being fourth all night, and carringe them to Burton - ii s ii d.

Alsoe paid for two carriages that did help to remove the king's majesties household to Tamworth

Alsoe spent in goinge with the teams to Tutbury, and afterwards to Tamworth to see it delivered - iii s

Alsoe spent in going before the clerke of the verge of W. Leeke and W. Goodman - xvi d

Alsoe spent in going to Burton, to pay for malt, and hops, and hay, and oats, and the rest of the things - vi d.

Alsoe, the first of September, spent in goinge to Burton, to looke for chargis which I had bin at concerning the king's majesties progress - vi d

Alsoe paid for five strike of oats - xi s viii d.

Alsoe paid for seeking for oats, and caring them to Tutbury xviii d.

Alsoe paid for acquittances viii d.

Alsoe paid more acquittances - viii d.

“A few years previous to the troubles of Charles I. that sovereign we are told, spent a fortnight at Tutbury castle in 1634.

“During the civil wars of his reign, this place, and its vicinity,

suffered all the horrors incident to those destructive commotions. Preparatory to which, in 1642, the king sent the following letter to the sheriff of Staffordshire.

Charles R.

Our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby command and authorise you to raise sufficient forces of horse and foote, to bee paid by the county, and to putt the same into the castle of Tutbury, for the defence and securitie of the same against all leavies of the rebbells, or other ill affected persons in that or the neighbouring counties. And we hereby require you to use your utmost industry with our well affected subjects in that our countie, to persuade them to contribute horse, armes, ammunition, plate or money, to us for our assistance and defence. And wee doe hereby authorise you, by yourselfe, or such fitt persons as you shall appoynt on that behalfe, to receive the same. And you are to returne to us a list of their names and contributions, that we may make them satisfaction when God shall enable us, and remember it upon all occasions to their advantage. And we require and authorize you to convene all the gentlemen, clergie, freeholders, and other our well-affected subjects of our county, to

the purpose aforesaid. And for soe doeing, this shall bee your sufficient warrant. Given at our court at Reddeinge, this 26th of November, 1642.

To our trusty and wel-beloved
our high sheriffe of our
county of Stafford.

In the same year, lord Loughborough, who was zealously attached to the royal cause, held this castle a considerable time against the parliament's forces, as before shewn in our General History, from a curious MS. written at the time, which speaks thus of Tutbury.

Presently after the queene left Ashby, wee besieged Tutbury castle, and in it Hastings, with many of his best commanders; and, when they were brought to great extremety, not able to hold out much longer, major Freton would needes be gone with Nottingham horse, and so caused us raise our seige, when that castle could not have held out two daies longer.

Notwithstanding this, and the many other efforts of the besiegers, it had the good fortune to hold out several years longer, though at considerable expence and distress to the country around, as the following unpublished particulars plainly shew:

1643.—July. Paid for 5 horses to Tutbury and Burton to draw the ordnance	l.	s.	d.
	0	5	0
October. My charges to Tutbury with peas and oats	0	1	0
Also paid G. B. towards his drought, which went to Tudbury castle with provisions	—	—	0 2 0
Nov. For 5 horses, to carry beds to Tudbury	—	0	5 0
Dec. For 25 strike of oats, which were sent for by warrant to Tudbury	—	2	4 10
1644.—March 11. Paid to Tudbury castle money and returns	—	—	50 0 0

May 7. For 8 C. 2 q. 17 lb. of Cheese to Tudbury	7	15	10
For 5 pots of butter to ditto	0	12	0
June 13. For 6 dozen of sheep skins, to go to Tudbury, by warrant	2	2	0
July 8. Paid in money and returns, to make the skins up 50l.	47	18	0
August 8. Paid money and returns to Tudbury	50	0	0
Oct. 11. Paid 4 men's charges, and 4 horses, sent for to Tudbury by warrant from lord Loughborough, concerning the 100l. fine imposed upon the town	0	8	0

The following curious letters, &c. though they interrupt the remainder of these accounts, yet they properly belong here in point of chronology.

"To the Constable or Headborough of Marchington cum membris.

"These are, in his majestie's name, to charge and command you, immediately upon sight hereof, to bringe to Tedbury castle to me foure sufficient able horses, or twenty poundes in money; to provide the same towards the recruiting of my troope. And, if any of your parishioners refuse to contribute to the same, you are hereby required to bringe them to me, to answer their neglect. Fayle not, as you will answer the contrary att your utmost perills. Given under my hand the 6th of March, 1645.

Gilbert Gerard.

"To the Constable of Marchington Cumbris.

"These are to charge and command you to provide, and bringe in to our quarters at Tutburie, upon sight hereof, provision for 100 foote. You are to continue the same dayly, untill further order. You are to be excused from all other quartringe. Hereof fayle not at your perills.

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You are to bring the provision to Amye Drayton's house.

Jo. Bowyer.

Tutbury, March 13, 1645.

"To the Headburrow of Hanbury, &c.

"These are, in his majestie's name, straitly to charge and command you to fulfill the warrant you received, under the hand of the right honourable Henry, lord of Loughborough, for provision for the persons infected in Tutbury. Hereof faile you not at your utmost perills. Given under my hand, att his majestie's garrison of Tutbury castle, the 28th day of October.

Fra. Ward.

"About the same time, the headburrowes of Faud and Coton are ordered to bring divers loads of hay to the same garrison.

"Also, in Dec. 1645, the constable of Marchington cum membris was ordered to bring six loads of hay, and ten quarters of oates, for his majestie's horse, and divers other provisions for the garrison at Tutbury castle.

Signed

Fr. Ward,

H. Loughborough.

"And to return to the chronology of Uttoxeter, we find the following:

* C c

1645.—October 6. To captain Steward, at Tutbury, for the bulwarks	l.	s.	d.
—	0	3	0
1646.—Jan. 1. Paid for 1 mutton, 1 yeal, for the lord Loughborough, and for carrying them	2	0	0
1646.—Jan. 1. Paid for a standing piece of beef, a quarter of mutton, and a fat pig; and for carrying them to Tudbury	0	8	0
Jan. 16. for 2 horses, and our charges, to carry 14l. 13s. 8d. by reason of the army that was quartered at Tudbury	0	4	0
Feb. 8. Paid general Egerton at Tudbury	30	0	0
Note. Sir George Wharton, in his chronology, called Gesta Britannorum, has the following passages.			
1646.—Feb. 15. A sharp encounter betwixt a party of the king's troops from Tudbury castle, and a party of the parliament's from Barton House, in Derbyshire.			
Feb. 29. Paid for a bay mare, taken by the cavalier's, going to Tudbury with oats	0	2	0
Also paid to Gilbert Gerrard, in lieu of 6 horses, and furniture for them	21	0	0
March 14. For 2 horses and a man, to carry bread and cheese to Tudbury, being in great want	0	3	0
Paid for provisions for Tudbury, upon col. Bowyer's warrant, and carrying them	8	17	2
— 22. For bread, beer, and cheese, for major Smith and captain Hemmersley's souldiers marching to Tudbury	0	15	6
— 30. For provisions to the leaguer at Tudbury	7	4	6
April 8. For Ditto	11	2	9
.... 21. For bread, beer, cheese and drink, for Leek's souldiers marching to Tudbury	0	7	0
May 4. Paid to Sir William Brereton, for gaining Tudbury, and marching against Dudley	16	0	0
May 20. Paid captain John Cloyd, for pulling down the bulwarks at Tudbury	3	0	0
October. For a sack lost, going to Tudbury with oats	0	7	6
1647. To 15 men, for pulling down Tudbury castle	2	10	4
1648.—June. Paid to free us from going to pull down Tudbury castle	4	0	0

“From the above it appears that this noble castle, after a long and stout resistance, being at length much battered, was forced to be surrendered into the hands of colonel Brereton, and was then greatly demolished by the rebels; though the final destruction of it

was delayed till the event of the war was more fully determined; when, by order of Parliament, it was soon after attacked with all the savage ferocity their agents could exert. Their demolition and the mouldering hand of Time, have reduced this once noble edi-

fice to the picturesque ruin exhibited in the annexed views; the largest of which (Pl. IV.), though it does not display so much of these noble ruins, yet it shews to great advantage the fine commanding situation, on a bold rocky eminence; beneath which, like another Nile, the beautiful river Dove pours its fertilizing streams.

“ Erdeswick gives the following description:

“ The hill is, as it were, thrown out of the forest (a great woodland, and an high ground), into the meadows and brave pasture grounds, upon the Dove. It hath a large and brave prospect, both to it, in it, and from it. North-west and North, it looks up the goodly meadows and pastures to Utcester, Rowcester, Ashburne, and Derby. Eastward, it looks down the rivers Dove and Trent, even to Nottingham; South east towards Burton, Drakelow, Greseley-castle, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Upon the South-east and south, it is shadowed, as it were, with the woodland, where is a goodly forest, and a great number of parks, (I think) a dozen at the least, whereof a great many belongs to the said castle and honour.”

“ Dr. Plot also praises this castle, both for its lofty and healthy situation. He likewise mentions a curious large bridge standing (within memory of a person there, who saw it pulled down) over the castle ditch, that was made of pieces of timber, whereof none were much above a yard in length, and yet was not supported underneath with pillars or arch work, or any other prop.

Sir Simon Degge says it was about 30 yards long; but the arches that bore up the bridge and planks were of considerable length. They affirm that the more weight was upon it the stronger it was, and may be, if well loaded, it would not quake so much as he had made it with his weight.

“ The small plate annexed as a frontispiece to this account exhibits a large portion of the South-east side of these magnificent ruins, which remain nearly in the same deplorable state as left by the iron hand of Cromwell and his party, and are principally of hewn free-stone, with admixtures of gypsum. The area of the castle is about 3 acres, and surrounded with the remains of walls, in which are towers and buildings with hewel-stair-cases, and traces of divisions of rooms, with fire-places, &c.

“ The ancient gateway in part remains, and, with the round tower, in imitation of ruins (erected by lord Vernon, the present possessor of the castle, by lease from the crown), on a high mound, the scite of the keep of the ancient castle, are pleasing objects to all the circumjacent country. Near this is a building, with a large room, partly of brick, and of later date than the castle, inhabited by a family. Here the steward entertains the tenants occasionally; and at wakes, &c. it is used for assemblies.* The green or park around the castle hill is now used as a pasture for sheep and cattle. This eminence commands a very extensive prospect, but none more picturesque and interesting than the adjacent forest of Needwood.”

Extract from Ellis's History of Shoreditch.

The derivation of the name of this Parish from the ill-fated mistress of King Edward the Fourth has no better foundation than the following stanza of an old song, intituled, 'The woeful lamentation of Jane Shore,' &c. which was printed in 'Dr. Percy's Reliques of ancient English Poetry,' from an old black-letter copy in the Pepysian Collection; and before in a Collection of Old Ballads, 1727, 12mo.

'Thus weary of my life, at length
I yielded up my vital strength,
Within a ditch of loathsome scent,
Where carrion-dogs did much frequent.

The which now since my dying daye
Is Shoreditch call'd, as authors say;
Which is a witness of my sinne
For beinge concubine to a king.'

This story has, however, gained firm footing in the parish, and is esteemed by the inhabitants as a tradition. In the window of a public house, nearly opposite the Bell in Shoreditch, are two small signs; the subject of the one is this unhappy favourite in the height of her splendour: the other represents her when 'unfriended and worn out of acquaintance,' lying in a forlorn state, and a baker relieving her necessities with a penny-loaf; for which, as this false tradition informs us, he was afterwards hanged by order of Crooked-backed Richard, and the unfortunate fair perished for want of food. The only proof which I shall bring against this miserable tale is, the words of a contemporary historian, Sir Thomas More, who tells us, "Proper she was and fair; no-

thing in her body that you would have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. Thus say thei who knew hir in hir youthe. Albeit some that *now* see her (for she *yet* liveth) deem her never to have been well-visaged; for, *now* is she old, lene, withered, and dried up, nothing left but ry-vildé skin and hard bone."

Account of a Curious Helmet, &c. found in Lancashire.

A curious antique Helmet and a Mask, that were found some time ago at Ribchester, in Lancashire, have lately been exhibited at the meetings of the society of antiquities, where they excited so much attention that their draftsman, Mr. Underwood, was ordered to make correct drawings of them, which have accordingly been executed for the use of the society.

The helmet is Roman, and appears to have been executed between the times of Septimus Severus and Constantine. The design of the figures upon it is very grand, but the workmanship, though good, is inferior to the design.

The mask, which was found attached to the helmet, is of the finest Grecian workmanship, executed, probably, about the time of Alexander the Great. The cognoscenti are not agreed as to its character, some considering it as a Bacchus, while others believe it to be a Medusa; but they all agree in declaring it to be one of the finest pieces of antique sculpture that has yet been found in this or any other country.

These valuable reliques of anti-

quity were found by mere accident; a boy sliding down a bank, part of the earth gave way, and led to the discovery. They were found along with some other antiques of less value, a standard and some sacrificing instruments; which seemed to have been deposited in the place where they were found with great care, a cube of about eight feet of the natural soil having been dug away, and the space filled with dry sand, with the various articles in the middle.

They now enrich the magnificent collection of antiques of Charles Townley, Esq.

On the Introduction of Arabic Numerals into England. From an Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers.

The introduction of Arabic numerals into England may be traced back, at least, as far as the epoch of the Conquest. Mr. Astle is, however, of opinion, that Arabic numerals were not introduced into our charters, before the sixteenth century; and, that, if Arabic numerals were found in any English charters, before the fourteenth century, this circumstance would invalidate such charters, by raising strong suspicions of their fraudulence. With regard to parochial registers, and the accounts of parish officers, Mr. Wasse asserts, that it was not, till about the year 1600, that the Arabic numerals were used in them: But, this opinion of Mr. Wasse, like the positiveness of Mr. Malone, appears to be founded upon a narrow view of the subject. Mr. Malone might have seen, in the

Archæologia, a very curious specimen of the accounts of the parish of St. Helen's, in Abingdon; which, from the first of Philip and Mary, were kept in Arabic numerals. This specimen is alone sufficient to show, that the opinions both of Mr. Wasse, and Mr. Malone, ought to be received with many limitations; so as to give to both the qualified meanings, which they probably intended, and the truth certainly requires. But, had their proposition been, that the parish officers, the managers of theatres, and household stewards of families, generally, kept their accounts, during the age of Elizabeth, in Roman numerals, it would not have followed, as a consequence, that the transcript from the books of St. Henen's, and the faculty office of archbishop Grindal, or the notes and receipts of Shakspeare are spurious; because they contain Arabic numerals.

This reasoning is confirmed, by a thousand documents, from the reign of Henry VIII, to the accession of King James. The account of the sales of chauntries, colleges, and other lands of a similar nature, in the second year of Edward the VIth's reign, as it is drawn up in Arabic numerals, is satisfactory evidence; and, as it contains many curious particulars, gives rise to some serious reflections. A certificate of fees, which were paid in those days, in the consistory court of Norwich, as it is written in Arabic numerals, is equally authentic in its notices, and equally satisfactory in its inferences. There were, during Elizabeth's age, ecclesiastical documents, which were formed in

a mixed style of composition both of Roman, and of Arabic numerals. Of this mixed nature, is "The state of the bishoprick of St. David's, which was sent by the bishop to Burghley." Of the same nature, is the "Survey taken of the value of the bishoprick of Chichester, upon the death of Curtesse the late bishop thereof." Of the same kind, and still more illustrative, is, "a discovery of the present estate of the bishoprick of St. Asaph," which was sent to the lord treasurer Burghley, February 24, 1587. These documents, composed as they are of Arabic numerals, prove decisively the rashness of unqualified assertion, and the inconclusiveness of negative positions.

I might here close my proofs, upon this point, with this refutation of the objection to the Arabic numerals; which, as it is founded in mistake, might be dismissed, without further notice. But, I will proceed a step, or two further, for the vindication of truth, and the illustration of our archæology. The invention of the Arabic cyphers was a discovery of as much importance to science, as it was convenient to business. Soon after the introduction of printing, the arithmetical books were printed in Arabic numerals. In this manner was Tonstal's work, *De Arte Supputandi*, imprinted by Pynson, in 1522. Record's *Arithmetick, the Ground of Arts*, which was dedicated to Edward VIth, was printed in Arabic numerals. At the accession of Elizabeth, the more general knowledge, and common use, of the Italian method of book-keeping, by double entry, was introduced,

and taught, by James Peele. It was, by these means, that the habit of using Arabic cyphers, in the operations of life, became more customary; while the Roman numerals kept their accustomed places, in the exchequer-practice. And, before the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign, the Arabic figures had almost banished the Roman numerals, from the usual transactions of daily business.

This deduction may be proved by many documents. In the year 1545, there is "A note of the defraying of victuals for Bulloyn, Callais, and other places," in Arabic numerals. In 1552, there is "A brieffe of all the king's majestyes debts with provision for the discharge thereof." In 1563, there is, "the establishment and charges of the east, west, and middle, marches." There is "A state of the Low Countries," which was drawn up by the accurate pen of Burghley, in Arabic numerals. There is "An account of the earl of Arundel's debts, estate, and circumstances," which is stated, wholly, in Arabic numerals. Raleigh wrote to Burghley, in 1592, concerning the huge carrack, called the Mother of God, several letters; in which he introduces many Arabic numerals. There is a paper drawn up by Burghley, in 1592, stating in Arabic numerals, the Queen's extraordinary charges, by means of the Spanish war. Sir Thomas Gresham, who was the great agent for money, in that reign, made constant use of Arabic numerals, in his letters to Burghley. The state of the ships, and men, which were to oppose the Spanish Armada, in 1588, was drawn up

wholly in Arabic numerals. There is "A brief note of all such silver bullion as was brought into the Towere by Sir Francis Drake, and laid in the vaute under the jewel house, and what hath been taken out, and remaineth," which was stated in Arabic numerals. Peck has preserved some very curious papers of that age, which are written in Arabic numerals. Mr. Malone has, indeed, expressed his doubts, about some of those papers; without recollecting, that doubts are not proofs. His scepticism cannot remember, that unless he prove, that the universal practice of the age was to keep accounts in Roman numerals, he will fail in his objection to the use of Arabic numerals, in the Miscellaneous Papers.

I have already disproved the universality of the practice of keeping books of accounts in Roman numerals, during that age, whatever may have been done in the exchequer. Of more than fifty warrants, for paying money to players, which I have gleaned from the council-registers of Elizabeth's reign, one eighth of them are stated in words, one eighth in Roman numerals, and the other three fourths of them in Arabic numerals. In the paper office, there is a book, No. 24; containing prince Henry's privy-purse expences, for one year, from the 29th of September, 1609, to the 29th of September, 1610; which is drawn up, wholly, in Arabic numerals.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Threats of a French Invasion. From an Address to the People of Great Britain, by the Bishop of Llandaff.

WHATEVER doubts I formerly entertained, or (notwithstanding all I have read or heard on the subject) may still entertain, either on the justice or the necessity of commencing this war in which we are engaged, I entertain none on the present necessity and justice of continuing it. Under whatever circumstances the war was begun, it is now become just; since the enemy has refused to treat, on equitable terms, for the restoration of peace. Under whatever circumstances of expediency or in-expediency the war was commenced, its continuance is now become necessary; for what necessity can be greater than that which arises from the enemy having threatened us with destruction as a nation?

Here I may, probably, be told that, allowing the war to be just, it is still not necessary, but perfectly inexpedient. I may have it rung in my ears that the French are an overmatch for us, that it is better to submit at once to the most ignominious terms of peace

than to see another *Brennus* weighing out the bullion of the bank, and insulting the misery of the nation with a 'woe to the vanquished.' I admit the conclusion of the alternative to be just, but I do not admit the truth of the principle from which it is derived. I do not admit that the French are an overmatch for us.

I am far enough from affecting knowledge in military matters; but every man knows that men and money are the sinews of war, and that victory in the field is achieved by the valour of troops and the skill of commanders. Now in which of these four particulars is France our superior? You will answer at once, she is superior in the number of men. The population, I know, of the two countries has been generally estimated in the proportion of three to one: but though this should be admitted to have been the true proportion of the population, and of the men capable of bearing arms in the beginning of the war, I think it is not the true proportion at present. Both countries have lost great numbers; but France, instead of losing three times, has, I apprehend, lost above ten times as many men as we have done; so

that the proportion of men capable of bearing arms remaining in France, compared with what Great Britain can furnish, does not, I am persuaded, exceed that of two to one. And, were there even a bridge over the channel, France durst not make an incursion with half her numbers. She knows how ready her neighbours would be to revenge the injuries they have sustained; how ready her own citizens would be to regain the blessings they have lost, could they once see all her forces occupied in a distant country. France, I repeat it, were there even a bridge from Calais to Dover, could not send into the field as many men as we could oppose against her.

But, it may be urged, all the men in France are soldiers: No, some are left to till the ground, some to sustain the languors of her commerce, some to perish in prison, deploring the misery of their country. So many, I acknowledge, are become soldiers in France, that we must, in a great degree, imitate her example. Every man who can be spared from the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country, must become a soldier, if we mean to face the enemy in a proper manner, if empire or servitude are to be fairly fought for.

As to money, I need not enter into any comparative discussion on that head. France has no means within herself of providing for her armies. She intends to send them into this country either that she may pay them, as she has done in Italy, by plunder, or, in the true spirit of despair, cancel

her debts, by sacrificing the persons of her soldiers.

With respect to the valour of the French troops, I have nothing to object. I know it is a favourite opinion with many, that the French are now what their ancestors were in the time of Cesar; 'that in the *first* onset they are more than men, but in the *second* less than women.' But it appears to me, I must confess, that in this war the French have sustained with courage *many onsets*: praise is due to the gallantry even of an enemy. But if I were asked, whether an equal number of Englishmen would beat these conquerors of Italy, I would answer, as an English ambassador answered a king of Prussia, when, at a review of his forces, he asked the ambassador, 'whether he thought that an equal number of Englishmen could beat his Prussians.' 'I cannot tell; (replied the ambassador) whether an equal number would beat them; but I am certain half the number would try.' I have the firmest confidence that fifty thousand Englishmen, fighting for their wives and children, for their liberty and property, as individuals, for the independence and constitution of their country, would, without hesitation, attack a hundred thousand Frenchmen.

As to the relative skill of the commanders, it would ill become me to give any opinion upon that point. If I were to admit that the French generals are not inferior to our own in martial ability, yet in the local knowledge of the country, and in the correctness and fidelity of the information

they will receive, ours will certainly have the advantage.

But if the French are not our superiors, either in men or money, in the valour of their soldiers, or the skill of their commanders, what have we to apprehend, should we be forced to fight them on our own ground? A thousand evils, no doubt, attend a country becoming the seat of war, to which we are strangers, and to which, through the good providence of God, and the energy of our navy, we shall long, I trust, continue strangers. But should the matter happen otherwise, should the enemy, by any untoward accident, land their forces, I see no reason why we should despair of our country, if we are only faithful to ourselves, if, forgetting all party animosity, we stand collected as one man against them.

Many honest men, I am sensible, have been alarmed into a belief, that were the French to invade this country, they would be joined by great numbers of discontented men. This is not my opinion. That they would be joined by a few of the worst men in the country, by thieves and robbers, and outcasts of society, is probable enough; but that any individual, possessing either property or character, that any respectable body of men, would so far indulge their discontents, as to ruin their country and themselves, in gratifying their resentment, is what nothing but experience can convince me of.

I have heard of a dissenter in Yorkshire, (a man of great wealth and estimation) who, on the last rejection of the petition for the

repeal of the test act, declared that he would go all lengths to carry his point; but I consider this declaration as made during the irritation of the moment, and as opposite to the general principles of that body of men. The dissenters have on trying occasions shewn their attachment to the house of Brunswick and the principles of the revolution; and I should think myself guilty of calumny, if I should say that they had in any degree abandoned either their attachment or their principles, or were disposed to join the invaders of their country.

There is another set of men whom it seems the fashion of the day to represent as enemies of the state, to stigmatise as republicans, levellers, jacobins. But vulgar traduction of character, party coloured representation of principle, make no impression on my mind; nor ought they to make any impression on yours. The most respectable of those who are anxious for the reform of parliament have not, in my judgment, any views hostile to the constitution. They may, perhaps, be mistaken in believing an effectual reform practicable, without a revolution; but few of them, I am persuaded, would be disposed to attain their object with such a consequence accompanying it; and fewer still would wish to make the experiment under the auspices of a French invader.

There may be some real republicans in the kingdom; their number, I am convinced, is extremely small; and they are, probably, republicans more in theory than practice; they are, probably, of the same sentiments with the

late Dr. Price, who, being asked a few months before his death, whether he really wished to see a republic established in England, answered in the negative. 'He preferred,' he said, 'a republican to a monarchical form of government, when the constitution was to be formed anew, as in America; but, in old established governments, such as England, he thought the introduction of a republic would cost more than it was worth, and would be attended with more mischief than advantage.'

I have a firm persuasion that the French will find themselves disappointed, if they expect to be supported in their expedition by the discontented in this country. They have already made a trial; the event of it should lower their confidence; the Welch, of all denominations, rushed upon their gallic enemies, with the impetuosity of ancient Britons; they discomfited them in a moment; they covered them with shame, and led them into captivity. The common people in this fortunate island, enjoy more liberty, more consequence, more comfort of every kind, than the common people of any other country; and they are not insensible of their felicity; they will never erect the tree of liberty. They know it by its fruit; the bitter fruit of slavery, of contempt, oppression, and poverty to themselves, and probably to their posterity.

If Ireland is the object of invasion, France may flatter herself, perhaps, with the expectation of being more favourably received there than in Great Britain: but I trust she will be equally disap-

pointed in both countries. I mean not to enter into the politics of Ireland; but, considering her as a sister kingdom, I cannot wholly omit adverting to her situation.

I look upon England and Ireland as two bodies which are grown together, with different members and organs of sense, but nourished by the circulation of the same blood: while they continue united they will live and prosper; but if they suffer themselves to be separated by the force or cunning of an enemy; if they quarrel and tear themselves asunder, both will instantly perish. Would to God, that there were equity and moderation enough among the nations of the earth, to suffer small states to enjoy their independence; but the history of the world is little else than the history of great states sacrificing small ones to their avarice or ambition; and the present designs of France, throughout Europe, confirm the observation. If Ireland so far listens to her resentment (however it has originated) against this kingdom; if she so far indulges her chagrin against her own legislature, as to seek for redress by throwing herself into the arms of France, she will be undone, her freedom will be lost, she will be sunk in the scale of nations; instead of flourishing under the protection of a sister that loves her, she will be fettered as a slave to the feet of the greatest despot that ever afflicted human kind; to the feet of French democracy.

Let the mal-contents in every nation of Europe look at Holland, and at Belgium. Holland was a hive of bees; her sons flew on the wings of the wind to every corner

of the globe, and returned laden with the sweets of every climate. Belgium was a garden of herbs, the oxen were strong to labour, the fields were thickly covered with the abundance of harvest.—Unhappy Dutchmen! You will still toil, but not for your own comfort; you will still collect honey, but not for yourselves; France will seize the hive as often as your industry shall have filled it. Ill-judging Belgians! you will no longer eat in security the fruits of your own grounds; France will find occasion, or will make occasion, to participate largely in your riches; it will be more truly said of yourselves than of your oxen, 'you plough the fields, but not for your own profit!'

France threatens us with the payment of what she calls a debt of indemnification; and the longer we resist her efforts to subdue us, the larger she says this debt will become; and she tells us, that all Europe knows that this debt must be paid one time or other. And does she think that this flourish will frighten us? It ought to move our contempt, it ought to fire us with indignation, and, above all, it ought to instruct every man among us what we are to expect, if through supineness, cowardice, or division, we suffer her mad attempt to prove successful. She may not murder or carry into slavery the inhabitants of the land; but under the pretence of indemnification, she will demand millions upon tens of millions; she will beggar every man of property; and reduce the lower orders to the condition of her own peasants and artificers—black bread, onions, and water.

France wishes to separate the people from the throne; she inveighs, in harsh language, against the king, and the cabinet of St. James's; and speaks fairly to the people of the land. But the people of the land are too wise to give heed to her professions of kindness. If there be a people in Europe on whom such practices are lost, it is ourselves. All our people are far better educated, have far juster notions of government, far more shrewdness in detecting the designs of those who would mislead them, than the people of any other country have, not excepting Swisserland itself. There is no cause to fear that French hypocrisy should be superior to British sagacity. Let France approach us with the courage of a lion, or with the cunning of a fox, we are equally prepared to meet her; we can resist her arms, and we can expose her artifice.

France reproaches us with being the tyrants of the ocean; and we all remember the armed neutrality, which was entered into by the maritime states of Europe during the American war. It originated, as was said, from our assuming a dominion on the seas, which the law of nations did not allow. I cannot enter into the discussion of this question here; and it is less necessary to do it any where, as it has been ably discussed many years ago. I sincerely hope the accusation against us is not just; for no tyranny either can be, or ought to be lasting? I am an utter enemy to all dominion founded in mere power, unaccompanied with a just regard to the rights of individuals

or nations. Continental states, however, ought to make some allowance for our zeal in claiming, and our energy in maintaining, a superiority at sea; our insular situation gives us a right which they cannot plead; they have fortresses for their defence against their enemies; but fleets are the fortresses of Great Britain.

We wish to preserve our superiority at sea for our own advantage, but other nations are not uninterested in our doing it. If by the voluntary assistance of Spain and Holland, by the constrained concurrence of what was Venice, by the improvident acquiescence of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and the other naval powers of Europe or America, the trident of the ocean (for some one nation must possess it) should be transferred from Great Britain to France, they will all have cause to lament its having exchanged its master. They may at present think otherwise, and be pleased with the prospect of our humiliation (I speak not this as if I thought that humiliation would happen, for no man has a higher

confidence in our navy than I have) but I speak it with a prophetic warning to those nations, that they may see the error of their politics before it becomes impossible to retrieve it. If France becomes as great by sea as she is become by land, Europe will have no hope, but that her chains may be light.

The channels of commerce, were they open alike to the enterprise of all nations, are so numerous and copious in the four quarters of the globe, that the industry of all the manufacturers in Europe might be fully employed in supplying them. America is doubling her numbers, and will for many years want supplies from the manufactories of Great Britain. Africa will in time civilize her millions, and afford for centuries a market for the commodities of all Europe. What folly is it then in civilized, what wickedness in Christian states, to be engaged every ten or twenty years in destroying millions of men, for the protection or the acquisition of arbitrary monopolies?

Relative Proportions between Labour and the Necessaries of Life, from the Middle of the Fourteenth Century to the present Day. From Davis's Case of Labourers in Husbandry.

Middle of Fourteenth Century.

Ordinary price of day-labour	2d.
Price of the quarter of wheat	3s. 4d. to 4s.
Medium	3s. 8d.
22 days =	a quarter of wheat
20 days =	a fat hog, two years old
20 days =	clothing for a year of a common servant of husbandry
6 days =	a quarter of beans or pease
5 days =	a quarter of barley

2 days	+	=	a pair of shoes
1 day	-	=	two gallons of ale.

Middle of Fifteenth Century.

Pay of a labourer per day	-	-	3d.
Price of a quarter of wheat	-	-	5s. to 5s. 6d.
20 to 22 days	=	a quarter of wheat	
16 days	=	a quarter of malt	
16 days	=	clothing for a year of a servant	
8 days	=	a quarter of oats	
7 days	=	a fitch of bacon	
4 days	=	a yard of cloth for shepherd	
1 day	=	two to three gallons of ale.	

Former part of Sixteenth Century.

Pay of a labourer per day	-	-	3½d.
Price of a quarter of wheat about	-	-	7s. 6d.
26 days	=	a quarter of wheat	
13 or 14 days	=	a quarter of malt	
7 days	=	a quarter of oats	
1 day	=	eight or nine lbs. of beef, pork, veal	
1 day	=	seven lbs. of cheese—four lbs. of butter.	

About the Middle of Seventeenth Century.

In <i>Essex</i> the medium pay of a labourer (rated) was 13d.			
Price of wheat (per <i>Fleetwood's Chronicon</i> , p. 106,) 40s. and of malt 22s. per quarter, as estimated by the bishop			
37 days	=	a quarter of wheat	
22 days	=	a quarter of malt	
7 days	=	a quarter of oats	
4½ days	=	two shirts for a man, made.	

Latter Part of Eighteenth Century.

Pay of a labourer per day	-	-	14d.
Price of a quarter of wheat 48s.—of malt	-	-	42s. 6d.
41 days	=	a quarter of wheat	
36½ days	=	a quarter of malt	
96 days	=	a fat hog, 14 score, at 8s. per score	
27 or 28 days	=	a quarter of beans or pease	
20 or 21 days	=	a quarter of barley	
41 days	=	a fitch of bacon, six score, at 8s.	
9 days	=	a yard of cloth for servants	
6 days	=	a pair of men's shoes	
1 day	=	less than a gallon of ale	
1 day	=	3lbs ordinary cheese = 1½lb. butter	
40 days	=	clothing for a year of a common servant of husbandry.	

An Account of the Military School at St. Petersburg. From the Universal Magazine, for March, 1798.

SIR,

Having just received an account of the Military School at Petersburg, I embrace this opportunity to acquaint your readers with its establishment. The energy displayed in this institution was particularly occasioned by the all-directing Catherine. Her own words, respecting this military school, I will abridge as much as possible.

It is true, said this penetrating woman, the strength and tranquillity of a state depend on their military force. But their efficiency can depend neither on their number or on a blind courage; for experience has sufficiently taught, even the most martial nations, that in order to perform grand military exploits, mere courage does not suffice. Subordination, rigorously observed, must make a military nation triumph. Nothing can introduce this but a school in which the youth is instructed in military exercises, and made to pay a strict observance to military discipline. Through such means the Romans subjugated the earth. In consequence of the soldier possessing a perfect knowledge of the military art, his courage increases, and he is anxious for an opportunity to put in execution that which he is conscious of having made himself perfectly well acquainted with. He that can obey, can command. This is incontrovertible. Cæsar, according to Suetonius, was humane toward his soldiers; but desertion, mu-

tiny, and disobedience he punished most severely, as being crimes of a dangerous tendency, and leading to the most tragical consequences. Faults committed in the course of any other concern may be corrected; but military faults are unpardonable, and demand immediate punishment. In order to acquire a just idea of a military school, we must, in fact, suppose a corps of troops protecting a citadel, in which the service must be executed with such exactness as if the enemy were really approaching, and where the smallest neglect is punished most rigorously. Rome, in the most splendid times of the republic, offers a fitter portrait still. This city was, properly speaking, a great camp, in which a surprising order prevailed, and where the obedient warrior, under the yoke of military discipline, forgot that he was so, without neglecting to exercise himself in the virtues which subjugated the world. Let us only peruse ancient and modern history; and we shall find that the most celebrated generals combined with undaunted courage all the talents which are necessary both to the legislator and conqueror. Alexander, Cæsar, and a great number of models which our age presents us with, incontrovertibly prove that glory and success accompany war, in proportion to the display of other scientific abilities. Now which are the sciences to be instilled in the youth of the nobility? How are they to be distributed with respect to age? We are not in want of volumes replete with precepts and doctrines concerning the education of youth; but let us be permitted to state

the answer Cardinal Richelieu gave a certain person, who demanded his permission to erect a school of the polite arts. If it were as easy, said this minister, to find good and able instructors; as it is to procure the pecuniary aid the buildings require, I would then advise such schools to be instituted in every village. This answer evidently indicates that such establishments can only then be useful, when their chiefs have the abilities and insight which are requisite to the formation and instruction of youth; otherwise the time spent in study is but very ill employed. Every imaginable precaution must then be taken to prevent any such evils from creeping into the corps of cadets. The education of the nobility is that at which we must chiefly aim. They must be instructed in the different military exercises, in order to teach them to obey and command: and in such sciences as at the same time constitute the warrior and the legislator, and ought to be more the consequences of experience than the mere result of theory; which is the usual practice in the schools. The proper instruction of the youth, says Montaigne, must penetrate the mind through the ears; but time and pains are lost, if the pupil be compelled to read constantly, and learn by heart. The academy of sciences, and the university of Moscow, differ widely from these new schools. There the pupils must render themselves capable of instructing others; but here it is sufficient if they learn the use to be made of the sciences which are necessary to the warrior and le-

gislator in discharging his duty with glory.

The education with the ancient Persians consisted in the knowledge of the use of the bow and arrow, and to learn to speak the truth, which simple education rendered them useful to their country. After the pupil's discharge from this school, if he shall have been found to be perfectly acquainted with the military exercises and subordination; to be entirely master of all the duties of a soldier; to have studied the art of commanding and skilfully making use of cavalry or infantry committed to his care; to be capable of drawing up a *pro memoria*, either in the Russian or any other foreign language; to be acquainted with the general duties of a subject, the laws of his country, how to conduct himself toward his superiors or other public characters; to have acquired a competent knowledge in geography, politics, morals, arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, and the other branches of mathematics; to be versed in history; to have a propensity for reading celebrated actions; to have learnt book-keeping, and the drawing up of a report concerning the circumstances of the regiment, or any other corps immediately under command; to understand the mechanism of a watch, or a mill; to be capable of throwing up a redoubt; to erect a battery; to lay pontons; to construct sluices; to make a military route; to discern a proper place for pitching a camp: and, finally, if it shall have been found that the memory be impregnated more by examples of the princi-

ples of these sciences, and by models illustrating the different instructions, than by mere theory; then their education may be considered as completed; profound erudition not being required. The road to all the sciences is left open to them; and nothing obstructs their contributing, by farther scientific acquisitions, toward the general good and glory of the state.

Since such education obviously requires not only great abilities in the teacher, but such morals as may serve for models, we must, on this account, search for these qualities in men of a sedate age.

The Romans, who possessed neither schools nor universities, supplied both by the conversation of celebrated generals. The houses of these men were the places from which the youth of the nobility derived all those precepts concerning the service, the laws of the country, eloquence, and other sciences requisite for the formation of the warrior and legislator. If such instructors may be procured for the cadet's institution, possessing the above-mentioned qualities, the success is not to be doubted. Without such, the best regulations and the strictest care to form good officers, are in vain. Most of the military schools in Europe have degenerated into mere grammar schools, in consequence of not having shown prudence enough in the choice of instructors, or on account of the difficulty of procuring teachers adapted for that purpose. Field-marshal Munich, in the year 1731, made the first proposition for the establishing of a military school, merely for the purpose of educating the noble cadets, and proposed a plan, which

was approved of and executed. The king of Prussia sent officers and subalterns to instruct them; and the number of the pupils at the first outset consisted of 240 Russians and 120 Germans. Catherine the Second, however, increased this number to 700. She peculiarly interested herself in this establishment. She modelled, or rather fundamentally created it anew. She drew up a plan, and sent its statutes to the directing senate, in order to cause them to be put in execution. They were signed by her own hand, on the 11th of Sept. 1766. The administration-council of this military school consists of 4 counselors, 1 general-director, and 1 secretary. For the education, instruction, and preservation of the corps of cadets, the following persons are appointed: 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 under-major, 4 captains, 4 lieutenants, and 4 ensigns; all having the same rank with engineers of the same characters. Farther, one police master, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, 1 chief-treasurer with the rank of major, 1 director of the studies, 2 surveyors for the pupils of the second and third classes, and 1 professor; who, beside the duty of surveyor, acts in the capacity of a civil magistrate with respect to the cadets. Both these surveyors belong to the eighth class. Beside these mentioned functionaries to the military school, there are 14 professors for the 10th class, and one drawing-master from the Academy of Arts for the eleventh class. The master of the police, and the chief treasurer, if the case require it, may demand two assistants from

the twelfth class. The general director must be a man possessed of all the virtues and talents required of a military and civil person. He must, on account of the importance of his office, continually study its welfare. With a sound judgment in business, he must unite disinterestedness in whatever he proposes, and celerity must be the characteristic of his decisions. He must weigh and enquire minutely into every thing. His orders must be punctually executed. His conduct and morals must serve as models to the corps. He must indicate, with mildness and modesty, both by words and deed, the path every one has to pursue. He appoints, with the approbation of the council, every individual this institution requires, except the governesses, who are appointed to instruct the children by the governante. This governante is nevertheless subject to every thing the general director may order for the common good of the school. This last must particularly inspect the conduct of the preceptors, and of those who are in the least connected with this military school. He must infuse virtue more by his personal example than by theory. He has particularly to consult with the instructors in every thing that relates directly or indirectly to the education of the pupils. He must never confide in the judgment of others; but must be convinced by ocular demonstration of every thing. Wisdom must be his only guide. Every fault the scholar commits he must, at first, censure with all possible mildness. Only in cases where such moderation has not the desired effect, he may

employ such rigorous means as the nature of the offence requires.

The pupils are divided in five classes or ages. The first contains children, from 5 to 9 years old: the second, from 9 to 12: the third from 12 to 15: the fourth from 15 to 18: the fifth, from 18 to 21 years of age. They must abide three years in every class, and, according to their respective inclinations and capacities, apply themselves to those sciences connected with the military art, or civil employments. These sciences, as concerning the soldier and civil officer, are arithmetic in all its branches, mechanics, the remaining branches of mathematics, astronomy, natural history; natural philosophy, chemistry, geography, chronology, sacred and profane history, logic, and the most usual languages grammatically, together with eloquence. With respect to the civil officer, the most important sciences that he must possess are, the laws of nature, the laws of the empire, and its statistics particularly. The military officer must be instructed in ship-building, the art of war, and martial architecture. Both functionaries must be perfectly acquainted with drawing, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, dancing, fencing, &c. At the head of the first class is a governante, who has 10 female teachers under her inspection. These educate a certain number of pupils allotted to each of them. The governante must possess all the qualities which the occupation of so important an office requires. She is particularly to watch over the morals of the ten governesses, and over all those appointed in

this class by her authority, as she is answerable for their conduct. She must conduct herself with exemplary civility and mildness. She is to observe strictly the rules laid down in the plan of education; is subject to whatever the general director approves of concerning the welfare of the institution, and must conform to the regulations of the council. The governesses whom she has appointed, having previously examined their talents and morals, must have the care of the pupils, and constantly be in their presence. They must eat at the same table with the pupils, accompany them in all their plays and promenades, take particular care that the children be not familiar with the servants; and as for the rest, to act always according to the orders of the council. The number of the pupils of the first class amounted originally to 120 children, from 6 to 9 years old: 1 governante, 10 governesses, and 10 servant maids. The pupils' clothes are brown, and they have a particular dining-room allotted to them. They are instructed, according to their respective capacities, in religion, the Russian and foreign languages, drawing, dancing, and, in the latter years, in the first principles of arithmetic, or in something adapted to their inclinations. The second class consists of children, from 9 to 12 years of age; 1 surveyor, 8 preceptors, who divide equally the number of pupils among them, and are waited upon by 8 servants. These scholars are clad in blue, and their dining-room is in common with that of the third class. In this second

class, they study geometry, geography, chronology, history, mythology, and the principles of the Slavonian language. The extent of these sciences do not allow them to be masters of them in the short space of three years; but the general and fundamental principles they receive of these sciences must be given in a clear and distinct manner, in order to enable them to improve them with advantage at any future period. Particular attention and care are taken to instil into them a love of virtue. The preceptor must scrupulously observe, whether the pupil betrays a disposition to a particular branch of the sciences; and, if that be the case, to endeavour with all his might to forward his access to any such knowledge. The third class consists of boys, from 12 to 15 years old, 6 preceptors dividing the pupils equally among them, and 6 servants. They are clad in grey clothes. They eat in common with those of the second class. In this class they continue the above-mentioned sciences, together with the study of useful arts. They must make themselves masters of the Slavonian language; and those that evince a desire for the Latin tongue, are instructed therein. They are instructed also in civil and martial architecture, and in book-keeping. In this period of life nothing must be neglected that may contribute to make them possess greatness of soul, steady principles of the truth, wisdom, and resolution. The administration, at this particular age of the pupil, must carefully make themselves acquainted with those cadets that seem best adapted for either the military or civil state.

The administration must, therefore, diligently observe, during the promenades and diversions of the pupils, for what science they evince the greatest propensity. They are entirely at liberty to choose and select whatever play or amusement they are partial to. In this manner their different inclinations are ascertained, and are led toward the end which is most suitable and adapted for them. In these years, and the following, they are to wait upon themselves. We arrive now to the description of the fourth and fifth class, which are entirely military. The head here is the lieutenant-colonel, a man who must possess all the qualities of the above-mentioned persons, exclusive of the knowledge the military art requires; of which last he must have given proofs. His office is to be attentive to the conduct of both the officers and pupils, and maintain order and discipline even among the servants. In order that the youth be not idle, he must admonish them to employ themselves in useful pursuits. When he seriously commands the pupils, his gravity must be mingled with proofs of goodness and confidence; for the pupils must never entertain servile fear for him. The first and second major have the same duties in common with the lieutenant-colonel. In consequence of this subordination, they must fulfil them minutely, and punctually execute the orders committed to them. The captains are to instruct the pupils in every branch of the military art, and must never neglect the opportunity of uniting in their instruction principles of generosity and virtue, which are, properly

speaking, the distinguishing characteristics of true nobility. Beside this, every captain has the additional office of surveyor to his company; and, in this respect, he must be possessed of such qualities that are requisite in the surveyors of the second and third class. The professors belonging to these classes are chosen with the greatest prudence. They are to instruct their pupils in such general matter as may contribute to render their education more perfect. The fourth and fifth classes are divided into two parts, military and civil. The military state consists of two companies, to which are appointed 2 captains, as surveyors; 2 lieutenants, as preceptors; and 2 sub-lieutenants, with two ensigns, as instructors. The civil state consists of a surveyor for both classes: and 2 professors, acting in the capacity of tutors. Each of these classes has 3 servants. The pupils have a dining apartment in common, and their clothes are green and pale yellow. In these the pupils continue the sciences taught already in the preceding classes, together with some branches that they have not been made acquainted with; as mathematics, philosophy, eloquence, fencing, and other exercises congenial to the soldier's profession. The education of the pupils of the fifth class terminates in instruction on the divine laws, the principal of all human duties; in the completion of the sciences which were taught in the fourth class; in the knowledge of the arts; in the instructions of the military art, which chiefly consist in theoretical and practical demonstration; how

to attack, and defend places, &c. to which exercises the pupils of the fourth class are called, if required. They are farther instructed in the last practical exercises of martial architecture, in the field, and those that are inclined to civil architecture, are encouraged in its pursuit. The three years of this last class being designed for the accomplishment of the pupil's education, the instructors and chiefs are not to neglect any thing that may contribute to its success. They must cause them to repeat methodically every thing which the pupils had already studied, and teach them how to perceive the interest and spirit of the necessary sciences. They must accustom them to study regularly, and with method, in order that it may serve them as a true guide in the acquisition of any other knowledge. In general, they must be instilled with the noble desire of meriting the interest of their chiefs, the favourable testimonies of the council; and, in short, at their dismissal, to exhibit how competent it is for them to merit all that praise which, one day, is to lay the foundation of their glory.

In order to excite emulation, Catherine II. ordered that, in addition to the assemblies of the corps, frequented by both sexes, a certain number of cadets, accompanied by their officers, directors, or professors, should appear on the days a drawing-room was held. Every officer appointed to this corps must have been in some campaign, and evinced proofs of his military skill. The director transmits the pupils from one class to the other; and, in general di-

rects their studies. Those pupils who excel in bearing public examination, are presented with gold and silver medals, and are preferred in military and civil offices. The instructors who discharged their duty with fidelity, receive pensions from Catherine II. which are enjoyed by the wives and even the children of the pensioned.

The building of this military school occupies a whole street. It has a botanical, flower, and fruit garden; a riding school, with 30 horses: a choice library; cabinets of natural history, the arts, and instruments: in short, nothing is omitted, not even the most insignificant artisan.

The annual expenditure of this military school amounts to 165,000 rubles, or 37,125 pounds sterling.

W. O.

Letter to Mr. Pitt, from Horace Walpole.

Sir,

On my coming to town I did myself the honour of waiting on you and Lady Hester Pitt, and though I think myself extremely distinguished by your obliging note, I should be sorry to have given you the trouble of writing it, if it did not *lend* me a very pardonable opportunity of saying what I much wished to express, but thought myself too private a person, and of too little consequence, to take the liberty to say. In short, Sir, I was eager to congratulate you on the lustre you have thrown on this country; I wished to thank you for the security you have fixed to me of en-

joying the happiness I do enjoy. You have placed England in a situation in which it never saw itself—a task the more difficult, as you had not to improve, but recover. In a trifling book written two or three years ago, I said (speaking of the name in the world the most venerable to me) “Sixteen unfortunate and inglorious years, since his removal, have already written his eulogium*.” It is but justice to you, Sir, to add, that that period ended when your administration began. Sir, don’t take this for flattery; there is nothing in your power to give that I would accept—nay, there is nothing I could envy, but what I believe you would scarce offer me, your glory. This may sound very vain and insolent, but consider, Sir, what a monarch is a man who wants nothing; consider how he looks down on one who is only the most illustrious man in Britain.—But, Sir, freedom apart, insignificant as I am, probably it must be some satisfaction to a great mind like yours, to receive incense when you are sure there is no flattery blended with it: and what must any Englishman be that could give you a minute’s satisfaction, and would hesitate!

Adieu, Sir—I am unambitious, I am disinterested,—but I am vain. You have by your notice, uncavassed, unexpected, and at the period when you certainly could have the least temptation to stoop down to me, flattered me in the most agreeable manner. If there could arrive a moment, when you could be nobody, and I any body,

you cannot imagine how grateful I would be. In the mean time permit me to be, as I have been ever since I had the honour of knowing you, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Nov. 19, 1759.

*Account of a Remarkable Duel.
From the Universal Magazine,
for March 1798.*

A very melancholy catastrophe, between two French officers of foot, happened some years ago in the province of Languedoc. The name of the one was De L’Isle, and the other De la Fosse. They had been both born in the same town, the same street, and were almost next door neighbours. They had passed their infancy, and the first part of their youthful years together, as school-fellows, or play-fellows, whence a most cordial friendship was contracted.

Unfortunately for them and their parents, an officer’s commission for each was purchased in two regiments, between whom had long subsisted an unremitting animosity. At that time, whenever such antipathies were made known to the Court at Versailles, it was the minister of war’s business to take care that the hostile regiments should never meet in marches on the road from one city or province to another, or be quartered in the same place, to prevent disputes, quarrels, and massacres, which would most probably ensue. And when it so

* Royal and Noble Authors, account of Sir Robert Walpole.

happened, that a regiment in enmity with another was ordered to succeed to its duty, the other, by orders from the war-office, was to evacuate the garrison two or three days before, to prevent all possibility of the officers meeting. Whether more effectual means might not have been contrived to destroy animosities so absurd in men fighting for a common cause, this is not the place to inquire. It is certain they were very common under the old government.

De L'Isle was an officer in a regiment upon duty at Montpellier; and De la Fosse bore a commission in the rival corps that was to succeed it. The latter having a strong desire to see the former, obtained leave to go a day or two before, in a private manner, to see a friend of his then very much indisposed, as informed by a letter which he had contrived for that purpose. De L'Isle was transported with joy at seeing him, as well as on account of the obliging stratagem he had invented for that purpose.

Having dined, and drank a cheerful glass of Frontignac together, De L'Isle, who belonged to the regiment then decamping from Montpellier, conducted De la Fosse, who belonged to that which was to succeed in duty there, to a kind of licensed gaming-house, in the pleasant environs of that city.

They played a few games. De L'Isle having the run of cards in his favour, won every game. The other, somewhat piqued, said, unguardedly, 'Is it possible to win so? How do you contrive to get such cards?' De L'Isle replied, 'Keep your temper, the cards

may favour you in a game or two more.' This friendly altercation ended in a laugh on both sides. They paid the usual tax of the place for cards, went home, supped together, and on parting took a farewell embrace of each other, De L'Isle being to set out from Montpellier with his regiment the next morning.

It seems, unhappily for them both, and quite unknown to De L'Isle, that an officer of his corps, who had got intelligence of De la Fosse belonging to the regiment adverse to theirs, stood behind while they played at cards, in order to observe what should pass between them. The busy listener had overheard the impatient expressions at losing, which De la Fosse's too warm temper on the occasion had let escape. These seeming to imply an *inuendo* of foul play, he consequently construed as an affront; which, on account of the then subsisting regimental antipathy, was not to be put up with: wherefore, waiting on De L'Isle in the morning, he told him his sense of the affair, that he must go and demand immediate satisfaction, both for the sake of his own honour, and that of the corps to which he belonged.

De L'Isle, alarmed at the cruel purport of this unexpected visit, remonstrated with his brother officer on the undesigned and good-natured warmth of his friend; that they had been intimate from their infancy; that the fatal consequences, perhaps, of such a requisition, would effectually ruin his peace of mind for ever, should he even be the survivor.

All his excuses, however, were

treated as unmanly ; and he was told he might do as he pleased, but that a faithful narrative of what had passed should be laid before his superior officers. With this menace the incendiary informer left De L'Isle, in order to carry his threats into execution.

Torn with anxiety and horror, he went to De la Fosse's lodging, and acquainted him with the terrible dilemma they were both in, and that the horrible mandate of military usage must be obeyed. They went out upon the ramparts of the town, drew their swords with great regret against each other, and soon received on both sides wounds sufficient to disable them from continuing the combat any more that day, as well as to atone, in the judgment of any men but refined barbarians, for so trivial, nay, so imaginary an affront.

This duel was fought in the sight of some of De L'Isle's officers, who had been sent after him, on purpose to observe him. As soon as he got his wounds drest, he repaired to satisfy his brother officers, who would not see him, but ordered it should be intimated to him, that what he had done was not enough, because one of the parties must die.

In consequence of this merciless injunction, the distracted youths, neither desiring to outlive his friend, by mutual agreement ran upon each other's sword, in the fond hope of expiring together ;

which was nearly the event : for De la Fosse dropt on the instant dead at De L'Isle's feet, who was so terribly wounded, that his recovery was despaired of for six weeks, by the surgeon, to whose house he had been privately conveyed, and where he was kept secreted from all the enquiries of justice.

De la Fosse was, by the immediate care of the military gentlemen, thrown into a hole dug for that purpose, and round which they stood with their swords drawn, till the flesh was all consumed, or so far disfigured, that the sentence of the law could not be executed on it, viz. That the body of a person killed in a duel was to be dragged through the streets on a sledge, &c. For the survivor, no pardon was ever to be hoped, the king's attorney of the place having once commenced the law proceeding, as in such cases directed ; which he is sworn most rigorously to observe, on the forfeiture of his place, with other indignities ; and consequently seldom or never failed to acquit himself of that duty to his king and country.

In about three months after this unhappy catastrophe, De L'Isle escaped from Montpellier in the night-time privately, and disguised, fled to Spain, where he lived many years, to lament the loss of a dearly beloved friend, affectionate parent, and his native country.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1798. By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq.*
Poet Laureat.

I.

WHEN genial Zephyr's balmy wing
Fans with soft plume the flowery vale,
Each tender scion of the spring,
Expanding, owns the fostering gale,
And smiles each sunny glade around,
With vegetable beauty crown'd ;
But when the whirlwinds of the north
Burst in tempestuous vengeance forth,
Before the thunder of the storm
Each spreading tree of weaker form
Or bends to earth, or lies reclin'd,
Torn by the fury of the wind ;
Then proudly, 'mid the quiv'ring shade,
Stands the firm oak, in native strength array'd,
Waves high his giant branches, and defies
The elemental war that rends the skies.

II.

Deep-rooted in this kindred soil,
So Freedom here, through many an age,
Has mock'd Ambition's fruitless toil,
And Treason's wiles, and Faction's rage ;
And as the stormy ruin pass'd,
Which anarchy's rude breath had blown,
While Europe, bending to the blast,
Beholds the fairest realms o'erthrown ;
Alone, Britannia's happy isle,
Bless'd by a patriot Monarch's smile,
Amid surrounding storms, uninjur'd stands,
Nor dreads the tempest's force that wastes her neighbour lands.

III.

But see! along the darkling main
 The gathering clouds malignant low'r,
 And, spreading o'er our blue domain,
 Against our shores their thunders pour;
 While treach'rous friends and daring foes
 Around in horrid compact close;
 Their swarming barks portentous, shade
 With crowded sails the watery glade;
 When lo! imperial GEORGE commands—
 Rush to the waves, Britannia's veteran bands!
 Unnumber'd hosts usurp in vain
 Dominion o'er his briny reign;
 His fleets their monarch's right proclaim
 With brazen throat, with breath of flame;
 And captive in his ports their squadrons ride,
 Or mourn their shatter'd wrecks deep whelm'd beneath the tide.

IV.

From shore to shore, from pole to pole,
 Where'er wide Ocean's billows roll,
 From holy Ganges' tepid wave
 To seas that isles Atlantic lave;
 From hoary Greenland's frozen lands
 To burning Libya's golden sands;
 Aloft the British ensign flies,
 In folds triumphant to the skies;
 While to the notes that hail'd the isle
 Emerging from its parent main,
 The sacred Muse, with raptur'd smile,
 Responsive pours the exulting strain—
 "Rule, Britannia! rule the waves;
 "Britons never will be slaves."

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY. By HENRY JAMES PYE,
Esq. Poet Laureat.

I.

WHILE loud and near, round Britain's coasts,
 The low'ring storm of battle roars,
 In proud array while numerous hosts
 Insulting threat her happy shores;

No strains, with peaceful descant blown,
 Now float around Britannia's throne—
 The shouts from martial zeal that rise,
 The fires that beam from Glory's eyes,
 The sword that manly Freedom draws
 In Freedom's patriot monarch's cause,
 Shall with an angel's voice display
 How dear to Britain's sons their GEORGE's natal day.

II.

Triumphant o'er the blue domain
 Of hoary Ocean's briny reign,
 While Britain's navies boldly sweep,
 With victor prow, the stormy deep;
 Will Gallia's vanquish'd squadrons dare
 Again to try the wat'ry war,
 Again her floating castles brave,
 Terrific, on the howling wave,
 Or on the fragile bark adventure o'er,
 Tempt her tempestuous seas, and scale her rocky shore?

III.

Or, should the wind's uncertain gale
 Propitious swell the hostile sail;
 Should the dim mist, or midnight shade,
 Invasion's threaten'd inroad aid;
 Shall Britain, on her native strand,
 Shrink from a foe's inferior band?
 She vows by Gallia, taught to yield
 On Creci's and on Poitier's field;
 By Agincourt's high trophied plain,
 Pil'd with illustrious nobles slain;
 By wondering Danube's distant flood,
 And Blenheim's ramparts, red with blood;
 By chiefs on Minden's heaths who shone,
 By recent fame at Lincelles won;
 Her laurell'd brow she ne'er will veil,
 Or shun the shock of fight, though numerous hosts assail.

IV.

The electric flame of glory runs
 Impetuous through her hardy sons.
 See, rushing from the farm and fold,
 Her swains in Glory's lists enroll'd:

Though o'er the nations far and wide
 Gallia may pour Oppression's tide,
 And, like Rome's tyrant-race of yore,
 O'er-run each tributary shore;
 Yet, like the Julian chief, their hosts shall meet
 Untam'd resistance here, and foul defeat;
 Shall, like Rome's rav'ning eagle, baffled fly
 From Britain's fatal cliffs, the abode of Liberty.

V.

Behold on Windsor's oak-fring'd plain,
 The pride of Albion's Sylyan reign,
 Where oft the cheering hound and horn
 Have pierc'd the listening ear of morn,
 Rouz'd by the clarion's warlike sound,
 The heroes tread the tented ground;
 Where chiefs, as brave as those of yore,
 Who Chivalry's first honours wore,
 What time fair knighthood's knee around,
 Th' embroider'd zone victorious Edward bound,
 Shall by their monarch's throne a bulwark stand,
 And guard in George's crown the welfare of the land.

*Extract from CONSOLATION, A LYRIC POEM. From
 DR. GISBORNE'S POEMS, SACRED AND MORAL.*

MINE eyes I rais'd : a dungeon frown'd ;
 Green damps the mildew'd wall had stain'd :
 Shewn by pale lights that gleam'd around,
 Two mangled forms * to earth were chain'd.
 Beneath their blood-entangled hair
 Dark crusts o'erspread their shoulders bare,
 Where from new stripes the sanguine stream had flow'd ;
 And each torn limb with festering anguish glow'd.

Yet on their brow no sadness lours ;
 Their breasts with transport seem to swell :
 Hark ! from their lips what rapture pours !
 Ecstatic praises shake the cell.

* " They drew Paul and Silas into the market-place unto the Rulers ;— and rent off their clothes, and laid many stripes upon them ; and thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks. And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God ; and the prisoners heard them." Acts, ch. xvi. v. 19, &c. The state in which they were thus confined may be collected from a subsequent verse of the same chapter ; in which it is related, that afterwards the jailor " took them, and washed their stripes." v. 33.

Echo, long stunn'd with Sorrow's moan,
Starts as she hears the song unknown;
Bids through each vault the pealing joy rebound:
And Night and Misery wonder at the sound.

'Twas past. In alter'd garb array'd
Grief to my gaze her visions spread;
The glare of funeral lamps display'd,
The sable throng, the uplifted dead.
The parent, while the death-bell's toll,
Smites from yon tower her inmost soul,
Groans at each stroke, as o'er the corse she bends;
And Sorrow's flood in larger stream descends.

In youth's gay prime her darling died:
To Nature true the parent grieves.
But lo! even now her pangs subside;
Now less and less her bosom heaves.
Hope's kindling dawn her cheeks disclose;
Resign'd she stills her plaintive woes;
Unclasps her hands, the gushing sorrow dries,
And kneels, and points exulting to the skies.

The scene was changed.—Bellowing with rage
Plebeian crowds athirst for blood,
Prince, Consul, Senatorian age,
Circling a vast arena stood.
There *, flung to ravening beasts a prey,
Still gasping many a sufferer lay;
Or, smear'd with pitch, on sulphurous piles was raised,
And vengeful myriads shouted as he blazed.

* To be thrown to wild beasts in the arena of the Circus as a spectacle to the people, is well known to have been one of the early modes of Christian martyrdom. To be wrapt in vestments overspread with pitch, and thus burned, was another mode. "*Pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*"—Tacitus, *Annal. lib. xv.* To this barbarous spectacle, Juvenal appears to allude in the following lines:

——— *tædâ lucebis in illâ*
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant;
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ.

Sat. i. l. 155.

Which passage the Scholiast thus explains: "*Nero maleficos homines tædâ et papyro et cerâ supervestiebat, et sic ad ignem admoveri jubebat.*" Martial also speaks of the "*tunica molesta*," in which the Christian was burnt, "*Matutinâ spectatus arenâ.*"

Three victims from a platform's height
 Witness the pangs they soon must share.
 Their eyes with holy ardour bright
 To heaven they lift in secret prayer :
 A Power by Faith beheld adore ;
 Hear unappall'd yon monster's roar ;
 Unmoved behold yon myriad hands conspire,
 To rear the mighty pyramid of fire.

Fate calls them next. The unprison'd beast
 Bounding impatient o'er the sand
 Calm they await ; the pitchy vest
 They clasp with unreluctant hand :
 Nor quake, nor shrink, nor breathe a sigh,
 Nor turn aside the stedfast eye,
 When crouching to his spring the tiger glares,
 Or death's red torch the approaching Lictor bears.

Again the echoing vault of Heaven
 With thunder shakes ; the western sun
 Glows ; to the darkening zenith driven
 The clouds his arrowy fervour shun.
 Behold, their central depths divide !
 Bright chinks foretel the golden tide*.
 It comes ! a flood of glory bursts its way,
 And pours a blaze of more than mortal day.

Lo, Angel hosts, whose lucid train
 Seems half absorb'd to melt in light,
 Orb within orb, a Cross sustain,
 A Cross than Angel Hosts more bright.
 Pourtray'd in characters of flame
 Above it bears a mystic Name.
 Beneath is sculptured ; " Overcome by This† :
 Lo, here the sign of conquest and of bliss.

Lo, here the sign," a Seraph cries—
 Cherubic legions catch the sound :
 Loud as when polar billows rise
 In storms, to ether's utmost bound
 The Hosanna rolls :—" Lo, here the sign
 Of rescued man, of Love divine,
 Of human crimes by guiltless blood effaced,
 And Eden raised from earth's degenerate waste."

* Aurea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos. Virgil.

† In allusion to the inscription on the Cross reported to have appeared to Constantine: "Εν τούτω νικᾷ."

" By This with praise mid festering smart
 The captives shook the midnight cell :
 By This, the childless parent's heart
 With throbs of woe forgot to swell.
 By This, from earth-born fears released,
 The Martyr on the infuriate beast
 And men more savage fix'd the dauntless eye,
 Or rose in flames triumphant to the sky.

Mortal ! whose breast in hopeless fear
 Pants with the quivering shaft of Sin ;
 While the flush'd cheek, the starting tear,
 Confess the wound that burns within :
 Lo, here the sign that heals Despair ;
 On wings of penitence and prayer
 Bids the soul rise to Jesus strong to save,
 Bids Youth immortal trample on the grave.

Mortal ! on Life's rude Ocean tost,
 By whirlwinds driven, by storms oppress,
 Shatter'd thy bark, thy compass lost,
 Lo, here the sign of endless rest :
 Rest that no troublous dreams annoy ;
 Rest bathed in living floods of joy ;
 Rest freed from pangs Probation's child must share ;
 Rest crown'd with wreaths the Sons of God shall wear !

Though Grief her shadowy curtain spreads,
 And dims thy short terrestrial day :
 The Cross its holy lustre sheds ;
 Each fancied horror melts away.
 Erewhile in Sorrow's garb conceal'd,
 The secret blessing stands reveal'd ;
 Bears fruits of comforts from the Eternal's throne,
 And tells of brighter in a world unknown.

What though yon cloud, while earth and heaven
 The Sun's descending fires illume,
 Athwart the glowing brow of even
 Obtrude its inharmonious gloom ?
 Even now it owns the potent blaze ;
 Even now 'tis edged with golden rays :
 The kindling mass resigns its murky dye,
 And adds new glories to the splendid sky."

EXTRACTS FROM A SERIES OF PLAYS ON THE
PASSIONS.*From Basil, a Tragedy on the Passion of Love.*

ACT I.

Rosinberg. What mighty thoughts engage my pensive friend?*Basil.* O! it is admirable.*Ros.* How runs thy fancy? what is admirable?*Bas.* Her form, her face, her motion, ev'ry thing!*Ros.* The princess? yes, have we not prais'd her much?*Bas.* I know you prais'd her, and her off'rings too;She might have giv'n the treasures of the East
Ere I had known it.

She came again upon my wond'ring sight—

O! didst thou mark her when she first appear'd?

Still distant, slowly moving with her train;

Her robe, and tresses floating on the wind,

Like some light figure in a morning cloud?

Then as she onward to the eye became

The more distinct, the lovelier still she grew.

That graceful bearing of her slender form;

Her roundly-spreading breast, her tow'ring neck,

Her face ting'd sweetly with the bloom of youth—

But when on near approach she tow'rd's us turn'd,

Kind mercy! what a countenance was there!

And when to our salute she gently bow'd,

Didst mark that smile rise from her parting lips?

Soft swell'd her glowing cheek, her eyes smiled too;

O! how they smil'd! 'twas like the beams of heaven!

I felt my roused soul within me start,

Like something wak'd from sleep.

Ros. Ah! many a slumb'rer heav'n's beams do wake
To care and misery!*Bas.* There's something grave and solemn in your voice
As you pronounce these words. What dost thou mean?
Thou would'st not sound my knell?*Ros.* No, not for all beneath the vaulted sky!
But to be plain, thus earnest from your lips
Her praise displeases me. To men like you
If love should come, he proves no easy guest.*Bas.* What dost thou think I am beside myself,
And cannot view the fairness of perfection
With that delight which lovely beauty gives,
Without tormenting me with fruitless wishes;
Like the poor child who sees its brighten'd face,

And whimpers for the moon? Thou art not serious?
 From early youth, war has my mistress been,
 And tho' a rugged one, I'll constant prove,
 And not forsake her now. There may be joys
 Which to the strange o'erwhelming of the soul,
 Visit the lover's breast beyond all others;
 E'en now, how dearly do I feel there may!
 But what of them? they are not made for me—
 The hasty flashes of contending steel
 Must serve instead of glances from my love,
 And for soft breathing sighs the cannon's roar.

Ros. taking his hand. Now am I satisfied. Forgive me, Basil.

Bas. I'm glad thou art, we'll talk of her no more.
 Why should I vex my friend?

Ros. Thou hast not giv'n orders for the march.

Bas. I'll do it soon; thou need'st not be afraid.
 To-morrow's sun shall bear us far from hence,
 Never perhaps to pass these gates again.

Ros. With last night's close did you not curse this town
 That would one single day your troops retard?
 And now, methinks, you talk of leaving it,
 As though it were the place that gave you birth;
 As tho' you had around these strangers' walls
 Your infant gambols play'd.

Bas. The sight of what may be but little priz'd,
 Doth cause a solemn sadness in the mind,
 When view'd as that we ne'er shall see again.

Ros. No, not a whit to wandering men like us,
 No, not a whit! what custom hath endear'd
 We part with sadly, tho' we prize it not;
 But what is new some pow'rful charm must own,
 Thus to affect the mind.

Bas. hastily. Yes, what is new, but—No, thou art impatient;
 We'll let it pass—It hath no consequence.

Ros. I'm not impatient. 'Faith, I only wish
 Some other route our destined march had been,
 That still thou might'st thy glorious course pursue
 With an untroubled mind.

Bas. O! wish it, wish it not! bless'd be that route!
 What we have seen to-day I must remember;
 I should be brutish if I could forget it.
 Oft on the watchful post, or weary march,
 Oft in the nightly silence of my tent,
 My fixed mind shall gaze upon it still;
 But it will pass before my fancy's eye,
 Like some delightful vision of the soul,
 To soothe, not trouble it.

Ros. What, midst the dangers of eventful war,
 VOL. XL. *E e

Still let thy mind be haunted by a woman ?
 Who would, perhaps, hear of thy fall in battle,
 As Dutchmen read of earthquakes in Calabria,
 And never stop to cry alack-a-day !
 For me there is but one of all the sex,
 Who still shall hold her station in my breast,
 Midst all the changes of inconstant fortune ;
 Because I'm passing sure she loves me well,
 And for my sake a sleepless pillow finds
 When rumour tells bad tidings of the war ;
 Because I know her love will never change,
 Nor make me prove uneasy jealousy.

Bas. Happy art thou ! who is this wond'reus woman ?

Ros. It is mine own good mother, faith and truth !

Bas. smiling. Give me thy hand ; I love her dearly too.
 Rivals we are not, though our love is one.

Ros. And yet I might be jealous of her love,
 For she bestows too much of it on thee,
 Who hast no claim but to a nephew's share.

Bas. going. I'll meet thee some time hence. I must to Court.

Ros. A private conf'rence will not stay thee long.
 I'll wait thy coming near the palace gate.

Bas. 'Tis to the public Court I mean to go.

Ros. I thought you had determin'd otherwise.

Bas. Yes, but on farther thought it did appear
 As though it would be failing in respect
 At such a time—That look doth wrong me, Rosinberg !
 For on my life, I had determin'd thus
 Ere I beheld—Before we enter'd Mantua.
 But wilt thou change that soldier's dusty garb,
 And go with me thyself ?

Ros. Yes, I will go.

(*As they are going Ros. stops and looks at Basil.*)

Bas. Why dost thou stop ?

Ros. 'Tis for my wonted caution,
 Which first thou gav'st me, I shall ne'er forget it.
 'Twas at Vienna, on a publick day,
 Thou but a youth, I then a man full form'd ;
 Thy stripling's brow grac'd with its first cockade,
 Thy mighty bosom swell'd with mighty thoughts ;
 Thour't for the court, dear Rosinberg, quoth thou ;
 Now pray thee be not caught with some gay dame,
 To laugh and ogle, and besool thyself ;
 It is offensive in the publick eye,
 And suits not with a man of thy endowments.
 So said your serious lordship to me then,
 And have on like occasions often since,
 In other terms repeated—

But I must go to-day without my caution.

Bas. Nay, Rosinberg, I am impatient now.
Did I not say we'd talk of her no more.

Ros. Well, my good friend, God grant we keep our word!

ACT II.

Bas. alone. "Farewell, my lord," O! what delightful sweetness
The musick of that voice leaves on the ear!

"Farewell, my lord!"—Ay, and then look'd she so—

The slightest glance of her bewitching eye,
Those dark blue eyes, command the inmost soul.

Well, there is yet one day of life before me,

And whatsoe'er betides I will enjoy it.

Tho' but a partial sunshine in my lot,

I will converse with her, gaze on her still,

If all behind were pain and misery.

Pain! were it not the easing of all pain,

E'en in the dismal gloom of after years,

Such dear rememb'rance on the mind to wear?

Like silv'ry moon-beams on the 'nighted deep,

When heav'n's blest sun is gone!

Kind mercy! how my heart within me beat

When she so sweetly pled the cause of love!

Can she have lov'd? why shrink I at the thought?

Why should she not? no, no, it cannot be—

No man on earth is worthy of her love.

Ah! if she could, how blest a man were he!

Where rove my giddy thoughts? it must not be.

Yet might she well some gentle kindness bear;

Think of him oft, his absent fate enquire,

And should he fall in battle, mourn his fall.

Yes, she would mourn—such love might she bestow;

And poor of soul the man who would exchange it

For warmest love of the most loving dame.

ACT IV.

Bas. O! were I conscious that within her breast

I held some portion of her dear regard,

Tho' pent for life within a prison's walls,

Where thro' my grate I yet might sometimes see

E'en but her shadow sporting in the sun;

Tho' plac'd by fate where some obstructing bound,

Some deep impassable, between us roll'd,

And I might yet from some high tow'ring cliff,

Perceive her distant mansion from afar,
 Or mark its blue smoke rising eve and morn;
 Nay, tho' within the circle of the moon
 Some spell did fix her, never to return,
 And I might wander in the hours of night,
 And upward turn mine ever-gazing eye,
 Fondly to mark upon its varied disk,
 Some little spot that might her dwelling be;
 My fond, my fixed heart would still adore
 And own no other Love. Away, away!
 How canst thou say to one who loves like me,
 Thou hast no hope?

See with what graceful steps she moves along,
 Her lovely form in ev'ry action lovely.
 If but the wind her ruff'd garments raise,
 It twists it into some light pretty fold,
 Which adds new grace. Or should some small mishap,
 Some tangled branch, her fair attire derange,
 What would in others strange, or awkward seem,
 But lends to her some wild bewitching charm.
 See, yonder does she raise her lovely arm
 To pluck the dangling hedge-flow'r as she goes;
 And now she turns her head, as tho' she view'd
 The distant landscape; now methinks she walks
 With doubtful ling'ring steps—will she look back?
 Ah no! yon thicket hides her from my sight.
 Bless'd are the eyes that may behold her still,
 Nor dread that ev'ry look shall be the last!
 And yet she said she would remember me.
 I will believe it; Ah! I must believe it,
 Or be the saddest soul that sees the light!

ACT V.

Bas. No sound is here; man is at rest, and I
 May near his habitations venture forth,
 Like some unblessed creature of the night,
 Who dares not meet his face.—Her window's dark;
 No streaming light doth from her chamber beam,
 That I once more may on her dwelling gaze,
 And bless her still. All now is dark for me!
 How happy are the dead, who quietly rest
 Beneath these stones! each by his kindred laid,
 Still in a hallow'd neighbourhood with those,
 Who when alive his social converse shar'd:
 And now, perhaps, some dear surviving friend,
 Doth here at times the grateful visit pay,

Read with sad eyes his short memorial o'er,
And bless his mem'ry still!—
But I, like a vile outcast of my kind,
In some lone spot must lay my unburied corse,
To rot above the earth; where, if perchance
The steps of human wand'rer e'er approach,
He'll stand aghast, and flee the horrid place,
With dark imaginations frightful made,
The haunt of damned sprites. O! cursed wretch!
I' the fair and honour'd field shouldst thou have died,
Where brave friends, proudly smiling thro' their tears,
Had pointed out the spot where Basil lay!
But ha! the wonted, welcome light appears.
How bright within I see her chamber wall,
Athwart it too, a dark'ning shadow moves,
A slender woman's form; it is herself!
What means that motion of her clasped hands?
That drooping head? alas! is she in sorrow?
Alas! thou sweet enchantress of the mind,
Whose voice was gladness, and whose presence bliss,
Art thou unhappy too? I've brought thee woe;
It is for me thou weep'st! Ah! were it so,
Fall'n as I am, I yet could life endure,
In some dark den from human sight conceal'd,
So, that I sometimes from my haunt might steal,
To see and love thee still. No, no, poor wretch!
She weeps thy shame, she weeps, and scorns thee too.
She moves again; e'en darkly imag'd thus,
How lovely is that form!
To be so near thee, and for ever parted!
For ever lost! what art thou now to me?
Shall the departed gaze on thee again?
Shall I glide past thee in the midnight hour,
Whilst thou perceiv'st it not, and thinkst perhaps
'Tis but the mournful breeze that passes by?
'Tis gone, 'tis gone! these eyes have seen their last!
The last impression of her heavenly form!
The last sight of those walls wherein she lives,
The last blest ray of light from human dwelling!
I am no more a being of this world,
Farewell! farewell! all now is dark for me!
Come fated deed! come horror and despair!
Here lies my dreadful way.

EXTRACTS FROM DE MONFORT, A TRAGEDY, ON
THE PASSION OF HATRED.

ACT I.

De Mon. Hell hath no greater torment for th' accurs'd
Than this man's presence gives—
Abhorred fiend ! he hath a pleasure too,
A damned pleasure in the pain he gives !
Oh ! the side glance of that detested eye !
That conscious smile ! that full insulting lip !
It touches every nerve : it makes me mad.
What, does it please thee ? Dost thou woo my hate ?
Hate shalt thou have ! determin'd, deadly hate,
Which shall awake no smile. Malignant villain !
The venom of thy mind is rank and devilish,
And thin the film that hides it.
Thy hateful visage ever spoke thy worth :
I loath'd thee when a boy.

ACT II.

De Mon. Oh ! that detested Rezenvelt !
E'en in our early sports, like two young whelps
Of hostile breed, instinctively reverse,
Each 'gainst the other pitch'd his ready pledge,
And frown'd defiance. As we onward pass'd
From youth to man's estate, his narrow art,
And envious gibing malice, poorly veil'd
In the affected carelessness of mirth,
Still more detestable and odious grew.
There is no living being on this earth
Who can conceive the malice of his soul,
With all his gay and damned merriment,
To those, by fortune or by merit plac'd
Above his paltry self. When, low in fortune,
He look'd upon the state of prosp'rous men,
As nightly birds, rous'd from their murky holes,
Do scowl and chatter at the light of day,
I could endure it ; even as we bear
Th' impotent bite of some half-trodden worm,
I could endure it. But when honours came,
And wealth and new-got titles fed his pride ;
Whilst flatt'ring knaves did trumpet forth his praise,
And grov'ling idiots grinn'd applauses on him ;
Oh ! then I could no longer suffer it !

It drove me frantick——What! what would I give!
 What would I give to crush the bloated toad,
 So rankly do I loathe him!

ACT III.

De Mon. Hell's direst torment seize th' infernal villain!
 Detested of my soul! I will have vengeance!
 I'll crush thy swelling pride—I'll still thy vaunting—
 I'll do a deed of blood—Why shrink I thus?
 If, by some spell or magick sympathy,
 Piercing the lifeless figure on that wall
 Could pierce his bosom too, would I not cast it?

(Throwing a dagger against the wall.)

Shall groans and blood affright me? No, I'll do it.
 Tho' gasping life beneath my pressure heav'd,
 And my soul shudder'd at the horrid brink,
 I would not flinch.—Fly, this recoiling nature!
 O that his sever'd limbs were strew'd in air,
 So as I saw him not!

ACT IV.

De Mon. How hollow groans the earth beneath my tread!
 Is there an echo here? Methinks it sounds
 As tho' some heavy footstep follow'd me.
 I will advance no farther.
 Deep settled shadows rest across the path,
 And thickly-tangled boughs o'er-hang this spot.
 O that a tenfold gloom did cover it!
 That 'midst the murky darkness I might strike;
 As in the wild confusion of a dream,
 Things horrid, bloody, terrible, do pass,
 As tho' they pass'd not; nor impress the mind
 With the fix'd clearness of reality.
 What sound is that?

It is the screech-owl's cry.

Foul bird of night! what spirit guides thee here?
 Art thou instinctive drawn to scenes of horror?
 I've heard of this.
 How those fall'n leaves so rustle on the path,
 With whisp'ring noise, as tho' the earth around me
 Did utter secret things!
 The distant river, too, bears to mine ear
 A dismal wailing. O mysterious night!
 Thou art not silent; many tongues hast thou.
 A distant gath'ring blast sounds thro' the wood,

And dark clouds fleetly hasten o'er the sky :
 O ! that a storm would rise, a raging storm ;
 Amidst the roar of warring elements
 I'd lift my hand and strike : but this pale light,
 The calm distinctness of each stilly thing,
 Is terrible. (*Starting.*) Footsteps are near—
 He comes, he comes ! I'll watch him farther on—
 I cannot do it here.

Alone with thee ! but thou art nothing now.
 'Tis done, 'tis number'd with the things o'erpast,
 Would ! would it were to come !
 What fated end, what darkly gath'ring cloud
 Will close on all this horror ?
 O that dire madness would unloose my thoughts,
 And fill my mind with wildest fantasies,
 Dark, restless, terrible ! aught, aught but this !
 How with convulsive life he heav'd beneath me,
 E'en with the death's wound gor'd. O horrid, horrid !
 Methinks I feel him still.—What sound is that ?
 I heard a smother'd groan.—It is impossible !
 It moves ! it moves ! the cloth doth heave and swell.
 It moves again.—I cannot suffer this—
 Whate'er it be I will uncover it.
 All is still beneath.
 Nought is there here but fix'd and grizly death.
 How sternly fix'd ! Oh ! those glazed eyes !
 They look me still.
 Come, madness ! come unto me, senseless death !
 I cannot suffer this ! Here, rocky wall,
 Scatter these brains, or dull them.

O that I had ne'er known the light of day !
 That filmy darkness on mine eyes had hung,
 And clos'd me out from the fair face of nature !
 O that my mind, in mental darkness pent,
 Had no perception, no distinction known,
 Of fair or foul, perfection nor defect ;
 Nor thought conceiv'd of proud pre-eminence !
 O that it had ! O that I had been form'd
 An idiot from the birth ! a senseless changeling,
 Who eats his glutton's meal with greedy haste,
 Nor knows the hand who feeds him.—
 What am I now ? how ends the day of life ?
 For end it must ; and terrible this gloom,
 The storm of horrors that surround its close.
 This little term of nature's agony
 Will soon be o'er, and what is past is past :
 But shall I then, on the dark lap of earth

Lay me to rest, in still unconsciousness,
 Like senseless clod that doth no pressure feel
 From wearing foot of daily passenger ;
 Like steeped rock o'er which the breaking waves
 Bellow and foam unheard ? O would I could !

* * * *

Bern. to Jer. This is the murder'd corse,
 But see, I pray !

Here lies the murderer. What think'st thou here ?
 Look on those features, thou hast seen them oft,
 With the last dreadful conflict of despair,
 So fix'd in horrid strength.
 See those knit brows, those hollow sunken eyes ;
 The sharpen'd nose, with nostrils all distent ;
 That writhed mouth, where yet the teeth appear,
 In agony, to gnash the nether lip.
 Think'st thou, less painful than the murd'rer's knife
 Was such a death as this ?

Ay, and how changed too are those matted locks !

Jer. Merciful heaven ! his hair is grisly grown,
 Chang'd to white age, what was, but two days since,
 Black as the raven's plume. How may this be ?

Bern. Such change, from violent conflict of the mind,
 Will sometimes come.

Jer. Alas, alas ! most wretched !
 Thou wert too good to do a cruel deed,
 And so it kill'd thee. Thou hast suffer'd for it.
 God rest thy soul ! I needs must touch thy hand,
 And bid thee long farewell.

* * * *

1st Off. I am an officer on duty call'd,
 And have authority to say, how died ?

Jane. Tell them by whose authority you come,
 He died that death which best becomes a man
 Who is with keenest sense of conscious ill
 And deep remorse assail'd, a wounded spirit.
 A death that kills the noble and the brave,
 And only them. He had no other wound.

1st Off. And shall I trust to this.

Jane. Do as thou wilt ;
 To one who can suspect my simple word
 I have no more reply. Fulfil thine office.

1st Off. No, lady, I believe your honour'd word,
 And will no farther search.

Jane. I thank your courtesy : thanks, thanks to all
 The blessing of the afflicted rest with you :
 And He, who to the wretched is most piteous,
 Will recompense you.—Freberg, thou art good,
 Remove the body of the friend you lov'd,

'Tis Rezenvelt I mean. Take thou this charge :
 'Tis meet that, with his noble ancestors,
 He lie entomb'd in honourable state.
 And now, I have a sad request to make,
 Nor will these holy sisters scorn my boon ;
 That I, within these sacred cloister walls
 May raise a humble, nameless tomb to him,
 Who, but for one dark passion, one dire deed,
 Had claim'd a record of as noble worth,
 As e'er enrich'd the sculptur'd pedestal.

THE ENTAIL, *a Fable.* From the Works of the EARL OF ORFORD.

IN a fair summer's radiant morn,
 A butterfly divinely born,
 Whose lineage dated from the mud
 Of Noah's and Deucalion's flood,
 Long hov'ring round a perfum'd lawn,
 By various gusts of odour drawn,
 At last establish'd his repose
 On the rich bosom of a rose.
 The palace pleas'd the lordly guest ;
 What insect owned a prouder nest ?
 The dewy leaves luxuriant shed
 Their balmy essence o'er his head,
 And with their silken tap'stry fold
 His limbs enthron'd on central gold.
 He thinks the thorns embattled round
 To guard his castle's lovely mound,
 And all the bush's wide domain,
 Subservient to his fancied reign.

Such ample blessings swell'd the fly !
 Yet in his mind's capacious eye
 He roll'd the change of mortal things,
 To common fate of flies and kings.
 With grief he saw how lands and honours
 Are apt to slide to various owners ;
 Where Mowbrays dwelt, how Grocers dwell,
 And how cits buy what barons sell.
 " Great Phœbus, patriarch of my line,
 Avert such shame from sons of thine !
 To them confirm these roofs," he said ;
 And then he swore an oath so dread,
 The stoutest wasp that wears a sword,
 Had trembled to have heard the word !
 " If law can rivet down entails,
 These manors ne'er shall pass to snails.
 I swear"—and then he smote his ermine—
 " These tow'rs were never built for vermin."

A Caterpillar grovel'd near,
 A subtle slow conveyancer,
 Who, summon'd waddles with his quill
 To draw the haughty insect's will,
 None but his heirs must own the spot,
 Begotten, or to be begot :
 Each leaf he binds, each bud he ties
 To eggs of eggs of Butterflies.

When lo ! how fortune loves to teize
 Those who would dictate her decrees !
 A wanton boy was passing by ;
 The wanton child beheld the fly,
 And eager ran to seize the prey :
 But, too impetuous in his play,
 Crush'd the proud tenant of an hour,
 And swept away the Mansion Flow'r.

THE STORM, AN ODE.

From Dr. Drake's Literary Hours.

HEARD ye the whirlwind's flight sublime,
 Swift as the rushing wing of Time ?
 The Dæmon rag'd aloud !
 Vaunting he rear'd his giant form,
 And tower'd amid the gath'ring storm,
 Borne on a murky cloud ;
 Vast horror shook the dome of heav'n,
 As 'neath him far with fury driv'n,
 The viewless depths of air,
 Stern o'er the struggling globe he past,
 While pausing Nature shrank aghast ;
 And thro' the troubled gloom wild yell'd the fiend Despair.

Servant of God ! destructive power !
 Whilst due to wrath the direful hour,
 Thou warn'st a guilty world,
 When bursts to vengeance heav'n's blest sire,
 When lightens fierce the Almighty's ire,
 On sin-struck nations hurl'd ;
 Thy terrors load my trembling shell,
 Dread as the madd'ning tones that swell
 O'er yonder bleak domain,
 Where heaves thy deep, incessant roar,
 That shakes the snow-topt mountain hoar,
 And with resistless ruin strews th' affrighted plain.

Ah ! what of hope's delicious ray,
 As slow the pilgrim takes his way,
 Shall soothe his sinking soul,
 As round him forms infernal rise,
 Of ghastly hue, whose hideous cries,
 Thro' the vext æther roll,
 And mingling in each surf-worn cave,
 Fell spirits from the murderer's grave
 The deed of horror hail ?
 Saw ye the redd'ning meteor gleam ?
 Heard ye, with harsh and hollow scream,
 Far o'er the dim cold sea the birds of ocean wail ?

Fierce o'er the darkly-heaving waves,
 The storm with boundless fury raves,
 The sailor starts aghast,
 His helm, to ruthless vengeance giv'n,
 O'er the vast surge speeds idly driv'n,
 As shrieks the hurrying blast :
 Cease Emma, cease to hope in vain,
 Thou ne'er wilt view thy lord again,
 He never shall return !
 Pale on the desert shore he lies !
 No wife belov'd to close his eyes,
 No friend in pitying tones his wave-drench'd limbs to mourn !

Hark ! how the rough winds madd'ning sweep
 Bare the broad earth and drifting deep,
 The boreal deluge raise !
 Here mountains shoot their wreath-tipt heads,
 There lo ! far sunk, the valley spreads
 Her drear, her wild'ring maze !
 O come, let's brave the northern blast,
 Let's mark stupendous nature cast
 In many a form sublime.
 I care not if, where Hecla towers,
 Where wrapt in tempests winter lowers
 Stern on her ice-clad throne, I trace the hoary clime.

Protect me, heav'n ! 'neath yon huge drift,
 Where to the clouds the wild winds lift
 The waste in horror pil'd,
 See, where yon shiv'ring female lies !
 Lo ! on her fainting bosom dies
 Cold, cold, her infant child !
 Daughter of woe ! then doubly dear !
 O'er thy sad fate how many a tear
 The hapless mother shed !

And must we, cried she, must we part ?
Then clasp'd thee to her shudd'ring heart,
Whilst in convulsive sighs thy little spirit fled.

O thou, who rul'st the fleeting year,
Who giv'st to roll the varied sphere
Amid the vast of heav'n,
Now, Father, bend thine awful ear !
O bless me with a parent's care,
To thy protection giv'n :
Whether on ocean's bosom thrown,
Or plung'd where snow-clad mountains frown,
If thou my hallowed guide,
I heed not, let the tempest roar,
Let havoc and wild winter hoar,
And terror's giant form the dark-brow'd whirlwind ride.

EXTRACT FROM AN EPISTLE TO A FRIEND.

From Rogers's Pleasures of Memory and other Poems.

STILL must my partial pencil love to dwell
On the home-prospects of my hermit cell ;
The mossy pales that skirt the orchard green,
Here hid by shrub-wood, there by glimpses seen ;
And the brown pathway, that, with careless flow,
Sinks, and is lost among the trees below.
Still must it trace (the flattering tints forgive)
Each fleeting charm that bids the landscape live.
Oft o'er the mead, at pleasing distance, pass
Browsing the hedge by fits the pannier'd ass ;
The idling shepherd-boy, with rude delight,
Whistling his dog to mark the pebble's flight ;
And in her kerchief blue the cottage maid,
With brimming pitcher from the shadowy glade.
Far to the South a mountain-vale retires,
Rich in its groves, and glens, and village-spires ;
Its upland lawns, and cliffs, with foliage hung,
Its wizard-stream, nor nameless nor unsung :
And thro' the various year, the various day,
What scenes of glory burst, and melt away !
O come, and, rich in intellectual wealth,
Blend thought with exercise, with knowledge health !
Long, in this shelter'd scene of letter'd talk,
With sober step repeat the pensive walk ;
Nor scorn, when graver triflings fail to please,
The cheap amusements of a mind at ease ;
Here every care in sweet oblivion cast,
And many an idle hour—not idly pass'd.

No tuneful echoes ambush'd at my gate,
 Catch the blest accents of the wise and great.
 Vain of its various page, no album breathes
 The sigh that Friendship or the Muse bequeaths.
 Yet some good Genii o'er my hearth preside,
 Oft the far friend, with secret spell, to guide ;
 And there I trace, when the grey evening lours,
 A silent chronicle of happier hours !

When Christmas revels in a world of snow,
 And bids her berries blush, her carols flow ;
 His spangling shower when frost the wizard flings ;
 Or, borne in ether blue, on viewless wings,
 O'er the white pane his silvery foliage weaves,
 And gems with icicles the sheltering eaves ;
 —Thy muffled friend his nectarine-wall pursues,
 What time the sun the yellow crocus woos,
 Screen'd from the arrowy North ; and duly hies *
 To meet the morning-rumour as it flies ;
 To range the murmuring market-place, and view
 The motley groups that faithful TENIERS drew.

When spring bursts forth in blossoms thro' the vale,
 And her wild music triumphs on the gale,
 Oft with my book I muse from stile to stile † ;
 Oft in my porch the listless noon beguile,
 Framing loose numbers, till declining day
 Thro' the green trellis shoots a crimson ray ;
 Till the West-wind leads on the twilight hours,
 And shakes the fragrant bells of closing flowers.

If, when this roof shall know thy friend no more,
 Some, form'd like thee, should once, like thee, explore ;
 Invoke the lares of his lov'd retreat,
 And his lone walks imprint with pilgrim-feet ;
 Then be it said, (as, vain of better days,
 Some grey domestic prompts the partial praise ;)
 " Unknown he liv'd, unenvied, not unblest ;
 Reason his guide, and Happiness his guest.
 In the clear mirror of his moral page,
 We trace the manners of a purer age.
 His soul, with thirst of genuine glory fraught,
 Scorn'd the false lustre of licentious thought.
 —One fair asylum from the world he knew,
 One chosen seat, that charms with various view !

* Fallacem circum, vespertinumque pererro
 Sæpe forum. HOR.

† Tantôt, un livre en main, errant dans les prairies—

BOILEAU.

Who boasts of more (believe the serious strain)
Sighs for a home, and sighs, alas! in vain.
Thro' each he roves, the tenant of a day,
And, with the swallow, wings the year away!"

*From THE NURSE, A POEM, translated by MR. ROSCOE, from
the Italian of LUIGI TANSILLO.*

WHAT fury, hostile to our common kind,
First led from Nature's path the female mind,
Th' ingenuous sense, by fashion's laws repress,
And to a babe denied its mother's breast?
What! could she as her own existence dear,
Nine tedious months her tender burthen bear,
And when at length it smil'd upon the day,
To hireling hands its helpless frame convey?
While yet conceal'd in life's primæval folds,
The unconscious mass her proper body holds;
Whilst in her mind distracting fears arise;
Stranger to that which in her bosom lies;
While led by ignorance wild fancy apes
Uncouth distortions and perverted shapes;
Yet then securely rests the promis'd brood,
Screened by her cares and nurtured by her blood.
But when, reliev'd from dangers and alarms,
The perfect offspring leaps into her arms,
Turns to a mother's face its asking eyes,
And begs for pity by its tender cries;
Then, while young life its opening powers expands,
And the meek infant spreads its searching hands,
Scents the pure milk-drops as they slow distill,
And thence anticipates the plenteous rill.
From her first grasp the smiling babe she flings,
While pride and folly seal the gushing springs.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford; with original Correspondence, and authentic Papers, never before published, by William Coxe, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S. and Rector of Bemerton.

THE Political Life of a Statesman, who presided in the British Cabinet, during a period of great importance, must be interesting to almost every class of readers; and these Memoirs are particularly calculated to give general satisfaction, as, while the lovers of courtly anecdote, political intrigue, and petticoat influence, will find ample amusement in the manœuvres of the Duchesses of Kendal and Marlborough, and the Ladies Suffolk, Darlington, and Sandon; those who make the history of their country a serious and profitable study, will meet with much valuable information wholly new to them, which Mr. Coxe's access to an almost interminable collection of curious documents, has enabled him to supply from sources of unquestionable authority.

The first Volume, which contains the Biographical part of the work, is arranged in Eight Parts, comprising as many different and consecutive periods in the Life of

Walpole, commencing with his birth, and terminated by his decease. The second and third Volumes are entirely devoted to papers and correspondence, which are classed in a similar manner, each division being illustrative of its corresponding portion in the Memoirs.

Robert Walpole was born at Houghton in 1676. His family, which was ancient and highly respectable, took its name from the Village of Walpole, in Norfolk. After passing through the usual course of gentlemanly education, from Eton to King's College, Cambridge; he quitted that University, where he was studying for orders, at the age of twenty-two, in consequence of the death of his elder brother, by which he became heir to the family estate. On resigning his scholarship, he returned home, where he resided for the two following years, when he married the beautiful daughter of Sir John Shorter, Lord Mayor of London. Not long after this event, the death of his father gave him possession of property to the amount of above 2000*l.* per annum: and he also succeeded him as representative in Parliament, for the Borough of Castle Rising. As this may be considered his first entrance into public life, we

will commence our extracts by his Biographer's account of his earliest attempts as a speaker.

"On entering into parliament a due diffidence of his own powers repressed his zeal; and he formed a resolution not to speak until he had attained more experience, and some degree of parliamentary knowledge: but his prudence and caution were overcome by the more powerful passion of emulation.

"During his continuance at Eton, he had been the rival of St. John, who was two years younger than himself. The parts of St. John were more lively and brilliant; those of Walpole more steady and solid. Walpole was industrious and diligent, because his talents required application. St. John was negligent, because his quickness of apprehension rendered less labour necessary. When both came into public life, this emulation did not cease: and as they took different parties, opposition kindled their zeal. St. John soon distinguished himself in the house of commons, and became an eloquent debater; repeated encomiums bestowed on his rival, roused the ardour of Walpole, and induced him to commence speaker sooner than he at first intended. It does not, however, appear at what time, or on what occasion, he first spoke in the house of commons; all that is known on that subject is, that the first time he rose, he was confused and embarrassed, and did not seem to realize those expectations which his friends had fondly conceived. At the same time, another member made a studied speech, which was much

admired. At the end of the debate, some persons casting ridicule on Walpole as an indifferent orator, and expressing their approbation on the maiden speech made by the other member, Arthur Mainwaring, who was present, observed in reply, 'You may applaud the one, and ridicule the other, as much as you please, but depend upon it, that the spruce gentleman who made the set speech will never improve, and that Walpole will in time become an excellent speaker.' The prediction of Mainwaring was soon verified." Vol. i. p. 14.

A young man of such promising talents, with a decided bias towards Whig politics soon attracted the attention of the leaders of that party by whom he was much courted; and he was particularly noticed by Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. After a seven-year's probation in parliament, he attained the situation of Secretary at War, to which was added, some time after, that of Treasurer of the Navy. To him was committed the delicate office of composing the speeches which were to be delivered from the throne; and in 1710 he was appointed one of the Managers of Sacheverel's impeachment. The first article of the charge fell to the share of Walpole:

"That Sacheverel had suggested and maintained, that the necessary means used to bring about the happy revolution, were odious and unjustifiable; that his late majesty, in his declaration, disclaimed the least imputation of resistance, and that to impute resistance to the said revolution, was to cast black and odious colours

* F f

upon his late majesty and the said revolution.

"On this delicate subject, which it is so difficult to define and restrain within the proper bounds, while the doctrine of resistance is allowed, in cases of extreme necessity, he spoke with equal precision, moderation, and energy, and drew the happy medium between the extremes of licentiousness and rational liberty; between a just opposition to arbitrary measures, and a due submission to a free and well regulated government. While he reprobated, in the strongest terms, the doctrines of divine indefeasible right, and passive obedience, he by no means encouraged, even in the slightest degree, any vague notions of resistance in undetermined cases, or upon trivial motives; but established hereditary right as the essence of the British constitution, never to be transgressed, except in such instances as justified the revolution." Vol. i. p. 24.

This imprudent accusation, it is well known, occasioned the disgrace and dismissal of the Whig Administration. Mr. Coxe attributes to the distaste which was excited by this circumstance in the mind of Walpole, from any intermeddling with the affairs of the Church, that part of his conduct when in power, which militated against the principle of general toleration which his inclination would have otherwise led him to uphold. This supposition attributes to him motives not very honourable to the man however politic in the minister. Had Walpole been disposed to listen to the overtures of Harley, he

certainly might have retained his official situations under the new administration, but far from deserting his friends he commenced the most determined opposition to their successors, who found him so formidable an antagonist, that as it had been proved impossible to win, it was deemed necessary to crush him. A charge of venality and corruption was brought against him, relative to a contract for forage, which was entered into during the time he was in office, and after repeated and violent discussion, the party in power succeeded in committing him to the Tower, and ultimately effected his expulsion from the House of Commons; both by very small majorities.

While in confinement he published a masterly and unanswerable defence of himself, and after his enlargement he employed his pen in advocating the Whig cause, having been voted by the Commons incapable of again serving in the Parliament then sitting, although re-elected by his constituents. His manly and intrepid conduct under these public injuries has been considered by many as one of the principal causes of his subsequent exaltation.

On the accession of George the First, with which the second period commences, Walpole's zeal for the House of Hanover speedily re-instated him in his situation as Paymaster of the Navy. His reputation in parliament daily increased, and with it his courage and his influence. He took an active part against the late ministry, and the articles of their impeachment were drawn up by his

own hand. On the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1715, his services rendered him indispensably necessary to the King, and fixed upon him the chief hopes and expectations of the country. It was at that dangerous and critical juncture, with open rebellion to combat on the one hand, and secret faction on the other, that he was raised to the high offices of First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The famous septennial bill was passed in the following year, which at the time of its enactment was almost universally popular, from a general conviction of its necessity. The minister appeared to be equally a favourite with the sovereign and the people; ere long, however, the cabals of the German jūnto, and the intrigues of Sunderland and Stanhope brought about the dismissal of Lord Townshend, and Walpole's retirement from office was the consequence. His interview with the king for the purpose of tendering his resignation, is thus related.

"The king was extremely surprised. He refused to accept his resignation, expressed a high sense of his service in the kindest and strongest terms; declared that he had no thoughts of parting with so faithful a counsellor; intreated him not to retire, and replaced the seals in his hat. To this Walpole replied, with no less concern than firmness, that however well inclined he might be to obey his majesty's commands, yet it would be impossible to serve him faithfully with those ministers to whom he had lately given his

favour. 'They will propose to me,' he said, 'both as chancellor of the exchequer and in parliament, such things, that if I agree to support them, my credit and reputation will be lost; and if I disapprove or oppose them, I must forfeit your majesty's favour. For I, in my station, though not the author, must be answerable to my king and to my country for all the measures which may be adopted by administration.' At the conclusion of these words, he again laid the seals upon the table: the king returned them not less than ten times, and when the minister as often replaced them on the table, he gave up the struggle, and reluctantly accepted his resignation, expressing great concern and much resentment at his determined perseverance. At the conclusion of this affecting scene, Walpole came into the adjoining apartment, and those who were present witnessed the anguish of his countenance, and observed that his eyes were suffused with tears. Those who immediately entered into the closet, found the king no less disturbed and agitated." Vol. i. p. 107.

The third division, which begins 1720, gives a clear and impartial history of the famous South Sea Bubble. Before this dream was entirely dissipated Walpole was appointed Paymaster of the Forces, and on the death of Lord Stanhope, he again became Prime Minister; Lord Townshend coming in with him as Secretary of State. The upright and fearless conduct of Sir Robert while in power, is amply demonstrated in the following pas-

sage; which relates an occurrence equally honourable to the monarch and to his minister.

“The king having requested 200,000*l.* for the purpose of opposing the efforts of the Czar, to dethrone the king of Sweden, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne, Townshend strenuously exhorted Walpole to procure that sum. In reply, Walpole declared that the 200,000*l.* was reserved for the king’s expences, if he staid at Hanover later than Christmas. He must, therefore, either return to England sooner than he had proposed, or the interference in the Swedish affairs must be relinquished. Walpole at the same time represented his objections to that interference in the strongest terms; explained his own conduct, and the great principle by which he appears to have been uniformly directed, which was to be œconomical of the public money, but to spare no expence when the security of his country was at stake: to avoid foreign entanglements, not to be precipitate in contracting new engagements; to feel the pulse of the nation before any measure of consequence was adopted, and to proceed with due caution. He concluded by observing, that the prosecution of a new war would effectually prevent the adoption of all schemes for the ease of the people and the benefit of trade. The king, so far from being displeased with this freedom, was convinced by his arguments, adopted his views, and declared his resolution of implicitly following the advice of his British cabinet; he spoke of him in the highest terms of approbation,

and when Townshend shewed his answer to that letter, and asked whether he had not made too many compliments, observed, *that was impossible, for Walpole never had his equal in business.*” Vol. i. p. 183.

In 1724, Sir Robert was created Knight of the Bath, and in 1726, he was installed a Knight of the Garter. The disturbances in Scotland; the treaties of Hanover and Vienna; and the intrigues of Bolingbroke and the Duchess of Kendal to procure the dismissal of the Minister occupy the remaining part of this period, which finishes with the death of the King. There are some amusing anecdotes of these courtly cabals; it appears that Bolingbroke

“drew up a long memorial, full of invectives against the minister, which the duchess of Kendal secretly delivered to the king. After stating in various instances the misconduct of administration, he concluded, by requesting an audience, and undertook to demonstrate that the kingdom must inevitably be ruined, should Sir Robert Walpole continue at the head of the treasury. The king put this memorial into the hands of the minister, who concluded, that the person who conveyed it, could not be ignorant of the contents; after some inquiry he traced it to the duchess of Kendal, who, on being interrogated, acknowledged that she had delivered it, and attempted to justify her conduct by frivolous excuses. Walpole, in reply, only entreated her as a favour, to second the instances of Bolingbroke, and to procure for him that audience

which he so earnestly solicited. The duchess, after several endeavours to excuse herself, promised compliance: and at a proper interval, Walpole besought the king to grant an audience to Bolingbroke; and urged the propriety, by observing, that if this request was rejected, much clamour would be raised against him for keeping the king to himself, and for permitting none to approach his person who might tell unwelcome truths.

“The king declined complying in so positive a manner, that Walpole could not venture to press it any farther in person; but waited on the duchess to renew his application. He found lady Bolingbroke on a visit, and when she retired was informed, that the king was unwilling to admit Bolingbroke, on a supposition that it would make him uneasy. Walpole repeated his earnest entreaties, and declared that he could not be easy, until the audience was granted. These pressing solicitations finally had their effect; and Bolingbroke was admitted into the closet.

“While Walpole was attending in an adjoining apartment, lord Lechmere came, and demanded admission for the signature of papers, which he had brought as chancellor of the duchy of Cornwall. He was informed that Bolingbroke was with the king, and that Walpole was also waiting. In the midst of his surprise, Bolingbroke coming out, Lechmere instantly rushed into the closet, and without making any apology, or entering upon his own business, burst out into the most violent invectives against Walpole, whom

he reviled as not contented with doing mischief himself, but had introduced one who was, if possible, worse than himself, to be his assistant. The king, delighted with this mistake, calmly asked him, if he would undertake the office of prime minister. Lechmere made no reply, but continued pouring forth his invectives, and finally departed without having offered any of the papers to sign. Walpole found the king so highly diverted and occupied with this incident, that it was some time before he had an opportunity of inquiring the subject of Bolingbroke's conversation. The king slightly answered, ‘*Bagatelles, bagatelles.*’ Vol. i. p. 264.

We now enter upon a new reign in which Sir Robert Walpole soon found himself, not merely confirmed in his ministerial situations but enjoying even a greater degree of favour and influence than he had attained under George the First: but it was the effectual though silent patronage of the Queen which alone secured him among so many contending interests. The King had indeed actually fixed upon Sir Spencer Compton as his successor, and he yielded to Caroline's suggestions in favour of Walpole, without suspecting for a moment that he was over-ruled by the superior judgment of his wife. So consummate was the prudence with which she guided him, and so undeviating were her delicacy and moderation, that although for many years almost the entire government of the kingdom was vested in her hands, she never appeared otherwise than as the most submissive of his majesty's servants

and the most unpretending of his advisers.

Under this fourth head is given a character of Sir Spencer Compton, a history of the Treaty of Seville, and an interesting memoir of the Duke de Ripperda. It concludes with the retirement of Lord Townshend, which left Sir Robert wholly without a rival.

The fifth and sixth divisions occupy a space of seven years; in the first of these is given a biographical memoir of William Pulteney, with an account of the origin and progress of the misunderstanding between him and the minister. The alienation of the sinking fund follows; a measure which Mr. Coxe endeavours to defend, but admits that Walpole's warmest admirers must allow it to be "a dark speck upon his financial administration." What was termed the *Excise Scheme*, is then given at length, with all the ferment and opposition which it occasioned. The sixth period ends with the death of Queen Caroline; it includes an account of the riots at Edinburgh, with the systematic execution of Captain Porteous by the mob, and a narrative of the misunderstanding between the King and the Prince of Wales.

The public career of the Minister finishes with the termination of the seventh period. He resigned on the 11th of February, 1742; two days after his elevation to the peerage as Earl of Orford. The particulars of his resignation are thus given:—

"It is asserted that the minister would have sooner retired, if the state of the nation and of parties had not rendered his continuance in power necessary for

the arrangement of a new administration, and for preserving the tranquillity of the country; and that he continued in office solely in compliance with the wishes of his friends. The papers which have been committed to my inspection, and the undoubted information which I have received, enable me to contradict this assertion. He retired unwillingly, and slowly: no shipwrecked pilot ever clung to the rudder of a sinking vessel with greater pertinacity than he did to the helm of state, and he did not relinquish his post until he was driven from it by the desertion of his followers, and the clamours of the public. Speaker Onslow, who knew him well, declared that he reluctantly quitted his station; and if any doubt still remains, we have the testimony of the minister. "I must inform you," he observes in a letter to the duke of Devonshire, "that the panic was so great among, what shall I call them, my own friends, that they all declared that my retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the public business with honour and success.

"It has been also asserted with no less confidence, that the king himself was become weary of a minister, who had so long directed his affairs, who had so often opposed and obstructed his inclination for war, and who was still endeavouring to remove every obstacle which impeded the return of peace. But the same documents enable me to adduce an honourable testimony of the good faith and firmness of George the Second. Although the asperities which time and vexation occasion-

ed in both their tempers, produced a momentary dissatisfaction, yet the king had contracted, by long habit and experience of his capacity for business, a high regard and esteem for his long-tried counsellor. In vain the earl of Wilmington and the duke of Dorset had enforced the necessity of his removal, the resolution of the king was unshaken, and he did not consent to his resignation until the minister himself made it his express desire.

"The interview when he took leave of the king was highly affecting. On kneeling down to kiss his hand, the king burst into tears, and the ex-minister was so moved with that instance of regard, that he continued for some time in that posture; and the king was so touched, that he was unable to raise him from the ground. When he at length rose, the king testified his regret for the loss of so faithful a counsellor, expressed his gratitude for his long services, and his hopes of receiving advice on important occasions." Vol. i. p. 695.

Though Lord Orford was driven thus from the helm by the irresistible force of general opinion, the King nevertheless testified his undiminished esteem for him, by continually consulting him upon many important subjects. He triumphed also over those of his opponents who persevered in their enmity so far as to endeavour to substantiate very serious charges against him after his retreat from power; but he survived that event only three years, and died in the Spring of the year 1745.

We conclude with a few ex-

tracts from an elaborate and well-drawn character of Lord Orford, by his Biographer.

"His eloquence was plain, perspicuous, forcible, and manly, not courting, yet not always avoiding metaphorical, ornamental, and classical allusions; though addressed to the reason more than to the feelings, yet on some occasions it was highly animated and impassioned. No debater was ever more happy in quickness of apprehension, sharpness of reply, and in turning the arguments of his assailants against themselves.

"The tone of his voice was pleasing and melodious; his pronunciation distinct and audible, though he never entirely lost the provincial accent. His style, though by no means elegant, often deficient in taste, and sometimes bordering on vulgarity, was highly nervous and animated, persuasive and plausible." Vol. i. p. 749.

"Good temper and equanimity were his leading characteristics, and the placability imprinted on his countenance was not belied by his conduct. Of this disposition, his generous rival, Pulteney, thought so highly, that in a conversation with Johnson, he said, 'Sir Robert was of a temper so calm and equal, and so hard to be provoked, that he was very sure he never felt the bitterest invectives against him for half an hour.'

"His deportment was manly and decisive, yet affable and condescending; he was easy of access; his manner of bestowing a favour heightened the obligation; and his manner of declining was so gracious that few persons went out of his company discontented." Vol. i. p. 756.

"His conversation was sprightly, animated, and facetious, yet occasionally coarse and vulgar, and too often licentious to an unpardonable degree.

"In company with women he assumed an air of gallantry, which even in his younger days was ill-suited to his manner and character, but in his latter years was totally incompatible with his age and figure. He affected in his conversation with the sex a trifling levity; but his gaiety was rough and boisterous, his wit too often coarse and licentious." Vol. i. p. 756.

"He was, from his early youth, fond of the diversions of the field, and retained this taste till prevented by the infirmities of age. He was accustomed to hunt in Richmond park with a pack of beagles. On receiving a packet of letters he usually opened that from his game-keeper first; and he was fond of sitting for his picture in his sporting dress. He was, like chancellor Oxenstiern, a sound sleeper, and used to say, 'that he put off his cares with his cloaths.'" Vol. i. p. 759.

It would far exceed our limits to give any detailed account of, or any satisfactory extracts from, the contents of the second and third volumes. We will therefore only refer to what has been already said of the papers which they contain. The letters are, with very few exceptions, either curious, important, or entertaining, though we cannot say that Mr. Coxe has entirely escaped the common error of those who undertake the task of arranging private correspondence for the press—that of publishing much

which from its insignificance and frivolity is wholly unworthy of such distinction.

*Lord Orford's Works. 5 Volumes
Quarto.*

A review of the writings of Horace Walpole, seems to follow naturally after that of the Memoirs of his Father; and both works by a singular coincidence, having made their appearance in the same year, an account of the one would be imperfect without giving it the other as a companion.

Though the talents of the distinguished author of the various productions before us were not perhaps of a very superior order, the publications which during his lifetime issued from the private press at Strawberry Hill were received with great eagerness by the literary world. Much of this feeling probably arose from Mr. Walpole's well known taste for the curious in literature, and from the unusual circumstance of a noble author printing for himself. He wrote however much more than was presented to the public while he lived, and the present edition, which contains only what he had himself composed or collected with a view to publication, has been the subject of much general interest and curiosity. We cannot affirm that the contents of the five ponderous quartos of which it consists, always preserve the former or repay the latter, but they exhibit great versatility of talent, when considered as the production of one man, and they form altogether a work which will

always be found upon the shelves of a well chosen library.

There are few particulars in the early life of Horace Walpole worthy of record. He is well known to have been the youngest son of the minister who gave him every advantage of education which this country afforded, and at a proper age sent him to travel on the continent with the celebrated Poet Gray as his companion. On his return home in 1741 he found himself amply provided for by the patent places bestowed upon him by his father, and at liberty to devote all his thoughts and leisure to elegant and literary pursuits: a mode of life in perfect unison with his own tastes, and well suited to the delicacy of a constitution, which had he been so inclined, would not have long permitted him to take any active part in public affairs. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting in this place a passage from one of Mr. Walpole's letters to the honourable Seymour Conway, written two years after his return from the continent. It is necessary to preface it by observing, that Mr. Conway had confided to his correspondent his attachment to a lady whom he was prevented from marrying by the narrowness of his income.

"Nothing could prevent my being unhappy at the smallness of your fortune, but its throwing it into my way to offer you to share mine. As mine is so precarious, by depending on so bad a constitution, I can only offer you the immediate use of it. I do that most sincerely. My places still (though my Lord W. has cut off three hundred pounds a year to

save himself the trouble of signing his name ten times for once) bring me in near two thousand pounds a year. I have no debts, no connections; indeed no way to dispose of it particularly. By living with my father, I have little real use for a quarter of it. I have always flung it away all in the most idle manner. But, my dear Harry, idle as I am, and thoughtless, I have sense enough to have real pleasure in denying myself bawbles, and in saving a very good income to make a man happy for whom I have a just esteem and most sincere friendship. I know the difficulties any gentleman and man of spirit must struggle with, even in having such an offer made him, much more in accepting it. But I hope you will allow there are some in making it. But hear me: if there is any such thing as friendship in the world, these are the opportunities of exerting it, and it can't be exerted without 'tis accepted. I must talk of myself to prove to you that it will be right for you to accept it. I am sensible of having more follies and weaknesses, and fewer real good qualities than most men. I sometimes reflect on this, though I own too seldom. I always want to begin acting like a man and a sensible one, which I think I might be if I would. Can I begin better, than by taking care of my fortune for one I love? You have seen (I have seen you have) that I am fickle, and foolishly fond of twenty new people: but I don't really love them: I have always loved you constantly: I am willing to convince you and the world, what I have always told you, that

I loved you better than any body. If I ever felt much for any thing, which I know may be questioned, it was certainly for my mother: I look on you as my nearest relation by her, and think I can never do enough to show my gratitude and affection to her. For these reasons, don't deny me what I have set my heart on—the making your fortune easy to you.”

Horace Walpole was so young a man at the time he wrote the letter from which the above passage is taken, that in order to do him full justice we must subjoin to the foregoing extract one from a letter written more than *twenty years* afterwards. It is addressed to the same gentleman when he was dismissed from all his places under government. It is difficult to say which feeling predominates in the mind while reading these letters—admiration of the unostentatious persevering liberality of the writer, or envy of the man who possessed the uncommon treasure of such a friend.

“I am come hither alone to put my thoughts into some order, and to avoid showing the first sallies of my resentment, which I know you would disapprove; nor does it become your friend to rail. My anger shall be a little more manly, and the plan of my revenge a little deeper laid than in peevish bons-mots. You shall judge of my indignation by its duration.

“In the mean time, let me beg you, in the most earnest and most sincere of all professions, to suffer me to make your loss as light as it is in my power to make it: I have six thousand pounds in the funds; accept all, or what part

you want. Do not imagine I will be put off with a refusal. The retrenchment of my expences, which I shall from this hour commence, will convince you that I mean to re-place your fortune as far as I can. When I thought you did not want it, I had made another disposition. You have ever been the dearest person to me in the world. You have shown that you deserve to be so.—You suffer for your spotless integrity.—Can I hesitate a moment to show that there is at least one man who knows how to value you? The new will, which I am going to make, will be a testimonial of my own sense of virtue.”

Strawberry-Hill, at Twickenham, became the residence of Mr. Walpole, within a few years after his return to England. It was fitted up by him with a singular combination of Gothic ornament and modern comfort, and his greatest delight appears to have been in lavishing upon it every decoration which taste and idleness could suggest, ingenuity find a place for, or money procure. We have already mentioned that there was a printing press at this celebrated villa, where Mr. Walpole's works, and those which he edited, were printed immediately under his own inspection. He always professed to consider these publications as trifling and of small importance, and it is not easy to decide whether this indifference was real or affected. The fact, that great part of his writings are now published for the first time, would seem to indicate that he knew he was much overvalued by his cotemporaries if the preparations which he had

actually made for printing the whole did not throw some doubt upon such a conjecture. In effect, what may be termed the foundation of the present quarto edition, was laid by Mr. Walpole himself. The first, and part of the second volume, were printed at Strawberry-Hill, and as he committed the completion of the work to the gentleman by whom it is now edited, and bequeathed to him all the notes, additions, and alterations which he had collected and arranged, it may, in every material point, be considered as proceeding immediately from the author.

It is far from our intention to give a detailed account of all the numerous pieces contained in these volumes, among which something belonging to almost every species of writing may be found. The poetry consists chiefly of elegant trifles, or serious sarcasm in the style of Swift. The *Mysterious Mother* stands alone, and appertains to a much higher class of poetry: it is perhaps the only work in the whole collection which bears indubitable marks of genius, and it is much to be lamented both that Mr. Walpole did not cultivate his talent for the tragic drama, and that the only specimen which he has left us of it should be of a nature that must for ever prevent its being generally read. He appears fully aware of the objections to which his tragedy is liable, but he is peculiarly unhappy in offering that which he seems to consider a species of excuse for the infamy of his heroine. The apology is, if possible, more unnatural and disgusting than her crime.

Mr. Walpole contributed seven

ral papers to "the World," which are now printed consecutively, together with two additional numbers hitherto unpublished. These are followed by the Letter to a Chinese Philosopher, and some other pieces of little interest or consequence. The catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, first printed at Strawberry-Hill, in 1758, is there given, with many new remarks and emendations. The character of Lord Chesterfield will afford a fair specimen of the author's style.

"Few men have been born with a brighter show of parts: few men have bestowed more cultivation on their natural endowments; and the world has seldom been more just in its admiration both of genuine and improved talents. A model yet more rarely beheld, was that of a prince of wits who employed more application on forming a successor, than to perpetuate his own renown—yet, though the peer in question not only laboured by daily precepts to educate his heir, but drew up for his use a code of institution, in which no secret of his doctrine was withheld, he was not only so unfortunate as to behold a total miscarriage of his lectures, but the system itself appeared so superficial, so trifling, and so illaudable, that mankind began to wonder at what they had admired in the preceptor, and to question whether the dictator of such tinsel injunctions had really possessed those brilliant qualifications which had so long maintained him unrivalled on the throne of wit and fashion. Still will the impartial examiner do justice, and distinguish between the legislator of

that little fantastic aristocracy which calls itself the great world, and the intrinsic genius of a nobleman who was an ornament to his order, an elegant orator, an useful statesman, a perfect but no servile courtier, and an author whose writings, when separated from his impertinent institutes of education, deserve, for the delicacy of their wit and Horatian irony, to be ranged with the purest classics of the courts of Augustus and Louis quatorze. His papers in *Common Sense* and the *World* might have given jealousy to the sensitive Addison; and though they do not rival that original writer's fund of natural humour, they must be allowed to touch with consummate knowledge the affected manners of high life. They are short scenes of genteel comedy, which, when perfect, is the most rare of all productions.

"His papers in recommendation of Johnson's Dictionary were models of that polished elegance which the pedagogue was pretending to ascertain, and which his own style was always heaving to overload with tautology and the most barbarous confusion of tongues. The friendly patronage was returned with ungrateful rudeness by the proud pedant; and men smiled, without being surprised, at seeing a bear worry his dancing-master.

"Even Lord Chesterfield's poetical trifles, of which a few specimens remain in some songs and epigrams, were marked by his idolized graces, and with his acknowledged wit. His speeches courted the former, and the latter never forsook him to his latest hours. His entrance into the

world was announced by his bon-mots, and his closing lips dropped repartees that sparkled with his juvenile fire.

"Such native parts deserved higher application. Lord Chesterfield took no less pains to be the phoenix of fine gentlemen, than Tully did to qualify himself for shining as the first orator, magistrate, and philosopher of Rome. Both succeeded: Tully immortalized his name; Lord Chesterfield's reign lasted a little longer than that of a fashionable beauty. His son, like Cromwell's, was content to return to the plough, without authority, and without fame." Vol. I. p. 535.

The second volume commences with that universal favourite, the *Castle of Otranto*. This little romance, though perhaps somewhat over-rated, is certainly an ingenious and entertaining composition: but we imagine that even the most desperate lovers of the marvellous will scarcely venture to contend that the hour of amusement which they have derived from its perusal, can in any way compensate for the host of imitators that it has aroused, and the voluminous raw-head and bloody-bone stories which have followed it in a constant and apparently an interminable succession. After the *Castle of Otranto* comes the well known *Essay on the Life and Reign of Richard III.* entitled, *Historic Doubts*. To this *Essay* is now added, a reply to the objections and arguments of the strong band of critics which was arrayed against it soon after its first appearance in 1767. The *Critical Review*, Mr. Hume, Mr. Masters, and Dr. Millar, are all

attacked in their turn, and in a style occasionally, perhaps too strongly tinctured with contempt and asperity, when it is considered that although Mr. Walpole has in some instances an advantage over his opponents, he is in others clearly convicted of error and mistake. There is at first sight something almost ridiculous in the idea of half a dozen learned men combating with violence and bitterness about the guilt or innocence of a monarch who reigned nearly three centuries before they were born, but the arguments on either side involve so much curious historical research, and are carried on by both parties with such zeal and vivacity, that it is scarcely possible to read them without being not only greatly interested, but inclined to become a party in the controversy. In the postscript to this Essay Mr. Walpole alludes to the unhappy events which had recently occurred in France, in an animated and forcible manner.

“It is afflictive to have lived to find in an age called not only civilized but enlightened, in this eighteenth century, that such horrors, such unparalleled crimes have been displayed on the most conspicuous theatre in Europe, in Paris the rival of Athens and Rome, that I am forced to allow that a multiplicity of crimes, which I had weakly supposed were too manifold and too absurd to have been perpetrated even in a very dark age, and in a northern island not only not commencing to be polished, but inured to barbarous manners, and hardened by long and barbarous civil wars amongst princes and nobility

strictly related—Yes, I must now believe that any atrocity may have been attempted or practised by an ambitious prince of the blood aiming at the crown in the fifteenth century. I can believe (I do not say I do) that Richard Duke of Gloucester dipped his hand in the blood of the saint-like Henry the Sixth, though so revolting and injudicious an act as to excite the indignation of mankind against him. I can now believe that he contrived the death of his own brother Clarence—and I can think it possible, inconceivable as it was, that he aspersed the chastity of his own mother, in order to bastardize the offspring of his eldest brother; for all these extravagant excesses have been exhibited in the compass of five years by a monster, by a royal duke, who has actually surpassed all the guilt imputed to Richard the Third, and who, devoid of Richard’s courage, has acted his enormities openly, and will leave it impossible to any future writer, however disposed to candour, to entertain one *historic doubt* on the abominable actions of Philip Duke of Orleans.

“After long plotting the death of his sovereign, a victim as holy as, and infinitely superior in sense and many virtues to, Henry VI. Orleans has dragged that sovereign to the block, and purchased his execution in public, as in public he voted for it.

“If to the assassination of a brother (like the supposed complicity of Gloucester to that of Clarence) Orleans has not yet concurred; still, when early in the revolution he was plotting the murder of the King, being warned

by an associate that he would be detected, he said, 'No; for I will have my (natural) brother the Abbé de St. Far stabbed too, and then nobody will suspect me of being concerned in the murder of my own brother.'—So ably can the assassins of an enlightened age refine on and surpass the atrocious deeds of Goths and Barbarians!" Vol. II. p. 251.

The description of Houghton-Hall is the next piece in succession, followed by a *sermon* upon painting, a juvenile production, which, although we acquit the author of any positive intention to throw ridicule upon sacred subjects, would have been better cast in another form, and he would perhaps have acted still wiser had he suppressed altogether. Then comes a pretty little dramatic trifle, called, "Nature will prevail," which was performed at one of our theatres during the author's life-time; three letters on tragedy, and some "Thoughts on Comedy;" all of which, contain many original observations, and confirm us in our opinion, that had Mr. Walpole attended to the natural inclination of his genius, he would have devoted his pen almost exclusively to the drama.

In the next tract Mr. Walpole chooses to fight with a shadow, and the result of the combat may be easily anticipated. It is a spirited and detailed defence of his father against the wholly untenable charge of his having been the author of the "Testament Politique." We will extract from it a passage which gives some interesting particulars of the latter years of the minister.

"Sir Robert Walpole did not

leave a sheet of paper of his composition behind him, as all his family know. They had earnestly wished, and at times respectfully pressed him to give some account of his own administration; but neither his health nor inclination permitted it. He resigned his place in February, 1742, and was engaged by the secret committee till June of that year, when he went into the country for about three months. He was in town all the succeeding winter, as he was those of 1743 and 44, sitting at home, receiving constant visits from his friends and party, consulted by ministers, and sometimes attending parliament. He passed the two summers of 1743 and 44, at Houghton, the only time in which he had any leisure: in those summers I was not two whole months absent from him, and do declare he never attempted to write any thing but necessary letters. In one of those summers I forget which, desirous of amusing him, which his ill health required, I proposed to read to him. He said, What will you read? I answered, as most young men would to a statesman, History, Sir. No, child, said he, I know that cannot be true. Judge if he was likely to write history, or a testament politique.

"I should have said, that in the winter of 1743 he was much engaged in allaying the heats raised by the partiality of the late King to the troops of Hanover, and was the sole author of composing those animosities. In the winter of 1744, he was still more warmly and zealously employed in alarming the nation on the intended invasion under Marshal Saxe; he

went to the House of Lords, and exerted his former spirit and eloquence with such distinction, that the late Prince of Wales, who was present, was struck, and signified to him his pardon of all that had passed between them while my father was minister—as if he had never been essentially serviceable to the house of Hanover before! His health at that time declined greatly; and he could no longer go abroad from the inconvenience of stones in his bladder. In this melancholy state, during the summer of 1744, he read the works of Dr. Sydenham, whom he much esteemed; and Dr. Jurin's treatise on Mrs. Stephens's medicine for dissolving the stone being put into his hands, he found a resemblance in it to the opinions of Sydenham. This determined him to try Jurin's preparation. He was brought to town with great difficulty, took Jurin's medicine, and was killed by it in March, 1745."

The life of the Rev. Thomas Baker is interesting, and well written; indeed Mr. Walpole is generally successful in biography. His "Account of his own conduct relative to the places which he held under Government and towards Ministers," next follows. It is very creditable to his feelings as a man of honour and of disinterested patriotism.

It cannot be denied that a degree of egotism is visible in every production of Mr. Walpole, in which it is possible for such a feeling to betray itself, and the crowning piece to the whole is given at the latter end of the second volume, in a minute description of his favourite residence

Strawberry-Hill, including not only its pictures and its curiosities, but its chairs, tables, cups, and saucers. A small number of this catalogue were printed originally in 1784; it is drawn up with anxious and minute particularity, enriched with splendid engravings, and is evidently, among all the works of its author, that which afforded him most pleasure and gratification. Yet he nevertheless seems to feel that some apology is necessary for obtruding so many personal details upon the public, and all that can be urged in its defence is concentrated in the following passage.

"Upon the whole, some transient pleasure may even hereafter arise to the peruser of this catalogue. To others it may afford another kind of satisfaction, that of criticism. In a house affecting not only obsolete architecture, but pretending to an observance of the *costume* even in the furniture, the mixture of modern portraits, and French porcelain, and Greek and Roman sculpture, may seem heterogeneous. In truth, I did not mean to make my house so Gothic as to exclude convenience, and modern refinements in luxury. The designs of the inside and outside are strictly ancient, but the decorations are modern. Would our ancestors, before the reformation of architecture, not have deposited in their gloomy castles antique statues and fine pictures, beautiful vases and ornamental china, if they had possessed them?—But I do not mean to defend by argument a small capricious house. It was built to please my own

taste, and in some degree to realize my own visions. I have specified what it contains: could I describe the gay but tranquil scene where it stands, and add the beauty of the landscape to the romantic cast of the mansion, it would raise more pleasing sensations than a dry list of curiosities can excite; at least the prospect would recall the good humour of those who might be disposed to condemn the fantastic fabric, and to think it a very proper habitation of, as it was the scene that inspired, the author of the *Castle of Otranto*." Vol. II. p. 397.

The two first volumes having engaged us much longer than we expected they would do, we will pass briefly over the contents of the third and fourth, the principal parts of which consist of the well known *Anecdotes of Painting*, with some interesting biographical notices of English Painters, and proceed at once to the correspondence from which it is our intention to give copious extracts, as it will probably be considered the most amusing part of the work by a numerous class of readers. Indeed there are few who will not be pleased by the entertaining gossip of high life conveyed in these letters, for it is seldom that any one in the exalted circles in which Mr. Walpole moved, is as well qualified for a retailer of courtly anecdote as he was, by his keen sense of the ridiculous and his habits of quick observation, the perfect leisure which left his time entirely at his own command and the independence of feeling which ensured the accuracy of his statements. We will

commence by two letters upon perfectly different subjects, which will afford a good specimen of Mr. Walpole's epistolary style.

"I promised you histories, and there are many people that take care I should have it in my power to keep my word. To begin in order, I should tell you, that there were 289 members at the Cockpit meeting, the greatest number ever known there: but Mr. Pitt, who is too great a general to regard numbers, especially when there was a probability of no great harmony between the commanders, did not however postpone giving battle. The engagement was not more decisive than long: we sat till within a quarter of five in the morning; an uninterrupted serious debate from before two. Lord Hillsborough moved the address, and very injudiciously supposed an opposition. Martin, Legge's Secretary, moved to omit in the address the indirect approbation of the treaties, and the direct assurances of protection to Hanover. These questions were at length divided; and against Pitt's inclination, the last, which was the least unpopular, was first decided by a majority of 311 against 105. Many then went away; and on the next division the numbers were 290 to 89. These are the general outlines. The detail of the speeches, which were very long, and some extremely fine, it would be impossible to give you in any compass. On the side of the opposition (which I must tell you by the way, though it set out decently, seems extremely resolved) the Speakers (I name them in their order) were:

the 3d Colebrook, Martin, Northey, Sir Richard Lyttelton, Dodding-ton, George Grenville, Sir F. Dashwood, Beckford, Sir G. Lee, Legge, Potter, Dr. Hay, George Townshend, Lord Egmont, Pitt, and Admiral Vernon: on the other side were, Lord Hillsborough, Obrien, Young Stanhope, Hamilton, Alstone, Ellis, Lord Barrington, Sir G. Lyttelton, Nugent, Murray, Sir T. Robinson, my uncle, and Mr. Fox. As short as I can, I will give you an account of them. Sir Richard, Beckford, Potter, G. Townshend, the Admiral of course, Martin, and Stanhope were very bad: Doddington was well, but very *acceding*: Dr. Hay by no means answers his reputation; it was easy, but not striking. Lord Egmont was doubling, absurd, and obscure. Sir G. Lee and Lord Barrington were much disliked; I don't think, so deservedly. Poor A—— was mad, and spoke ten times to order. Sir George*, our friend, was dull and timid. Legge was the latter. Nugent roared, and Sir Thomas rumbled. Mr. Fox was extremely fatigued, and did little. George Grenville's was very fine and much beyond himself, and very pathetic. The Attorney General† in the same style, and very artful, was still finer. Then there was a young Mr. Hamilton‡ who spoke for the first time, and was at once

perfection: his speech was set, and full of antithesis, but those antithesis were full of argument: indeed his speech was the most argumentative of the whole day; and he broke through the regularity of his own composition, answered other people, and fell into his own track again with the greatest ease. His figure is advantageous, his voice strong and clear, his manner spirited, and the whole with the ease of an established speaker. You will ask, what could be beyond this? Nothing, but what was beyond what ever was, and that was Pitt! He spoke at past one, for an hour and thirty-five minutes: there was more humour, wit, vivacity, finer language, more boldness, in short, more astonishing perfections than even you, who are used to him, can conceive. He was not abusive, yet very attacking on all sides: he ridiculed my Lord Hillsborough, crushed poor Sir George, terrified the Attorney, lashed my Lord Granville, painted my Lord of Newcastle, attacked Mr. Fox, and even hinted up to the Duke§. A few of the Scotch were in the minority, and most of the Princess's people, not all: all the Duke of Bedford's in the majority. He himself spoke in the other House for the Address (though professing uncertainty about the treaties|| themselves), against my Lord Temple and Lord Halifax,

* Sir George Lyttelton.

† William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield.

‡ William Gerard Hamilton. It was this speech which, not being followed, as was naturally expected, by repeated exhibitions of similar eloquence, acquired him the name of *single-speech* Hamilton.

§ The Duke of Cumberland.

|| Treaties of subsidy with the Landgrave of Hesse and the Empress of Russia for the defence of Hanover.

* G g

without a division. My Lord Talbot was neuter; he and I were of a party: my opinion was strongly with the opposition; I could not vote for the treaties; I would not vote against Mr. Fox. It is ridiculous perhaps, at the end of such a debate, to give an account of my own silence; and as it is of very little consequence what I did, so it is very unlike me to justify myself. You know how much I hate *professions* of integrity; and my pride is generally too great to care what the generality of people say of me: but your heart is good enough to make me wish you should think well of mine.

You will want to know what is to be the fate of the ministry in opposition: but that I can't tell you. I don't believe they have determined what to do, more than oppose, nor that it is determined what to do with them. Though it is clear that it is very humiliating to leave them in place, you may conceive several reasons why it is not eligible to dismiss them. You know where you are, how easy it is to buy an opposition who have not places; but tell us what to do with an opposition that has places? If you say, Turn them out; I answer, That is not the way to quiet any opposition, or a ministry so constituted as ours at present. Adieu!

"Yours ever,

"HOR. WALPOLE."

"This is the 5th of August, and I just receive your letter of the 17th of last month by Fitzroy*. I heard he had lost his

pocket-book with all his dispatches, but had found it again. He was a long time finding the letter for me.

"You do nothing but reproach me; I declare I will bear it no longer, though you should beat forty more marshals of France. I have already writ you two letters that would fully justify me if you receive them; if you do not, it is not I that am in fault for not writing, but the post-offices for reading my letters, content if they would forward them when they have done with them. They seem to think, like you, that I know more news than any body. What is to be known in the dead of summer, when all the world is dispersed? Would you know who won the sweepstakes at Huntingdon? What parties are at Woburn? What officers upon guard in Betty's fruit-shop? Whether the peeresses are to wear long or short tresses at the coronation? How many jewels Lady—— borrows of actresses? All this is your light summer wear for conversation; and if my memory were as much stuffed with it as my ears, I might have sent you volumes last week. My nieces, Lady W——, and Mrs. K——, were here five days, and discussed the claim or disappointment of every Miss in the kingdom for maid of honour. Unfortunately this new generation is not at all my affair, I cannot attend to what concerns them—Not that their trifles are less important than those of one's own time, but my mould has taken all its impressions, and can receive no more. I must grow old upon

* George Fitzroy, afterwards created Lord Southampton.

the stock I have. I, that was so impatient at all their chat, the moment they were gone, flew to my Lady Suffolk, and heard her talk with great satisfaction of the late Queen's coronation-petticoat. The preceding age always appears respectable to us (I mean as one advances in years), one's own age interesting, the coming age neither one nor t'other.

" You may judge by this account that I have writ *all* my letters, or ought to have written them; and yet, for occasion to blame me, you draw a very pretty picture of my situation: all which tends to prove that I ought to write to you every day, whether I have any thing to say or not. I am writing, I am building—both *works that will outlast the memory of battles and heroes!* Truly, I believe, the one will as much as t'other. My buildings are paper, like my writings, and both will be blown away in ten years after I am dead; if they had not the substantial use of amusing me while I live, they would be worth little indeed. I will give you one instance that will sum up the vanity of great men, learned men, and buildings altogether. I heard lately, that Dr. ———, a very learned personage, had consented to let the tomb of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, a very great personage, be removed for Wolfe's monument; that at first he had objected, but was wrought upon by being told that *high* Aylmer was a Knight Templar, a very wicked set of people as his lordship had heard, tho' he knew nothing of them, as they are not mentioned by Longinus. I own I thought this a made story, and

wrote to his lordship, expressing my concern that one of the finest and most ancient monuments in the abbey should be removed, and begging, if it was removed, that he would bestow it on me, who would erect and preserve it here. After a fortnight's deliberation, the bishop sent me an answer, civil indeed, and commending my zeal for antiquity! but avowing the story under his own hand. He said, that at first they had taken Pembroke's tomb for a Knight Templar's. Observe, that not only the man who shows the tombs names it every day, but that there is a draught of it at large in Dart's Westminster; that upon discovering whose it was, he had been very unwilling to consent to the removal, and at last had obliged Wilton to engage to set it up within ten feet of where it stands at present. His lordship concluded with congratulating me on publishing learned authors at my press. ⁷² I don't wonder that a man who thinks Lucan a *learned* author, should mistake a tomb in his own cathedral. If I had a mind to be angry, I could complain with reason; as, having paid forty pounds for ground for my mother's tomb, that the chapter of Westminster sell their church over and over again; the ancient monuments tumble upon one's head thro' their neglect, as one of them did, and killed a man at Lady Elizabeth Percy's funeral; and they erect new waxen dolls of Queen Elizabeth, &c. to draw visits and money from the mob. I hope all this history is applicable to some part or other of my letter; but letters you will have, and so I send you one, very

like your own stories that you tell your daughter: There was a King, and he had three daughters, and they all went to see the tombs; and the youngest, who was in love with Aylmer de Valence, &c.

Thank you for your account of the battle*; thank Prince Ferdinand for giving you a very honourable post, which, in spite of his teeth and yours, proved a very safe one; and above all, thank Prince Soubize, whom I love better than all the German Princes in the universe. Peace, I think, we must have at last, if you beat the French, or at least hinder them from beating you, and afterwards starve them. Bussy's *last* courier is expected; but as he may have a last last *last* courier, I trust no more to this than to all the others. He was complaining t'other day to Mr. Pitt of our haughtiness, and said it would drive the French to some desperate effort; thirty thousand men, continued he, would embarrass you a little, I believe! Yes, truly, replied Pitt, for I am so embarrassed with those we have already, I don't know what to do with them.

"Adieu! Don't fancy that the more you scold, the more I will write: It has answered three times, but the next cross word you give me shall put an end to our correspondence. Sir Horace Mann's father used to say, Talk, Horace, you have been abroad:—you cry, Write, Horace, you are at home. No, Sir, you can beat an hundred and twenty thousand French, but you cannot get the better of me. I will not write

such foolish letters as this every day, when I have nothing to say.

"Yours as you behave,
"HOR. WALPOLE."

The following is a lively, entertaining account of the arrival of her present Majesty, and of the coronation.

"The date of my promise is now arrived, and I fulfil it—fulfil it with great satisfaction, for the Queen is come; I have seen her, have been presented to her—and may go back to Strawberry. For this fortnight I have lived upon the road between Twickenham and London: I came, grew impatient, returned; came again, still to no purpose. The yachts made the coast of Suffolk last Saturday, on Sunday entered the road of Harwich, and on Monday morning the King's chief eunuch, as the Tripoline ambassador calls Lord A. landed the Princess. She lay that night at Lord Abercorn's at Witham, the palace of silence; and yesterday at a quarter after three arrived at St. James's. In half an hour one heard of nothing but proclamations of her beauty: every body was content, every body pleased. At seven one went to court. The night was sultry. About ten the procession began to move towards the chapel, and at eleven they all came up into the drawing-room. She looks very sensible, cheerful, and is remarkably genteel. Her tiara of diamonds was very pretty, her stomacher sumptuous; her violet-velvet mantle and ermine so heavy, that the spectators knew as much of her upper half as the King himself. You will have no

* Of Kirk Denckirk.

doubts of her sense by what I shall tell you. On the road they wanted her to curl her toupet: she said she thought it looked as well as that of any of the ladies sent to fetch her; if the King bid her, she would wear a perriwig, otherwise she would remain as she was. When she caught the first glimpse of the palace, she grew frightened and turned pale; the Duchess of Hamilton smiled—the Princess said, ‘My dear Duchess, you may laugh, you have been married twice, but it is no joke to me.’ Her lips trembled as the coach stopped, but she jumped out with spirit, and has done nothing but with good humour and cheerfulness. She talks a great deal—is easy, civil, and not disconcerted. At first, when the bride-maids and the court were introduced to her, she said, ‘*Mon Dieu, il y en a tant, il y en a tant*!’ She was pleased when she was to kiss the Peeresses; but Lady Augusta was forced to take her hand and give it to those that were to kiss it, which was prettily humble and good-natured. While they waited for supper, she sat down, sung, and played. Her French is tolerable, she exchanged much both of that and German, with the King, the Duke, and the Duke of York. They did not get to bed till two. To-day was a drawing-room: every body was presented to her; but she spoke to nobody, as she could not know a soul. The crowd was much less than at a birth-day, the magnificence very

little more. The King looked very handsome, and talked to her continually with great good humour. It does not promise as if they two would be the two most unhappy persons in England, from this event. The bride-maids, especially Lady Caroline Russel, Lady Sarah Lenox, and Lady Elizabeth Keppel, were beautiful figures. With neither features nor air, Lady Sarah was by far the chief angel. The Duchess of Hamilton was almost in possession of her former beauty to-day; and your other Duchess*, your daughter, was much better dressed than ever I saw her. Except a pretty Lady Sutherland, and a most perfect beauty, an Irish Miss Smith †, I don’t think the Queen saw much else to discourage her: my niece ‡, Lady Kildare, Mrs. Fitzroy, were none of them there. There is a ball to-night, and two more drawing-rooms; but I have done with them. The Duchess of Queensberry and Lady Westmorland were in the procession, and did credit to the ancient nobility.

“You don’t presume to suppose, I hope, that we are thinking of you, and wars, and misfortunes and distresses, in these festival times. Mr. Pitt himself would be mobbed if he talked of any thing but clothes, and diamonds, and bride-maids. Oh! yes, we have wars, civil wars; there is a campaign opened in the bed-chamber. Every body is excluded but the ministers; even the lords of the bed-chamber, cabinet counsellors, and foreign ministers;

* The Duchess of Richmond.

† Afterwards married to Mr. Matthew, now Lord Landaff.

‡ The Countess of Waldegrave,

but it has given such offence that I don't know whether Lord Huntingdon must not be the scape-goat. Adieu! I am going to transcribe most of this letter to your Countess.

"Yours ever,

"HOR. WALPOLE."

"The coronation is over: 'tis even a more gorgeous sight than I imagined. I saw the procession and the hall; but the return was in the dark. In the morning they had forgot the sword of state, the chairs for King and Queen, and their canopies. They used the Lord Mayor's for the first, and made the last in the hall: so they did not set forth till noon; and then, by a childish compliment to the King, reserved the illumination of the Hall till his entry, by which means they arrived like a funeral, nothing being discernible but the plumes of the Knights of the Bath, which seemed the hearse. Lady Kildare, the Duchess of Richmond, and Lady Pembroke, were the capital beauties. Lady Harrington, the finest figure at a distance; old Westmorland, the most majestic. Lady Hertford could not walk, and indeed I think is in a way to give us great anxiety. She is going to Ragley to ride. Lord Beauchamp was one of the King's train-bearers. Of all the incidents of the day, the most diverting was, what happened to the Queen. She had a retiring chamber, with *all* conveniences, prepared behind the altar. She went thither—in the *most convenient*, what found she but—the Duke of Newcastle! Lady Hardwicke died three days before the ceremony, which kept away the whole house of Yorke. Some of

the Peeresses were dressed over night, slept in arm-chairs, and were waked if they tumbled their heads. Your sister Harris's maid, Lady Peterborough, was a comely figure. My Lady Cowper refused, but was forced to walk with Lady M——. Lady Falmouth was not there; on which George Selwyn said, that those Peeresses who were most used to *walk*, did not. I carried my Lady Townshend, Lady Hertford, Lady Anne Conolly, my Lady Hervey, and Mrs. Clive, to my deputy's house at the gate of Westminster-Hall. My Lady Townshend said she should be very glad to see a coronation, as she never had seen one. 'Why,' said I, 'Madam, you walked at the last?' 'Yes, child,' said she, 'but I saw nothing of it: I only looked to see who looked at me.' The Duchess of Queensberry walked: her affectation that day was to do nothing preposterous. The Queen has been at the opera, and says she will go once a week. This is a fresh disaster to our box, where we have lived so harmoniously for three years. We can get no alternative but that over Miss Chudleigh's; and Lord Strafford and Lady M—— C—— will not subscribe, unless we can. The Duke of Devonshire and I are negotiating with all our art to keep our party together. The crowds at the opera and play when the King and Queen go, are a little greater than what I remember. The late royalties went to the Haymarket, when it was the fashion to frequent the other opera in Lincoln's-inn-fields. Lord Chesterfield one night came into the latter, and was asked, If he had

been at the other house? 'Yes,' said he, 'but there was nobody but the King and Queen; and as I thought they might be talking business, I came away.' "

The next letter and the extracts which follow it are taken from Mr. Walpole's correspondence, during a visit which he paid to Paris; the first of these extracts is written in a prophetic spirit, and evinces that with all his real gaiety and apparent frivolity, he was not unmindful of the "signs of the times" in which he lived.

"I am glad to find you grow just, and that you do conceive at last, that I could do better than stay in England for politics. Tenez, mon enfant, as the Duchesse de la Ferté said to Madame Stael*; comme il n'y a que moi au monde qui aie toujours raison, I will be very reasonable; and as you have made this concession to me, who knew I was in the right, I will not expect you to answer all my *reasonable* letters. If you send a bullying letter to the King of Spain †, or to *chose*, my neighbour here ‡, I will consider them as written to myself, and subtract so much from your bill—Nay, I will accept a line from Lady A—— now and then in part of payment. I shall continue to write as the wind sets in my pen; and do own my babble does not demand much reply.

"For so reasonable a person as I am, I have changed my mind very often about this country.

The first five days I was in violent spirits—then came a dismal cloud of whisk and literature, and I could not bear it. At present I begin, very *Englishly* indeed, to establish a right to my own way. I laugh, and talk nonsense, and make them hear me. There are two or three houses where I go quite at my ease, am never asked to touch a card, nor hold dissertations. Nay, I don't pay homage to their authors. Every woman has one or two planted in her house, and God knows how they water them. The old President Henault is the pagod at Madame du Deffand's, an old blind debauchée of wit, where I supped last night. The president is very near deaf, and much nearer superannuated. He sits by the table: the mistress of the house, who formerly was his, inquires after every dish on the table, is told who has eaten of which, and then bawls the bill of fare of every individual into the president's ears. In short, every mouthful is proclaimed, and so is every blunder I make against grammar. Some that I make on purpose, succeed; and one of them is to be reported to the Queen to-day by Henault, who is her great favourite. I had been at Versailles; and having been much taken notice of by her Majesty, I said, alluding to Madame de Sevigné, *La reine est le plus grand roi du monde*. You may judge if I am in possession by a scene that passed after sup-

* See Memoires de Madame de Stael (the first authoress of that name), published with the rest of her works in three small volumes.

† Mr. Conway was now Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

‡ The King of France, Louis XV.

per. Sir James Macdonald* had been mimicking Hume: I told the women, who, besides the mistress, were the Duchesse de la Valiere, Madame de Forcalquier, and a demoiselle, that to be sure they would be glad to have a specimen of Mr. Pitt's manner of speaking; and that nobody mimicked him so well as Elliot†. They firmly believed it, teased him for an hour, and at last said he was the rudest man in the world not to oblige them. It appeared the more strange, because here every body sings, reads their own works in public, or attempts any one thing without hesitation or capacity. Elliot speaks miserable French; which added to the diversion.

"I had had my share of distress in the morning, by going through the operation of being presented to the whole Royal Family, down to the little Madame's pap-dinner, and had behaved as sillily as you will easily believe; hiding myself behind every mortal. The Queen called me up to her dressing-table, and seemed mightily disposed to gossip with me; but instead of enjoying my glory like Madame de Sevigné, I slunk back into the crowd after a few questions. She told Monsieur de Guerchy of it afterwards, and that I had run away from her, but said she would have her revenge at Fontainebleau—So I must go thither, which I did not intend. The King, Dauphin, Dauphiness,

Mesdames, and the wild beast, did not say a word to me. Yes, the wild beast, he of the Gevaudan. He is killed, and actually in the Queen's anti-chamber, where he was exhibited to us with as much parade as if it was Mr. Pitt. It is an exceedingly large wolf, and, the connoisseurs say, has twelve teeth more than any wolf ever had since the days of Romulus's wet-nurse. The critics deny it to be the true beast; and I find most people think the beast's name is *legion*, for there are many. He was covered with a sheet, which two chasseurs lifted up for the foreign ministers and strangers. I dined at the Duke of Praslin's with five-and-twenty tomes of the corps diplomatique; and after dinner was presented, by Monsieur de Guerchy, to the Duc de Choiseul. The Duc de Praslin is as like his own letters in D'Eon's book as he can stare; that is, I believe, a very silly fellow. His wisdom is of the grave kind. His cousin, the first minister, is a little volatile being, whose countenance and manner had nothing to frighten me for my country. I saw him but for three seconds, which is as much as he allows to any one body or thing. Monsieur de Guerchy‡, whose goodness to me is inexpressible, took the trouble of walking every where with me, and carried me particularly to see the new office for state papers—I wish I could send it you. It is a large building, disposed like an

* An elder brother of Sir A. Macdonald, the present Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He died at Rome the year following, leaving behind him a distinguished character for every mental accomplishment.

† Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto.

‡ He had been ambassador in England.

hospital, with the most admirable order and method. Lodgings for every officer; his name and business written over his door. In the body is a perspective of seven or eight large chambers: each is painted with emblems, and wainscoted with presses with wired doors and crimson curtains. Over each press, in golden letters, the country to which the pieces relate, as Angleterre, Allemagne, &c. Each room has a large funnel of bronze with or moulu, like a column, to air the papers and preserve them. In short, it is as magnificent as useful.

"From thence I went to see the reservoir of pictures at Monsieur de Marigny's. They are what are not disposed of in the palaces, though sometimes changed with others. This *refuse*, which fills many rooms from top to bottom, is composed of the most glorious works of Raphael, L. da Vinci, Giorgione, Titian, Guido, Correggio, &c. Many pictures, which I knew by their prints, without an idea where they existed, I found there.

"The Duc de Nivernois is extremely obliging to me. I have supped at Madame de Bentheim's, who has a very fine house, and a woful husband. She is much livelier than any Frenchwoman. The liveliest man I have seen is the Duc de Duras: he is shorter and plumper than Lord Halifax, but very like him in the face. I am to sup with the Dussons on Sunday. In short, all that have been in England are exceedingly disposed to repay any civilities they received there. Monsieur

de Caraman wrote from the country to excuse his not coming to see me, as his wife is on the point of being brought-to-bed, but begged I would come to them—So I would, if I was a man-midwife: but though they are easy on such heads, I am not used to it, and cannot make a party of pleasure of a labour.

"Wilkes arrived here two days ago, and announced that he was going minister to Constantinople. To-day I hear he has lowered his credentials, and talks of going to England, if he can make his peace*. I thought, by the manner in which this was mentioned to me, that the person meant to sound me: but I made no answer; for, having given up politics in England, I certainly did not come to transact them here. He has not been to make me the first visit, which, as the last arrived, depends on him: so, never having spoken to him in my life, I have no call to seek him. I avoid all politics so much, that I had not heard one word here about Spain. I suppose my silence passes for very artful mystery, and puzzles the ministers, who keep spies on the most insignificant foreigner. It would have been lucky if I had been as watchful. At Chantilli I lost my portmanteau with half my linen; and the night before last I was robbed of a new frock, waistcoat and breeches, laced with gold, a white and silver waistcoat, black velvet breeches, a knife and a book. These are expences I did not expect, and by no means entering into my system of extravagance.

* After his outlawry.

—“I am very sorry for the death of Lord Ophaly, and for his family. I knew the poor young man himself but little, but he seemed extremely good-natured. What the Duke of Richmond will do for a hotel, I cannot conceive. Adieu!

“Yours ever,

“HOR. WALPOLE.”

—Vol. V. p. 119.

“The Dauphin will probably hold out very few days. His death, that is, the near prospect of it, fills the *philosophers* with the greatest joy, as it was feared he would endeavour the restoration of the Jesuits. You will think the sentiments of the *philosophers* very odd *state news*—but do you know who the *philosophers* are, or what the term means here? In the first place, it comprehends almost every body; and in the next, means men, who avowing war against Popery, aim, many of them, at a subversion of all religion, and still many more, at the destruction of regal power*. How do you know this? you will say; you, who have been but six weeks in France, three of which you have been confined to your chamber. True; but in the first period I went every where, and heard nothing else; in the latter, I have been extremely visited, and have had long and explicit conversations with many, who think as I tell you, and with a few of the other side, who are no less persuaded that there are such intentions. In particular, I had two officers here t’other night,

neither of them young; whom I had difficulty to keep from a serious quarrel, and who, in the heat of the dispute, informed me of much more than I could have learnt with great pains.” Vol. 5, p. 123.

“I almost repent having come hither; for I like the way of life and many of the people so well, that I doubt I shall feel more regret at leaving Paris than I expected. It would sound vain to tell you the honours and distinctions I receive, and how much I am in fashion; yet when they come from the handsomest women in France, and the most respectable in point of character, can one help being a little proud? If I was twenty years younger, I should wish they were not quite so respectable. Madame de Brionne, whom I have never seen, and who was to have met me at supper last night at the charming Madame D’Egmont’s, sent me an invitation by the latter for Wednesday next. I was engaged, and hesitated. I was told, ‘Comment! sçavez-vous que c’est qu’elle ne feroit pas pour toute la France?’ However, lest you should dread my returning a perfect old swain, I study my wrinkles, compare myself and my limbs to every plate of larks I see, and treat my understanding with at least as little mercy. Yet, do you know, my present fame is owing to a very trifling composition, but which has made incredible noise. I was one evening at Madame Geoffrin’s joking on Rousseau’s

* The reader, in the year 1798, will be struck with this succinct account of the *philosophes François*, their doctrines and their intentions, given in the year 1765, which their subsequent conduct has proved so accurately true.

affectations and contradictions, and said some things that diverted them. When I came home I put them into a letter, and showed it next day to Helvetius and the Duc de Nivernois; who were so pleased with it, that, after telling me some faults in the language, which you may be sure there were, they encouraged me to let it be seen. As you know I willingly laugh at mountebanks *politieal* or literary, let their talents be ever so great, I was not averse. The copies have spread like wildfire; et me voici à la mode! I expect the end of my reign at the end of the week with great composure. Here is the letter:

“Le Roi de PRUSSE à Monsieur
ROUSSEAU.

“Mon cher Jean Jacques,

“Vous avez renoncé à Geneve votre patrie; vous vous êtes fait chasser de la Suisse, pays tant vanté dans vos écrits; la France vous a decreté. Venez donc chez moi: j’admire vos talents; je m’amuse de vos reveries, qui (soit dit en passant) vous occupent trop, et trop long tems. Il faut à la sin être sage et heureux. Vous avez fait assez parler de vous par des singularités peu convenables à un veritable grand homme. Demontrez à vos ennemis, que vous pouvez avoir quelquefois le sens commun; cela les fâchera, sans vous faire tort. Mes états vous offrent une retraite paisible; je vous veux du bien, et je vous en ferai, si vous le trouvez bon. Mais si vous vous obstinieiez à rejeter mon secours, attendez-vous que je ne le dirai à personne. Si vous persistez à vous creuser l’esprit pour trouver

de nouveaux malheurs, choisissez les tels que vous voudrez. Je suis roi, je puis vous en procurer au gré de vos souhaits: et ce qui surement ne vous arrivera pas vis à vis de vos ennemis, je cesserai de vous persécuter quand vous cesserez de mettre votre gloire à l’être.

“Votre bon ami,

“FREDERIC.

“The Princess de Ligne, whose mother was an Englishwoman, made a good observation to me last night. She said, *Je suis roi, je puis vous procurer de malheurs*, was plainly the stroke of an English pen. I said, then I had certainly not well imitated the character in which I wrote. You will say, I am a bold man to attack both Voltaire and Rousseau. It is true; but I shoot at their heel, at their vulnerable part.” Vol. V. p. 129.

The above letters and extracts are all from Mr. Walpole’s correspondence with Mr. Conway. The following curious character and anecdotes of Madame Du Deffand, are taken from various letters addressed to that gentleman and other correspondents of Mr. Walpole.

“Madame Geoffrin, of whom you have heard much, is an extraordinary woman, with more common sense than I almost ever met with. Great quickness in discovering characters, penetration in going to the bottom of them, and a pencil that never fails in a likeness—seldom a favourable one. She exacts and preserves, spite of her birth and their nonsensical prejudices about nobility, great court and attention. This she acquires by a thousand

little arts and offices of friendship ; and by a freedom and severity, which seems to be her sole end of drawing a concourse to her ; for she insists on scolding those she inveigles to her. She has little taste and less knowledge, but protects artisans and authors, and courts a few people to have the credit of serving her dependents. She was bred under the famous Madame Tencin, who advised her never to refuse any man ; for, said her mistress, though nine in ten should not care a farthing for you, the tenth may live to be an useful friend. She did not adopt or reject the whole plan, but fully retained the purport of the maxim. In short, she is an epitome of empire, subsisting by rewards and punishments. Her great enemy, Madame du Deffand, was for a short time mistress of the Regent, is now very old and stone blind, but retains all her vivacity, wit, memory, judgment, passions, and agreeableness. She goes to operas, plays, suppers, and Versailles ; gives suppers twice a week ; has every thing new read to her ; makes new songs and epigrams, aye, admirably, and remembers every one that has been made these fourscore years. She corresponds with Voltaire, dictates charming letters to him, contradicts him, is no bigot to him or any body, and laughs both at the clergy and the philosophers. In a dispute, into which she easily falls, she is very warm, and yet scarce ever in the wrong : her judgment on every subject is as just as possible ; on every point

of conduct as wrong as possible : for she is all love and hatred, passionate for her friends to enthusiasm, still anxious to be loved, I don't mean by lovers, and a vehement enemy, but openly. As she can have no amusement but conversation, the least solitude and ennui are insupportable to her, and put her into the power of several worthless people, who eat her suppers when they can eat nobody's of higher rank ; wink to one another and laugh at her ; hate her because she has forty times more parts—and venture to hate her because she is not rich." Vol. V. p. 362.

" Lady Ailesbury brings you this *, which is not a letter, but a paper of directions, and the counterpart of what I have written to Madame du Deffand. I beg of you seriously to take a great deal of notice of this dear old friend of mine. She will perhaps expect more attention from *you*, as my friend, and as it is her own nature a little, than will be quite convenient to you : but you have an infinite deal of patience and good nature, and will excuse it. I was afraid of her importuning Lady A——, who has a vast deal to see and do, and therefore I have prepared Madame du Deffand, and told her Lady A—— loves amusements, and that, having never been at Paris before, she must not confine her : so you must pay for both—and it will answer : and I do not, I own, ask this only for Madame du Deffand's sake, but for my own, and a little for yours. Since the late King's death she

* Mr. Conway ended his military tour at Paris, whither Lady Ailesbury and Mrs. Damer went to meet him, and where they spent the winter together.

has not dared to write to me freely, and I want to know the present state of France exactly, both to satisfy my own curiosity, and for her sake, as I wish to learn whether her pension, &c. is in any danger from the present ministry, some of whom are not her friends. She can tell you a great deal if she will—by that I don't mean that she is reserved, or partial to her own country against ours—quite the contrary; she loves me better than all France together—but she hates politics; and therefore, to make her talk on it, you must tell her it is to satisfy me, and that I want to know whether she is well at court, whether she has any fears from the government, particularly from Maurepas and Nivernois; and that I am eager to have Monsieur de Choiseul and *ma grandmaman* the Duchess restored to power. If you take it on this foot easily, she will talk to you with the utmost frankness and with amazing cleverness. I have told her you are strangely absent, and that, if she does not repeat it over and over, you will forget every syllable: so I have prepared her to joke and be quite familiar with you at once. She knows more of personal characters, and paints them better than any body: but let this be between yourselves, for I would not have a living soul suspect that I get any intelligence from her, which would hurt her: and therefore I beg you not to let any human being know of this letter, nor of your conversations with her, neither English nor French.

“Madame du Deffand hates les philosophes, so you must give them up to her. She and Ma-

dame Geoffrin are no friends: so, if you go thither, don't tell her of it. Indeed you would be sick of that house, whither all the pretended beaux esprits and faux sçavants go, and where they are very impertinent and dogmatic.

“Let me give you one other caution, which I shall give Lady A—— too. Take care of your papers at Paris, and have a very strong lock to your porte-feuille. In the hotels garnis they have double keys to every lock, and examine every drawer and paper of the English that they can get at. They will pilfer too whatever they can.—I was robbed of half my clothes there the first time, and they wanted to hang poor Louis to save the people of the house who had stolen the things.

“Here is another thing I must say. Madame du Deffand has kept a great many of my letters, and, as she is very old, I am in pain about them. I have written to her to beg she will deliver them up to you to bring back to me, and I trust she will. If she does, be so good to take great care of them. If she does not mention them, tell her just before you come away, that I begged you to bring them; and if she hesitates, convince her how it would hurt me to have letters written in very bad French, and mentioning several people, both French and English, fall into bad hands, and, perhaps, be printed.

“Let me desire you to read this letter more than once, that you may not forget my requests, which are very important to me; and I must give you one other caution, without which all would be useless. There is at Paris a M^{lle} de

l'Espinasse, a pretended *bel esprit*, who was formerly an humble companion of Madame du Deffand; and betrayed her and used her very ill. I beg of you not to let any body carry you thither. It would disoblige my friend of all things in the world, and she would never tell you a syllable; and I own it would hurt me, who have such infinite obligations to her, that I should be very unhappy if a particular friend of mine showed her this disregard. She has done every thing upon earth to please and serve me, and I owe it to her to be earnest about this attention. Pray do not mention it: it might look simple in me, and yet I owe it to her, as I know it would hurt her: and at her age, with her misfortunes, and with infinite obligations on my side, can I do too much to show my gratitude, or prevent her any new mortification? I dwell upon it, because she has some enemies so spiteful that they try to carry all English to Made-moiselle de l'Espinasse.

"I wish the Duchess of Choiseul may come to Paris while you are there; but I fear she will not: you would like her of all things. She has more sense and more virtues than almost any human being. If you choose to see any of the *sçavans*, let me recommend Monsieur Buffon. He has not only much more sense than any of them, but is an excellent old man, humane, gentle, well-bred, and with none of the arrogant pertness of all the rest. If he is at Paris, you will see a good deal of the Comte de Broglie at Madame du Deffand's. He is not a genius of the first water, but lively and sometimes agreeable. The court,

I fear, will be at Fontainebleau, which will prevent your seeing many, unless you go thither. Adieu! at Paris! I leave the rest of my paper for England, if I happen to have any thing particular to tell you." Vol. V. p. 160.

"Madame du Deffand has been so ill, that the day she was seized I thought she would not live till night. Her Herculean weakness, which could not resist strawberries and cream after supper, has surmounted all the *ups* and *downs* which followed her excess; but her impatience to go every where and do every thing has been attended with a kind of relapse, and another kind of giddiness: so that I am not quite easy about her, as they allow her to take no nourishment to recruit, and she will die of inanition, if she does not live upon it. She cannot lift her head from the pillow without *étourdissemens*; and yet her spirits gallop faster than any body's, and so do her repartees. She has a great supper to-night for the Duc de Choiseul, and was in such a passion yesterday with her cook about it, and that put Tonton into such a rage, that nos dames de Saint Joseph thought the devil or the philosophers were flying away with their convent! As I have scarce quitted her, I can have had nothing to tell you. If she gets well, as I trust, I shall set out on the 12th; but I cannot leave her in any danger—though I shall run many myself, if I stay longer. I have kept such bad hours with this *malade*, that I have had alarms of gout; and bad weather, worse inns, and a voyage in winter, will ill suit me. The fans arrived at a propitious moment, and she im-

mediately had them opened on her bed, and felt all the patterns, and had all the papers described." Vol. V. p. 189.

Can any thing be more melancholy than such a description of the sick bed of an old blind woman at the close of a long life of frivolity and intrigue!

The following anecdotes of two great political characters, are particularly interesting at the present day: the dates of them are from 1781 to 1784. We subjoin Mr. Walpole's dismal prophecy in the latter year, as a consolation to the politicians of our own times, who are always predicting the inevitable ruin of their country in language nearly resembling his own.

"If you see the papers, you will find that there was a warm debate yesterday on a fresh proposal from Harley for pacification with America; in which the ministers were roundly reproached with their boasts of the returning zeal of the colonies; and which, though it ought by their own accounts to be so much nearer complete, they could not maintain to be at all effectual; though even yesterday a report was revived of a second victory of Lord Cornwallis. This debate prevented another on the marriage bill, which C. F. wants to get repealed, and which he told me he was going to labour. I mention this from the circumstance of the moment when he told me so. I had been to see if Lady A—— was come to town: as I came up St. James's-street, I saw a cart and porters at C——'s door; coppers and old chests of drawers loading.—In short, his success at

Faro has awakened his host of creditors—but unless his bank had swelled to the size of the Bank of England, it could not have yielded a sop a-piece for each. Epsom too had been unpropitious—and one creditor has actually seized and carried off his goods, which did not seem worth removing. As I returned full of this scene, whom should I find sauntering by my own door but C.! He came up and talked to me at the coach-window, on the marriage bill, with as much sangfroid as if he knew nothing of what had happened.—I have no admiration for insensibility to one's own faults, especially when committed out of vanity. Perhaps the whole philosophy consisted in the commission. If *you* could have been as much to blame, the last thing you would bear well would be your own reflections. The more marvellous F——'s parts are, the more one is provoked at his follies, which comfort so many rascals and block-heads; and make all that is admirable and amiable in him, only matter of regret to those who like him as I do." Vol. V. p. 218.

"The rising generation does give one some hopes.—I confine myself to some of this year's birds. The young William Pitt has again displayed paternal oratory. The other day, on the commission of accounts, he answered Lord North, and tore him limb from limb. If C. F. could feel, one should think such a rival, with an unspotted character, would rouse him.—What, if a Pitt and Fox should again be rivals!—A still newer orator has appeared in the India business, a Mr. Banks, and against

Lord North too—and with a merit, that the very last crop of orators left out of their rubric—modesty. As young Pitt is modest too, one would hope some genuine English may revive!" Vol. V. p. 219.

"The address from the volunteers is curious indeed, and upon the first face a little Irish. What! would they throw off our parliament, and yet amend it? It is like correcting a question in the House of Commons, and then voting against it. But I suppose they rather mean to increase confusion here, that we may not be at leisure to impede their progress—at least this may be the intention of the leaders. Large bodies are only led by being in earnest themselves, when their leaders are not so:—but my head is not clear enough to apply it to different matters—nor could I do any good if it were. Our whole system is become a disjointed chaos—and time must digest it—or blow it up shortly.—I see no way into it—nor expect any thing favourable but from chance, that often stops confusion on a sudden. To restore us by any system, it would require a single head furnished with wisdom, temper, address, fortitude, full and undivided power, and sincere patriotism divested of all personal views. Where is that prodigy to be found?—and how should it have the power, if it had all the rest? And if it had the power, how could it be divested of that power again? And if it were not, how long would it retain its virtues? Power and wisdom would soon unite, like Antony and Augustus, to annihilate their colleague vir-

tue, for being a poor creature like Lepidus. In short, the mass of matter is too big for me: I am going out of the world, and cannot trouble myself about it. I do think of your part in it, and wish to preserve you where you are, for the benefits that you may contribute. I have a high opinion of Mr. F. and believe that by frankness you may become real friends; which would be greatly advantageous to the country. There is no competition in my mind where you are concerned: but F. is the minister with whom I most wish you united—indeed, to all the rest I am indifferent or adverse—but, besides his superior abilities, he has a liberality of acting that is to my taste. It is like my father's plainness, and has none of the paltry little finesses of a statesman." Vol. V. p. 224.

"Moderate wishes may be satisfied—and, which is still better, are less liable to disappointment. I am not preaching, nor giving advice—but congratulating you:—and it is certainly not being selfish, when I rejoice at your being thrown by circumstances into a retired life, though it will occasion my seeing less of you. But I have always preferred what was most for your own honour and happiness; and as you taste satisfaction already, it will not diminish, for they are the first moments of passing from a busy life to a quiet one that are the most irksome. You have the felicity of being able to amuse yourself with what the grave world calls trifles—but as gravity does not happen to be wisdom, trifles are full as important as what is respected as serious; and

more amiable, as generally more innocent. Most men are bad or ridiculous, sometimes both:—at least my experience tells me, what my reading had told me before, that they are so in a great capital of a sinking country. If immortal fame is his object, a Cato may die—but he will do no good. If only the preservation of his virtue had been his point, he might have lived comfortably at Athens, like Atticus—who, by the way, happens to be as immortal; though I will give him credit for having had no such view. Indeed, I look on this country as so irrecoverably on the verge of ruin, from its enormous debt, from the loss of America, from the almost as certain prospect of losing India, that my pride would dislike to be an actor when the crash may happen.” Vol. V. p. 227.

We have spoken elsewhere of the variety of subjects upon which Mr. Walpole has employed his pen: it appears that the same versatility of taste influenced him in his code of morals and in his choice of friends. After giving the character of his “*dear old friend*,” Madame Du Deffand, drawn by his own hand, our readers will be surprised to find the honoured name of Hannah More in the list of his correspondents. His letters to this justly celebrated lady indicate that considerable intimacy and confidence existed between them, and this circumstance speaks more in favor of the real worth of Mr. Walpole’s character, than all the flattery and admiration which he experienced from the grand and the gay of the two first Courts in Europe. It is remarkable that these letters are

almost wholly free from the light and irreverent allusions to Holy Writ and Sacred subjects, which disfigure every other page in the collection: a vulgar and easy species of wit, within the reach of every ordinary understanding, and to which Mr. Walpole ought to have felt himself superior. This abstinence, from a favourite strain of jesting, in his correspondence with Mrs. Hannah More, is a silent and forcible tribute to her genuine piety, and as a mark of gentlemanly and delicate forbearance is highly honourable to his own feelings. We will conclude this article with two of Mr. Walpole’s letters to this lady.

“My much esteemed friend,—I have not so long delayed answering your letter from the pitiful revenge of recollecting how long your pen is fetching breath before it replies to mine—Oh! no—You know I love to *heap coals of kindness* on your head, and to draw you into little sins, that you may forgive yourself, by knowing your time was employed on big virtues. On the contrary, you would be revenged; for here have you, according to *your* notions, inveigled me into the fracture of a commandment; for I am writing to you on a *Sunday*, being the first moment of leisure that I have had since I received your letter. It does not indeed clash with my religious ideas, as I hold paying one’s debts as good a deed, as praying and reading sermons for a whole day in every week, when it is impossible to fix the attention to one course of thinking for so many hours for fifty-two days in every year.—Thus you see I can preach too——But seriously—and

* H h

indeed I am little disposed to cheerfulness now—I am overwhelmed with troubles, and with business—and business that I do not understand—Law, and the management of a ruined estate, are subjects ill-suited to a head that never studied any thing that in worldly language is called useful. The tranquillity of my remnant of life will be lost, or so perpetually interrupted, that I expect little comfort—not that I am already intending to grow rich, but the moment one is supposed so, there are so many alert to turn one to their own account, that I have more letters to write to satisfy—or rather to dissatisfy them, than about my own affairs, though the latter are all confusion. I have such missives, on agriculture, pretensions to livings, offers of taking care of my game as I am incapable of it, self-recommendations of making my robes, and round hints of taking out my writ, that at least I may name a proxy, and give my dormant conscience to somebody or other! I trust you think better of my heart and understanding than to suppose that I have listened to any one of these new *friends*. Yet though I have negatived all, I have been forced to answer some of them before you; and that will convince you how cruelly ill I have passed my time lately, besides having been made ill with vexation and fatigue—But I am tolerably well again.

“For the other empty metamorphosis that has happened to the outward man*, you do me justice in concluding that it can

do nothing but tease me—it is being called names in one’s old age. I had rather be my lord mayor, for then I should keep the nickname but a year, and mine I may retain a little longer—not that at seventy-five I reckon on becoming my lord Methusalem.

“Vainer however I believe I am already become; for I have wasted almost two pages about myself, and said not a tittle about your health, which I most cordially rejoice to hear you are recovering, and as fervently hope you will entirely recover. I have the highest opinion of the element of water as a constant beverage, having so deep a conviction of the goodness and wisdom of Providence, that I am persuaded that when it indulged us in such a luxurious variety of eatables, and gave us but one drinkable, it intended that our sole liquid should be both wholesome and corrective.—Your system I know is different—You hold that mutton and water were the only cock and hen that were designed for our nourishment—but I am apt to doubt whether draughts of water for six weeks are capable of restoring health, though some are strongly impregnated with mineral and other particles—Yet you have staggered me: the Bath water by your account, is like electricity compounded of contradictory qualities; the one attracts and repels; the other turns a shilling yellow, and whitens your jaundice. I shall hope to see you (when is that to be?) without alloy.

“I must finish, wishing you three hundred and thirteen days

* His accession to his title.

of happiness for the new year that is arrived this morning: the fifty-two that you hold in commendam, I have no doubt will be rewarded as such good intentions deserve.

"Adieu, my *too* good friend! My direction shall talk superciliously to the postman* ; but do let me continue unchangeably

Your faithful and sincere

HOR. WALPOLE.

Vol. V. p. 613.

"MY HOLY HANNAH,—With your innate and usual goodness and sense, you have done me justice by guessing exactly at the cause of my long silence. You have been apt to tell me that my letters diverted you—How then could I write, when it was impossible but to attrist you! when I could speak of nothing but unparalleled horrors! and but awaken your sensibility, if it slumbered for a moment! What mind could forget the tenth of August and the second of September—and that the black and bloody year 1792 has plunged its murderous dagger still deeper, and already made 1793 still more detestably memorable! though its victim has at last been rewarded for four years of torture by forcing from him every kind of proof of the most perfect character that ever sat on a throne. Were these, alas! themes for letters? Nay, am I not sure that *you* have been still more shocked by a crime that passes even the guilt of shedding the blood of poor Louis—to hear of atheism avowed, and the avowal tolerated by monsters calling themselves a

National Assembly!—But I have no words that can reach the criminality of such *inferno-human* beings—but must compose a term that aims at conveying my idea of them—for the future it will be sufficient to call them *the French*—I hope no other nation will ever deserve to be confounded with them!

Indeed, my dear friend, I have another reason for wishing to burn my pen entirely: all my ideas are confounded and overturned—I do not know whether all I ever learnt in the seventy first years of my seventy-five was not wrong and false: common sense, reasoning, calculation, conjecture from analogy and from history of past events, all, all have been baffled; nor am I sure that what used to be thought the result of experience and wisdom, was not a mass of mistakes—Have I not found, do I not find, that the invention of establishing metals as the *signs* of property was an useless discovery, or at least only useful till the art of making paper was found out? Nay, the latter is preferable to gold and silver. If the ores were adulterated and cried down, nobody would take them in exchange. Depreciate paper as much as you will, and it will still serve all the purposes of barter. Tradesmen still keep shops, stock them with goods, and deliver their commodities for those coined rags—Poor Reason, where art thou?

To show you that memory and argument are of no value, at least with me, I thought a year or two that this paper-mint would soon blow up, because I remembered

* He means franking his letter by his newly acquired title of earl of Orford.

that when Mr. C—— F—— and one or two more youths of brilliant genius first came to light, and into vast debts at play, they imparted to the world an important secret which they had discovered—It was, that nobody needed to want money, if they would pay enough for it. Accordingly they borrowed of Jews at vast usury: but as they had made but an incomplete calculation, the interest so soon exceeded the principal, that the system did not maintain its ground for above two or three years. Faro has proved a more substantial speculation.—But I miscarried in applying my remembrance to the assignats, which still maintain their ground against that long-decried but as long-adored corrupter of virtue, gold—Alack! I do not hear that virtue has flourished more for the destruction of its old enemy!

“Shall I add another truth? I have been so disgusted and fatigued by hearing of nothing but French massacres, &c. and found it so impossible to shift conversation to any other topic, that before I had been a month in town I wished miss G—— would revive, that people might have at least one other subject to interest the ears and tongues of the public.—But no wonder universal attention is engrossed by the present portentous scene! It seems to draw to a question, whether Europe or France is to be depopulated; whether civilization can be recovered, or the republic of Chaos can be supported by assassination. We have heard of the golden, silver, and iron ages—the brazen one existed, while the French were only predominantly

insolent.—What the present age will be denominated, I cannot guess. Though the paper age would be characteristic, it is not emphatic enough, nor specifies the enormous sins of the fiends that are the agents. I think it may be styled the diabolic age—The duke of Orleans has dethroned Satan, who since his fall has never instigated such crimes as Orleans has perpetrated.

Let me soften my tone a little, and harmonise your poor mind by sweeter accents. In this deluge of triumphant enormities, what traits of the sublime and beautiful may be gleaned! Did you hear of madame Elizabeth, the king's sister? a saint like yourself. She doted on her brother, for she certainly knew his soul. In the tumult in July, hearing the populace and the poissardes had broken into the palace, she flew to the king, and by embracing him tried to shield his person. The populace took her for the queen, cried out “*Voilà cette chienne, cette Autrichienne!*” and were proceeding to violence. Somebody, to save her, screamed, “*Ce n'est pas la reine, c'est——*” The princess said, “*Ah! mon Dieu! ne les trompez pas.*”—If that was not the most sublime instance of perfect innocence, ready prepared for death, I know not where to find one.

Sublime indeed too was the sentence of good father Edgeworth, the king's confessor, who thinking his royal penitent a little dismayed just before the fatal stroke, cried out, “*Montez, digne fils de St. Louis! Le ciel vous est ouvert.*”—The holy martyr's countenance brightened up, and he sub-

mitted at once. Such victims, such confessors as those, and monsieur de Malesherbes, repair some of the breaches in human nature made by Orleans, Condorcet, Santerre, and a legion of evil spirits.

“The tide of horrors has hurried me much too far, before I have vented a note of my most sincere concern for your bad account of your health. I feel for it heartily, and wish your frame were as sound as your soul and understanding. What can I recommend? I am no physician but for my own flimsy texture, which by studying, and by contradicting all advice, I have drawn to this great age. Patience, temperance, nay, abstinence, are already yours—in short, you want to be corrected of nothing but too much piety, too much rigour towards yourself, and too much sensibility for others. Is not it possible to serve mankind, without feeling too great pity?—Perhaps I am a little too much hardened—I am grown too little alarmed for the health of my friends, from being become far more indifferent to life—I look to the nearness of my end, as a delivery from spectacles of woe. We have even amongst us monsters, more criminal, in speculation at least, than the French—They had cause to wish for correction of a bad government, though, till taught to dislike it, three-fourths of the country, I maintain, adored theirs. We have the perfectest ever yet devised—but if to your numerous readings of little pamphlets you would add one more, called *Village-politics*, infinitely superior to any thing

on the subject, clearer, better stated, and comprehending the whole mass of matter in the shortest compass, you will be more mistress of the subject than any man in England. I know who wrote it, but will not tell you, because you did not tell me.

“Your most faithful, humble
servant and friend,

“ORFORD.”

The History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne, with a Dissertation on the danger of the Protestant succession, and an Appendix containing original Papers. By Thomas Somerville, D. D. F. R. S. E.
4to.

The public is already well acquainted with the name of Somerville as the Historian of Charles the Second, a work which has been received with general approbation. The reign of Queen Anne which he has selected as the subject of his present literary labours, comprises a very important period in the annals of our country. It exhibits a singular contrast between the magnitude of our successes abroad, and the complicated machinery by which every movement of the various cabals at home was directed, and of which the monarch became by turns the tool and the victim: and it displays to us in almost all their original newness the bitter conflicts of the contending parties produced by the revolution, which have given much of their own peculiar character to every succeeding faction, and which will long continue to retain an impercepti-

ble influence over politics and politicians yet to be.

Mr. Somerville's style will not permit us to place him by the side of Robertson or Hume; but although occasionally faulty and never elegant, it is plain, clear, and generally well arranged: he presents us with a history, on the pages of which the reader will never linger with delight, but which will afford him solid and well authenticated information. We do not imagine that he is ambitious of higher praise, for he has evidently sought to instruct rather than to shine, or even to please; and, as we shall notice hereafter, he has omitted many minor details which would have rendered his work infinitely more interesting and entertaining. He is certainly richer in materials than any of the former historians of the period on which he treats could pretend to be; and he has in many instances gained access to the fountain-head in which his predecessors have been compelled to follow the course of the stream. The Duchess of Buccleugh, the Earl of Hardwicke, and the late Sir John Clerk, of Pennywick, have each favoured Mr. Somerville with the loan of original manuscripts and correspondence to a very large extent. An ancestor of the last named gentleman was a member of the Scottish Parliament, when the question of Union was agitated, and being well fitted for the task, both by nature and education, he marked with a keen and impartial eye the momentous events which were passing around him, and committed them to paper with his own private informations, observations, and opinions. To these documents Mr. Somer-

ville has had access; and also to the Townshend, Orford, and Walpole papers: for the two latter he expresses himself to be indebted to Sir R. Walpole's Biographer, in terms highly honourable both to his own feelings and to him from whom, although personally unknown, he has received so material an assistance. The Public Offices in London and in Edinburgh have afforded him ample means of reference to all needful state documents, and his narratives of military transactions have been drawn up with scrupulous exactness, and submitted to the inspection of men of great military science whose suggestions have been uniformly adopted. Mr. Somerville has thus rendered a part of his history interesting and correct, which is often confusing to the general, and ridiculous to the military reader. As a specimen of this part of the work, we subjoin the narrative of the campaign in Germany, in 1704, which includes an account of the celebrated battle of Blenheim.

"Of all the members of the Confederacy, the situation of the emperor was the most critical and perilous. The elector of Bavaria was master of the Danube as far as Passau, which he had taken while the Germans were in winter quarters. Some of the members of the Germanic body were wavering and of doubtful fidelity; and the assistance of the rest was tardy and restricted, and nowise adequate to the impending emergency of his affairs. Prince Ragotzki, at the head of the Hungarian insurgents, had been successful in several conflicts with the Imperial troops; had got possession of many forts and towns on

the East frontier of Germany, and threatened to carry his arms to the metropolis of the empire*.

The alarming condition of the Imperial dominions was pressingly recommended, by the emperor's ambassador, to the consideration of the Court of England, upon whose power and activity he chiefly depended for deliverance†. The Duke of Marlborough, who may now be regarded as prime minister, as well as captain-general of England, was fully persuaded of the importance of employing the strength of the combined forces in the heart of Germany during the ensuing campaign, and of compelling the French to evacuate the territories of the elector of Bavaria. The plans formed for accomplishing this design, he prudently concealed till the very eve of execution, lest they should be counteracted by the preparations of the French generals, or opposed by the assembly of the States, ever jealous of the smallest preference given to the German interest. Nay, he artfully decoyed the former into a misapplication of labour, and diverted their forces from the quarter destined for his operations, by directing the great body of the Confederate troops to march to the Moselle, and spreading reports of his intention

to invade the French frontiers on the side of Lorain‡.

"The duke set out from the Hague 5th of May, and passing through Utrecht and Ruremond, came to Maestricht, where the grand army was collected. He gave orders for all the auxiliary troops which could be spared from the garrisons, to march to Coblentz, at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle; and following them there, he communicated to Monsieur d'Amilo, envoy extraordinary from the States, and to Count Ratislaw, the Imperial ambassador, who had visited the camp on his return from London to Vienna, his design of joining the army of the Prince of Baden, and of penetrating into Bavaria. For this purpose he crossed the Rhine, the Maine, and the Neckar, and advancing towards the Danube, through an immense track of country, joined the Imperial army under the Prince of Baden, at Westersteten; after which, the combined armies approached within two leagues of the camp of the elector of Bavaria; and, continuing to march in sight of his entrenchments at Dillingen, encamped at Amerdingen and Onderingen§. From thence the duke advanced with a part of his army to attack the Count d'Arco, who was posted with eighteen thousand men at Schellenberg, a rising

* History of Europe, vol. ix. p. 77. Monthly Mercury, September, October, November, December, 1703.

† Memorial of Ratislaw presented to the Queen, 2d of April, 1704.

‡ Kane, p. 43. The duke communicated his plan of the campaign only to the Queen, the treasurer, and the grand pensionary.

§ Lediard, vol. i. p. 190. 197. The allied armies now amounted to eighty thousand men. The elector's army and the French, which had joined them at Dillingen, did not exceed seventy thousand, but were soon augmented to a superiority by a reinforcement under Tallard. Kane, p. 44. Military History of Marlborough, p. 56.

ground near Donawert, where he was carrying on strong entrenchments for opposing the Imperial army in their progress to Bavaria. On the 2d of July, the English and Dutch infantry began the attack upon these entrenchments; and at first met with so warm a reception, that they were staggering and losing ground, when, fortunately, a reinforcement of some German battalions, commanded by Prince Lewis and General Goor, arrived; after which the enemy was repulsed with great slaughter, and the entrenchments taken. Count d'Arco fled with the greatest part of his army towards the Danube, and a bridge, over which they were passing, breaking down, many were drowned in the river, and the rest of them escaped into the woods near Neuburg*. In consequence of this defeat, the Bavarians were forced to evacuate Donawert and Neuburg; Rain and Fridherg surrendered to the Confederates after a short resistance, and Aich was taken by storm†.

“Overtures were now proposed by the Duke of Marlborough to the elector of Bavaria, with a

view of separating him from the French; but, though he seemed to listen to them with a favourable ear, he only meant to amuse the Confederates; and finally rejected all terms of reconciliation when he heard of the approach of the Marshal Tallard with a fresh army to his assistance‡. Notwithstanding the vigilance of Prince Eugene, this reinforcement had made its way through the Black Forest, and being joined by the elector near Ulm, rendered the united armies of the French and Bavarians superior to those of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Lewis. This event suggested to the duke the necessity of joining Prince Eugene, who was in danger of being overwhelmed by a stronger force, while Prince Lewis was carrying on the siege of Ingolstadt§.

“The day after the confederate armies had joined and encamped at Munster, they were informed that the French and Bavarians had reached the plain of Oberklaw, and were occupied in fortifying the adjacent eminence of Hochstet. The ground was sin-

* Kane, p. 44. Lediard, vol. i. p. 209. Quincy, tom. iv. p. 252, &c. The enemy lost six thousand men in this engagement, and the confederates had above five thousand killed and wounded; in which number were many brave officers; and Generals Goor and Beinheim, in the Dutch service. Lediard, vol. i. p. 217.

† Idem.

‡ Barré, tom. x. p. 447.

§ The principal magazines of the elector were at Ingolstadt; and it would have been dangerous to have attacked his army entrenched under the cannon of Aunsburg. It was fortunate that the duke found so plausible a pretext for detaching the Prince of Baden, who, from his advanced years, had grown averse to that boldness of enterprise which the present state of the war required; and being a bigoted Papist he did not act cordially with the Protestant allies. It had been agreed that the duke and the prince should alternately preside in the Confederate camp, which would probably have been productive of discord, and might have prevented the duke's project of attacking the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, which was afterwards crowned with such illustrious success. Barré, tom. x. p. 445. Kane, p. 47.

gularly advantageous for an encampment, having, on the right, the Danube and the village of Blenheim, on the left, the wood of Schellenberg, and in front, a large valley, which extended to the distance of two leagues, in which were dispersed a few villages, capable of fortification. It was also intersected by several rivulets which run from the mountains. These were, in some places, hemmed in by steep banks, and, in others, by overflowing the plain, they formed a sort of meadow or marshy ground, where they discharged themselves into the Danube*.

“The obvious advantages, accruing to the enemy from a position which would be daily made stronger, furnished the Duke of Marlborough with powerful reasons for running great hazards to bring them to a general engagement with the utmost possible expedition. His own army was in high spirits from the victory it had obtained at Schellenberg, and from being reinforced by a junction with Prince Eugene. Retaining their present encampment, which would soon be made impregnable, the enemy had it not in their power to lay waste a great part of the neighbouring circle of Franconia, and to prevent the confederate army from obtaining supplies of forage and provisions, which already had grown scarce; and by acting in concert with Marshal Villeroy, who was advancing to the country of Wirtemberg, they might establish a

free communication between the Rhine and the Danube, and reduce all the country as far as the Maine†.

In order to understand the dispositions made by the Duke of Marlborough for attacking the enemy, it is necessary to be acquainted with theirs, to which it was adapted with wonderful skill and foresight. The French and Bavarian army, upon the approach of the confederates, formed into two bodies. Forty-eight squadrons and ten battalions, commanded by Tallard, were drawn up at the head of the plain, half a mile distance from the marshy ground, through which the confederates had to pass. The elector of Bavaria with his own troops, and the Marshal de Marsin with the French, took their station upon the left, nearer the woods, and close to one of the rivulets that runs through the plain. Twenty-eight battalions and twelve squadrons were thrown into the village of Blenheim, which stood on the side of the Danube, in front of the right wing; and these troops were intended, not only for the defence of the village, but, in case the left of the confederate army should attack Tallard, to fall on its rear. Eight battalions were posted in the village of Oberklaw, which were either to join the troops in Blenheim, or to serve as a corps de reserve, as the fortune of the battle might require. A few battalions were also stationed at two mills, between Blenheim and Oberklaw; the villages in the plain,

* Kane, p. 49. Quincy, tom. v. p. 268, &c. Military History of Marlborough, p. 58.

† Military History of Marlborough, p. 58. Feuquières, vol. ii. p. 131.

unoccupied by the army, were set on fire, to prevent their being seized by the confederates*.

"The confederate army was divided into two bodies; Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperialists, drew up to the right, opposite to the left wing of the enemy, commanded by the elector and Marsin. The Duke of Marlborough on the left, at the head of the British and Dutch troops, having passed the river Kessel, marched along the side of the Danube, through the plains of Blenheim, towards the right wing of the enemy, headed by the Marshal Tallard.

"The Duke of Marlborough had penetrated into Tallard's design to entice him across the plain, and receive him in front, that the troops in Blenheim might sally out upon his rear. The duke therefore, instead of advancing with the whole of his left wing against the enemy's right, detached a body of troops to attack the village of Blenheim, where the battle was begun at 10 o'clock. The British troops were employed on this arduous service, and having, after repeated gallant attempts, failed in storming the village, they took such a position within an hundred paces of it, as enabled them, with a force greatly inferior, effectually to block up that part of the French army which was posted there,

"The duke, having secured this important point, immediately passed the marshy ground, preceded by his cavalry, and made such a spirited charge upon the right wing of the enemy as obliged it to give way. The destruction of the enemy's cavalry on the right was almost complete, and such of them as escaped the sword, were pushed into the Danube, or made prisoners. The right wing, under Prince Eugene, which had been frequently repulsed by the left of the enemy, animated by the success of their associates, and strengthened by reinforcements, renewed the battle with the greatest alacrity and vigour, put their antagonists to flight, and followed them till night put an end to the pursuit†.

"Although the highest praise be due to the Duke of Marlborough, who not only concerted all the previous arrangements with a masterly discernment; but, with readiness and composure, issued such orders as were adapted to the unforeseen accidents and difficulties which occurred in the moment of action; yet it may be easily perceived, that the errors and misconduct of the enemy's commanders attributed, in no small degree, to the fortunate conclusion of the battle‡. If the Marshal Tallard had taken his station nearer the bottom of the plain, he might have prevented

* Feuquiers, vol. ii. p. 131. St. Simon, tom. vii. p. 37.

† Account of the battle of Hochstet. Lond. 1704. Appendix, No. II.

‡ A great share of the merit of this victory was imputed to the Prince of Hesse, for his uncommon celerity in sustaining the troops which made the first attack upon Blenheim, and Oberklaw, and to General Bulaw, commander of the troops of Lunenburgh, who charged the enemy's horse with such vigour as gave time to the Confederates, who had passed the rivulet, to form. Tindal, vol. vi. p. 549. Histoire de Louis, tom. v. p. 574-6.

The Duke of Marlborough, for his meritorious services to the emperor, was

the right wing of the allies from making its way through the marshy ground, for the cavalry could only pass in small parties, and with the assistance of pontoons; or if he had advanced with the right wing against the detachment, which began the action at the village of Blenheim, he might have driven them back before the Duke of Marlborough had time to form the great body of his troops on the plain, and to advance to their assistance. After that detachment had desisted from the attempt upon Blenheim, it seems the marshal was not aware, that the force he had posted there would be confined in the village, and the rest of the confederate army behind was not only allowed to cross the morass, but to draw up, and approach in the most orderly arrangement. Some batteries indeed had been placed opposite to the morass, but as they produced no material effect, it should seem, that the marshal did not seriously wish to intercept the confederates there, but rather to allow them the opportunity of coming to a close engagement, which he expected to terminate

gloriously for his country. The weak front of the French and Bavarian army, from the detention of the troops which had been placed in Blenheim, and the distance of the two wings, which was still widened by the confederates pressing upon their inner flanks, and forcing them to give way in opposite directions, prevented them from reciprocally affording each other that succour, which might have enabled them to recover the ground they had lost. The placing so many of his troops in Blenheim, produced effects contrary to what Tallard expected; and proved, from his opponent's discernment, the cause of his defeat. For the Duke of Marlborough, finding that he could not dislodge them, directed a detachment of his army to shut them up, which an inferior number was able to perform, as they could only come out of the village in defile, and through narrow passes. Such a proportion of the French troops being thus set aside, the army of the allies, actually engaged, became superior to that of the enemy*.

“The incumbrance of a multi-

made a prince of the empire; and next year, 22d of Nov. 1705, Mindelheim was erected into a principality, and assigned to the duke, who was consequently distinguished by the stile and title of the Prince of Mindelheim. Tindal, vol. vi. p. 58. Monthly Mercurey, Nov. 1705. The Confederates had five thousand killed and seven thousand wounded. Compare Lediard, Kane, Quincy. See account of the loss of the enemy, Appendix, No. II.

* Feuquiers, vol. ii. p. 139, &c. Quincy, tom. iv. p. 272, &c. Political Annals, vol. ii. p. 31. Some authors say, that the French general intended to have made the attack, if the allies had not come to them; (*Histoire de Louis*, tom. v. p. 570) and that Tallard was so confident of success, that he said, “Let them pass; the more there comes over, the more we shall have to kill and take prisoners.” Lediard, vol. i. p. 241. But other historians affirm, that he had given positive orders not to let the enemy pass the rivulet, but to charge them as they passed, which orders were not executed. Letter from a French General to Monsieur de Chamillard, Minister of State in France. *Id.* 276.

St. Simon imputes the loss of the battle to the inactivity of the troops in Blenheim, and the failure of ammunition, the ammunition waggons having moved off without leave being granted them; tom. vii. p. 39, &c.

tude of prisoners, of whom a great proportion, who had been stationed in Blenheim, were fresh in consequence of their having no share in the fatigues of the engagement, as well as the approach of night, made it necessary to restrain the ardour of the conquerors in pursuit of the enemy*. The immediate effects of this victory fully answered the expectations of the confederates. Augsburg was quickly abandoned by the French; the garrison of Ingolstadt surrendered; and Ulm, where the elector of Bavaria had retreated with the wreck of his army, was taken after a short siege†.

“The siege of Landau, which was undertaken in compliance with the earnest request of the Prince of Baden, was long protracted by the unfavourable season‡, and by the heroic intrepidity of Laubanie, the governor, animating the defenders to make exertions, which astonished the besiegers, and interrupted the career of the victorious allies§. The king of the Romans, who had arrived in the camp at Landau, was ambitious of the fame of taking it a second time, and sent a trumpet to Laubanie, exhorting him to surrender the place, before he was buried under its ruins. The

brave Laubanie replied, that such an honorable funeral, as that which he had threatened, was to him an object of ambition, and not of terror; but nevertheless, from the love he bore his country, he would postpone it as long as possible. He kept his word, and disputed every inch of ground with a heroic obstinacy. While giving his orders, he was deprived of his sight, by the gravel thrown into his eyes in consequence of a bomb having struck the bottom of the palisade where he stood, and a splinter rebounding from the wood wounded him by entering his belly. His spirit was invulnerable: and his activity remained unabated. He was led about blind, groping with his hands, and measuring the breaches made by the enemy's batteries in the walls, that he might be enabled to give the proper directions for repairing and defending them. He continued to deliver his orders with the same precision and firmness; and the soldiers, admiring his fortitude, and lamenting his misfortunes, endured the greatest hardships without a murmur, and performed the severest duties with prompt and cheerful obedience. He prolonged the defence of the city several weeks after he was in this situation, and

* Lediard, vol. i. p. 289, 90.

† Kane, p. 57. Quincy, tom. iv. p. 291.

‡ Appendix, No. III.

§ Barré, tom. x. p. 456 The Duke of Marlborough wished to advance, without delay, to the Moselle; and to carry on the war in Luxemburg and Lorraine, that he might make good his winter quarters there, and penetrate into France the next campaign; but Prince Lewis insisted upon his attempting the siege of Landau, as the possession of it was essential to the security of Suabia; and this being more immediately connected with the interest of the Germans, the duke could not prudently decline; and was therefore detained with the greatest part of his army to cover the siege, as the Marshal Villeroy had drawn together a great body of troops to raise it. Compare Cunningham, vol. i. p. 396. with Lediard, vol. i. p. 296-7. Kane, p. 57.

at length prevented, by an honourable capitulation, an assault, which must have been productive of destruction to his faithful companions, without adding to his own glory and theirs, or promoting the true interest of his country*.

"The Duke of Marlborough, that he might employ the confederate troops which were not engaged in the siege of Landau to the best advantage, sent off two strong detachments to invest Travers and Trabach. The former the French evacuated, upon hearing of the approach of the allies; Trabach was vigorously defended for more than a month, and surrendered on favourable terms to the Prince of Hesse Cassel, who conducted the siege†.

"The allies were now masters of all the country from the Danube to the Rhine, and of Trabach on the Moselle, and Landau in Alsace, both of them fortresses of uncommon strength.

"The victorious army avenged the defection of the elector of Bavaria, by laying waste the property of his guiltless subjects, and completed the humiliation of his family, by compelling the elec-

tress, his wife, to resign Bavaria to the emperor, and to restore all the places the elector had conquered in Tirol. The promise of the emperor's protection, with a small pension out of the revenue of Munich, the fortifications of which were razed, and a guard of four thousand men, were the only compensation she could obtain for these mortifying sacrifices‡.

P. 56.

Our history, at the time, treated of by Mr. Somerville, was so mingled with that of Scotland, that he is obliged to enter largely into the affairs of the last-named country: its situations, during the period which elapsed between the accession of James and the union of the two kingdoms, is thus gloomily, but we fear, faithfully represented.

"The history of Scotland, from the union of the two crowns, exhibits a gradual tendency to national depression, which, at the accession of Queen Anne, had reached an extremity almost incapable of any aggravation or redress. Science and literature languished; commerce, manufactures, and population declined; luxury, from the example of a more opu-

* Quincy, tom. iv. p. 309. Barré, tom. x. p. 456. The allies paid dear for the capture of Landau; nine thousand of the Imperial army were killed and wounded in the course of the siege, besides many who contracted mortal diseases from the putrid effluvia upon opening the ground, and removing the earth, which covered thousands of the dead who had fallen in the preceding sieges; for it was the misfortune of this place to have undergone three of them; and to have surrendered as often, within the space of three years, and always on the same terms. Barré, tom. x. p. 456

† Quincy, tom. iv. p. 315. Barré, tom. x. p. 455. Appendix, No. III.

‡ Lediard, vol. i. p. 298. Barré, tom. x. p. 453. One hundred and fifty towns were pillaged and burnt in Bavaria, including those which were destroyed after the battle of Schellenberg. The papers, plate, and valuable furniture of the elector, were carried to Vienna. The nobility were disarmed and plundered, and exorbitant taxes were imposed upon the people. Soldiers were quartered in all the parishes during the winter, and lived at discretion.

lent neighbourhood, advanced with rapid steps among the higher ranks. The specie of the country was drained; and poverty, like a gangrene, had overspread the whole body of the people. Those fond speculations of commercial opulence, which had buoyed up the hopes of the Scots, after having been fairly tried, had not only proved abortive and ruinous, but afforded a mortifying evidence to the nation, of its utter incapacity, in its present state of dependence, to prosecute effectual measures for the removal of impending grievances, or the improvement of its future condition. For, though the disasters of the Darien company might primarily arise from the ignorance and presumption of its projectors; yet there could be no doubt of their having been both accelerated and heightened by the unkind interference and over-ruling influence of English counsels*. Was it not demonstrable, from the whole series of transactions relative to that business, that the national sovereignty, of which the Scots

so proudly vaunted, was nothing more than an empty phantom, since William had been constrained, by the importunity of the English Parliament, to cancel those very measures which had obtained his sanction as King of Scotland? While the political union between the two nations was so loose and defective, it was natural for the Court of England to keep a jealous eye upon Scotland, and to suspect, that if ever she acquired riches and power, they would be employed in schemes dangerous to the constitution of the more prosperous kingdom. The part which the Scots had acted, during the civil war in England, under the reign of Charles the First, afforded an instructive proof of the effects to be dreaded from its interposition in times of public commotion; and the remembrance of this was the occasion of cramping the trade and resources of Scotland, as well as of foreign nations, by the navigation act, after the restoration of Charles the Second†. By that act, the Scots found themselves

* Sir John Clerk, speaking of the Darien business, says, "I always thought it not so much a foolish as a roguish project, &c. But the conduct of England towards Scotland, at that time, served sufficiently as a proof, that Scotland, in a separate state, was not to enjoy the least shadow of prosperity, in any part of the world, which interfered with the power, navigation, and trade of England." MSS.

† Considerations on the Union, p. 84-5. 1706. By the act of navigation, 12th Charles the Second, the freedom of trade, which the Scots had enjoyed under his father and grandfather, was retrenched. Heavy duties were imposed upon goods, imported from Scotland to England; and upon English commodities, essential to the accommodation and improvement of Scotland. Representation of the grievances of Scotland relative to Trade, presented by the Scots Commissioners, 3d of February, 1688. Enquiry into the Reasonableness of an Union with Scotland, p. 67. London, 1706.

After the union of the crowns, the Scots were permitted to settle in the plantations, and enjoy the privileges of English natives. From the time of the Darien adventure, they began to be rudely treated; many of them in public offices, justices of the peace, and members of the council, were turned out, and sometimes they were rejected upon juries, &c. The goods and ships of Scotsmen were confiscated in the plantations; and this was sometimes done

precluded from many benefits which they had formerly enjoyed in common with the subjects of the same sovereign; and were cut off from the hope of maintaining, in future, an increasing proportion to the fortune and prosperity of a people with whom they were so intimately connected by political interest and social intercourse.

"Together with the decline of trade and manufactures, the reputation and honour of Scotland had faded, in consequence of a real, though disguised subordination, to the neighbouring kingdom. Previous to the junction of the crowns, her alliance had been courted by the principal states on the continent, and her interests regarded in the formation of every important treaty there. But now, while her dignity was eclipsed by the superior lustre of the monarchy to which she had become an appendage, she was not so much as named in the course of those foreign transactions, which affected her interest in common with that of England. As if it had been on purpose to notify, to distant courts, the insignificance into which she had sunk, no Scotsman was employed in any

embassy, or permitted to be present when the foreign ambassadors were admitted to an audience in the court of London*." P. 147.

In the tenth chapter is given a perspicuous and impartial narrative, of the various causes which rendered the question of Union so unpopular in Scotland; of the mass of prejudices through which its advocates were obliged to struggle; and of the religious and political opinions with which they had to contend. Our limits will not permit us to quote the whole of this chapter, which is, perhaps, the best which the work contains, but we will give a few of its opening pages.

"1st. The bitter and inveterate rancour, which subsisted between the English and the Scots, rendered it improbable, that the authority of law, or any prospect of distant advantage, could ever produce that amicable correspondence, which was essential to reap the benefit, or even to maintain the external form of an union. As domestic quarrels pierce deeper into the heart, and are carried on with sharper animosity, than those which take place between persons unconnected by any pre-

when the owners of them resided in London. The Case of Scotsmen residing in England and in the English Plantations, p. 4, 5. Edinburgh, 1703. Historical Account of the Grievances of Scotland, *passim*.

* Letter to a Friend on the Union, Edinburgh, 1705. Letter to a Member of Parliament, concerning the true Interest of Scotland. *Id.* "Since the time of James the Sixth, till the Union, few Scotsmen had been ambassadors in foreign parts, for they were not thought worthy of being entrusted with the general affairs of Great Britain." Sir John Clerk's MSS. on Lockhart, p. 153. "The honour and esteem which Scotland had acquired in all parts of Europe, were sunk; and her name was forgotten among those very nations she had preserved from ruin." Sir John Clerk's Journals. It appears, however, that individuals from Scotland, profited by the more intimate connection between the two kingdoms, after the union of the crowns. Dr. Burnet was made a bishop, Wishart an admiral; and many Scotsmen were employed in England, as surgeons, schoolmasters, book-keepers, &c.

vious ties of blood or interest; so the most implacable antipathies have ever prevailed in bordering states, which a mistaken view of policy has alienated from each other, contrary to all the conciliatory analogies of lineage, language, manners, and customs. Society, in such a situation, exhibits the darkest portraits of human character; the most hideous examples of barbarity, and the most refined inventions of hostile vengeance.

“The mutual jealousies and hatreds, which prevailed at an early period in the contiguous kingdoms of England and Scotland, had been inflamed to the highest degree by the arrogant pretensions of Edward I. to a feudal superiority over the latter, at a period when it was embroiled by internal dissensions, and a disputed succession to the crown*. While

the very mention of a claim, involving the most humiliating consequences, roused the indignation of a free and high-spirited people, the blood and devastation, with which it was prosecuted by his successors, spread such a general horror, and transmitted such a deep remembrance of injuries, as could only be extinguished after the lapse of many ages†. The French court, characterized by an impertinent interference in the affairs of distant states, and by the refinement and success of its intrigues, before it had yet ascended to pre-eminence in the political scale of Europe, did not overlook this favourable opportunity for courting the alliance, and fomenting the animosities of the Scots, so hurtful to their common enemies in South Britain‡.

“Attending to these circum-

* Edward I. had formed a project of uniting the crowns of England and Scotland upon fair and honourable terms, by marrying his son Edward to the grand-daughter of Alexander, King of Scotland, commonly called the Maid of Norway. The terms of union were agreed to between him and the states of Scotland. The young lady died in her voyage home from Norway, and Edward being unwilling to relinquish so grand an object as the union, had recourse to violence and treachery to make it effectual. General History of Unions in Britain. Defoe.

† In the wars between Edward, and Bruce, and Baliol, it is calculated that not less than six hundred thousand of both nations perished. Preface to Defoe's History of the Union. General History of Unions, p. 46.

‡ The privileges granted to the Scots by the court of France, were of ancient date; and after the marriage of Queen Mary to the dauphin, were made equal to those of the natives. See Acts of the 8th Parliament of Queen Mary, No. 65, 6. Scotsmen had often been promoted to high offices in France, Discourse on the Union, p. 151. Edinburgh, 1702.

When an incorporating union between the two kingdoms was proposed after the accession of James I. March, 1704, the immunities of the Scottish traders in France were considered as so advantageous, that various schemes were proposed for bringing the natives of both kingdoms, to an equality. Spotiswood's History, p. 481. London, 1651. Although the union, then proposed, proved abortive, the immunities of the Scots in France were so offensive to their English neighbours, that when Lord Hells was sent to negotiate the peace at Breda, April, 1667, he was instructed to use his endeavours with the French ambassador, to persuade that court to withdraw those ancient immunities which were enjoyed by the Scots, to the prejudice of the English. He succeeded in this invidious application, which gave great offence to the Scots. Persuasive to the Union, p. 9, 21. Edinburgh, 1702. Reflections on Lord Feversham's Speech, London, 1704.

stances, we are not surprised at the failure of repeated projects set on foot by the court of England, for obtaining the accession of Scotland by matrimonial alliance*; nor is it likely, if they had taken place, that they could have produced a cordial and durable coalition between the two countries. Considering the acrimony of their prejudices, as well as that national pride, which is always most extravagant where the people are indigent and depressed, the Scots would not long have maintained allegiance to their sovereign, placed upon the throne of England by compact or bargain. The union of the two crowns was accomplished, not in consequence of any premeditated plan, or by intrigue, or force, but by such a series of incidents as was ascribed solely to the over-ruling hand of Providence; while the foresight and expectation of it gradually prepared the affections

of a disunited people for a peaceable acquiescence in the event. The vanity of the poorer nation was also flattered by giving a sovereign to the richer and more powerful; while a wonderful coincidence of hereditary claims, all centering in the person of the Scottish King, not only suppressed every objection arising from the comparative inferiority of his native country, but excited an enthusiasm of loyalty, which rendered the English indulgent to the national partiality of that prince†. The antipathies between the two nations soon revived, and, together with the pernicious system adopted by the House of Stuart with respect to the government of Scotland, counteracted all future attempts for incorporating the legislatures of the two kingdoms. Public events, as well as the measures of government, which took place after the revolution, more and more divided their in-

* Henry VIII. offered his daughter in marriage to James V. of Scotland, and to secure the crown of England to them jointly after his own death. He persevered in the same object of uniting the island after the birth of his son Edward, proposing that he should espouse Mary, the daughter of James. The same alliance was pursued by the regencies of the two kingdoms, during the minority of Edward and Mary; but both attempts, that of Henry, and that of the regents, were thwarted by the opposition of the French party, and the clergy in Scotland; the former dreading the extinction of their own interest, and the latter the establishment of the reformed religion, which both Henry and his son had embraced. Preface to Defoe, p. 47. Somerset's Declaration, after the Battle of Pinkey; Appendix, p. 715. Declaration of Edward, Discourse on the Union, p. 6. 1702.

† It is remarkable, that all the claims of the different competitors for the crown of England, not only those which subsisted from the Conquest downwards, but also that which was derived from the Saxon monarchs, united in the person of James I. Blackstone's Commentary, b. i. c. 3.

James made an apology for his partiality to his countrymen in a speech to the English Parliament, 1607. "For my liberality," meaning to the Scots, "I have told you of it heretofore. My three first years were to them as a Christmas: I could not then be miserable. Should I have been over-sparring to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren, or that the king had been drunk with his new kingdom. The longer I live, the less cause I have to be acquainted with them, and so the less cause of extraordinary favour towards them." *Strictures on the Union*, p. 10. Defoe.

terests and affections, till they were brought to the verge of hostility when the treaty was opened.

“ By the multitude, or great body of the people, the idea of an union was held in abhorrence, and considered as not less dishonourable for Scotland, than subjection to England by force, or conquest. All who were suspected of being favourable to it, whatever their former services had been, not only lost the confidence of the people, but were in danger of becoming victims to their fury*.

While the treaty was depending, addresses were presented against it by several of the counties, burghs, presbyteries, and parishes. Threatening letters were sent to the servants of the crown; and the members of Parliament, who supported the inclinations of the court, were insulted by the mob in the streets of the metropolis†. The proclamations, which were issued for controlling these irregularities, were torn from the places to which they were affixed, and consigned to the flames under the very eyes of the magistrates.

These outrages neither could have arisen to such a height, nor could they have been so formidable to government, if the authors of them had not been secretly countenanced by persons of influence, and encouraged with the hope of military succour: The Cameronians, a numerous body in the south, and some of the clans in the highlands, were mustered under experienced officers; and, if their force had been concentrated, might have been an overmatch for the regular troops of the Queen‡.

“ Besides the obstructions to the treaty, arising from the implacable rancour of the populace, and the probability of their having recourse to arms, there were strong prejudices, affecting the minds of more enlightened ranks, which rendered them averse to an incorporating union. That natural pride, which betrays individuals into an overweening estimation of personal talents and advantages, operates with accumulating force upon communities; disposes them to lay the greatest stress upon local distinctions, and to assume

* Lockhart, *passim*. Letter to a Friend, giving an account how the Union was received at Edinburgh, 1707. Cunningham, vol. ii. p. 59. Letter from the Duke of Argyle to Lord Somers. Edinburgh, 1706. Hardwicke's Collections, vol. ii. p. 465. Letter of Halifax to Somers. Id. p. 471. London, 1778.

† Lockhart, *passim*. Clerk's MSS. The convention of the royal burghs presented an address to the states against the union; twenty-four burghs addressed separately; twenty did not address. A few of the counties only addressed, and in these the freeholders were not unanimous.

‡ Lockhart, *passim*. Ker's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 27. The act of security authorised all the Protestant heritors and the burghs to provide arms, and to discipline and exercise their fencible men. Under this cover, the gentlemen who were averse to the union, were preparing force to oppose it. At the commencement of the treaty, the above clause in the act of security was suspended; and the subjects were prohibited from assembling upon any pretence during the session of Parliament. This measure restrained, in some degree, military musters and tumultuary meetings, but did not altogether put a stop to them. Defoe, p. 281.

an allusive superiority over other classes and associations of their fellow-creatures. Where opulence and power, the true causes of political pre-eminence, are wanting, they are the more prone to resort to a fictitious excellence, and to borrow lustre from the antiquity, the dignity, and the blood of their families *. Peculiar circumstances cherished the absurd vanity and haughty spirit of the nobility and gentry in Scotland; and rendered them jealous of every measure which seemed to imply subordination to the neighbouring kingdom, or to lead to any kind of dependence upon it. The allurements of soil and climate had often tempted the rapacious invader to brave the dangers of the ocean, and to displace the hereditary possessors in the southern districts of Britain; and an advanced state of industry and commerce, by fair and gentle means, afterwards produced the more frequent fluctuation of property there. In Scotland, the ruggedness of the country, the scantiness of provisions, and their personal valour, secured the inhabitants against foreign irruptions, and rendered landed property sta-

tionary and accumulative. The complection of the laws, the limitations of manufactures and commerce, and the customary deference of vassals to their superiors, still farther contributed to the permanent tenure of estates and honours; so that Scotland, before the union, boasted of a greater number of ancient families than perhaps any other European district of equal extent. The French court, expert in the political graces, had accommodated itself to the predominant foibles of its allies, by conferring peculiar honours on the descendants of the Scottish nobility, and granting valuable commercial immunities to the nation at large †. While the remembrance of these gave the Scots a bias to a connection with France, the ridicule with which their vanity was treated by their less courtly neighbours; a prevailing disposition to vilify their condition and manners; and the affronts which individuals incurred during their occasional intercourse with the English, spread an alarming anticipation of that national depression to which they would be subjected by the union. What did

* To confirm this observation, many passages might be cited from pamphlets in opposition to the union; which are curious, because characteristic of the sentiments and spirit of the times. "Though Scotland must unite as the less considerable kingdom, with respect to trade, wealth, &c. yet it can never otherwise unite, than as the preferable kingdom, with respect to antiquity, honour, and dignity of precedency, according to the fundamental rules of honour and heraldry, every where acknowledged."

"Which points of dignity and honour, though, perhaps, they may appear of small value to an age sunk in luxury, and degenerated into an effeminate esteem in nothing, but what puts money in their pockets to support it, would be acknowledged as of great ornament, and accounted of a very high value in the eyes of all the world, if ever the Scots should come to make such a considerable figure in an independent state, as undoubtedly they might."

Rights and Interests of two British Monarchies, p. 11. Lond. 1706.

† Rights and Interests of the two British Monarchies, p. 5. Collection of Treaties between France and Scotland.

it avail them, that the independence of their crown and nation were to be recognised, when, from the arrogance of their fellow subjects, they might expect to be treated with all the insolence of usurped superiority * ?

"The injurious effects of the union, with respect to the metropolis, furnished a picture of imaginary woe, well calculated to excite the emotions of a vulgar pity, and the remonstrances of a fantastic patriotism. The desertion of a city, venerable for its antiquity and the loftiness of its edifices, the abolition of that magnificent pageantry which attended the representation of a court, and of that profuse hospitality, which enlivened the metropolis during the meetings of the states, were lamented as serious calamities by all those who, from early impressions, and an association not incompatible with an enlightened

understanding, had attached the ideas of sensibility and affection to external objects, which flattered their vanity, and contributed to their pleasure and emolument †."

The point in which Mr. Somerville may be considered as chiefly deficient, is the almost total omission of those comparatively petty details, which though more properly belonging to the department of memoirs, should not be entirely overlooked by the Historian. Few courts could furnish more private political anecdote than that of Queen Anne; and seldom has the contrast, which always in some degree exists between the apparent and actual situation of exalted characters, been more forcibly exemplified than in the person of this unfortunate Princess. Mr. Somerville notices this only by occasional allusion, and has often thrown a character-

* Defoe, p. 226. Several pamphlets were published in England at this time to prove the feudal superiority of the English monarchy over Scotland; and the favourable reception, which they generally met with, gave great offence to the Scots.

Mr. Anderson and Mr. Hodges, who had written in defence of the independence of Scotland, were thanked by the Scottish Parliament, and received each of them a present of four thousand eight hundred pounds Scots (400l.) for their patriotic labours. Records of the Scotch Parliament, 10th August, 1705. Atwood's Superiority of England over Scotland, and the Scots Patriot unmasked, were voted scurrilous, and burnt by the common hangman. *Idem*.

† The commissioner to the Parliament was allowed three thousand five hundred pounds for equipage, and fifty-five pounds per day, for a hundred and twenty days for his table. He used to entertain forty members every day during the session. Inquiry into the Reasonableness and Consequences of the Union, p. 132. Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs, p. 5. 1703.

"To the very children, and most ignorant people, they had their arguments; such as, that the honours, the crown of Scotland, sword and sceptre, should be carried away to England. The boys and mob were invited to go and see the ancient crown of Scotland; for that it would soon be carried away, and they might never see it more." Defoe, p. 227.

The Scottish Parliament was opened with great pomp and formality. The officers of state, nobility, and gentry, rode from the palace of Holyrood-house to the Parliament-house, (about a mile); and no expence was spared to render their dress and equipage splendid and magnificent. Many of all ranks resorted from the country to the metropolis, to be spectators of this scene.

ristic anecdote to the foot of the page among the notes, which if incorporated in his work, would have relieved its general heaviness, and have given it greater spirit and variety. He does not appear to be aware that the historian's office is of a two-fold nature; to convey all necessary and authentic information, and also to render that information as interesting and as agreeable as a strict adherence to facts will admit. This latter very desirable object can never be better effected than by an endeavour to fix the attention of the reader on the conduct and personal character of the monarch, and it rarely happens but that either for good or evil qualities he may be made a prominent figure in the picture. The reign of Queen Anne affords every facility of this nature, and in her character by Mr. Somerville with which we shall conclude this article, he often alludes to those circumstances of her life which marked it with a continual chequering of private anxiety and mortification, amid the most splendid and repeated public successes, and during a period which will always be looked back upon as one of distinguished national glory. We will venture to assert that had he entered more fully into the details of her sufferings and her feelings, her errors and her wrongs—of all that she neces-

sarily endured from the peculiar circumstances which placed her upon the throne, and all which her own weakness and timidity obliged her to submit to from those into whose power she had thrown herself, his history would have been infinitely more interesting, without the slightest diminution of its dignity or its truth.

“The cabinet at length became a theatre of wrangling and seurrility. Reproaches and recriminations, vented by the indignant rivals in the very presence of the sovereign, insulted her dignity, and filled her with perplexity and dismay. A regard to public business, as well as to her own tranquillity, left her no alternative but the dismissal of one or both of the contending ministers. The staff was taken from the earl of Oxford, at Windsor, on the evening of the 27th July*, before her majesty had yet fixed upon his successor. His removal did not restore that interior harmony which was expected. For, after it had been agreed to put the treasury into commission, the privy counsellors present were divided in their opinions about the persons fittest for that important trust. The heat of their disputes, prolonged till two in the morning in her majesty's presence, threw her into dreadful agitation, which was followed by such an alarming disorder as rendered her unable

* Lord Oxford says, in a letter to Dr. Swift, that he had no power in the cabinet since the 25th July 1713. Swift's Letters, No. 147. Both he and lord Bolingbroke had for some time past been courting the whig lords; and it was said, that the discovery of lord Oxford's inviting the duke of Marlborough to come to England, and of his making known the queen's counsels to the court of Hanover, was the immediate cause of her majesty's displeasure. Political State, Vol. vii. p. 623. The day the treasurer's staff was taken from lord Oxford, lord Bolingbroke gave an entertainment to generals Stanhope, Cadogan, and Palmer, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Craggs, and several Whigs.

to come to the council next day, when she intended to settle the new arrangements *. On the 29th, the symptoms of danger increased, and indicated, on the day following, a speedy approach of her dissolution.

The duke of Somerset, and the duke of Argyle, when they were informed of the queen's situation, repaired immediately to Kensington, where the privy council was sitting; and readily accepted of an invitation from the ministers to assist with their advice at the present interesting juncture. It appeared of the greatest importance, that the office of treasurer should be filled; and the council unanimously agreed to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury to her majesty as the fittest person for that appointment; which being intimated to her, at an interval of ease, she put the treasurer's staff into his hands, and expressed her entire satisfaction with the disposal of it †. All the privy counsellors in London were called to give their attendance in council. The most expeditious measures were concerted for securing the city, and for strengthening all the forts and maritime towns. Mr. Craggs was dispatched to the court of Hanover, that the Elector might be prepared to set out for England upon the first notice of the queen's death. In the evening, after she had appointed the new treasurer, her majesty fell into a lethargy, and continued insensible till she expired on the morn-

ing of the 1st of August, in the fiftieth year of her age.

"Mildness, timidity, and anxiety were constitutional ingredients in the temper of this princess; and to their influence, chiefly, we may ascribe most of the interesting occurrences in her government, and private life. While she relied implicitly upon the counsels of her favourites, they were not restrained, by the fear of her resentment, from abusing indulged power, and violating the obligations of gratitude. Although she had imbibed all the keenness of a party spirit, yet she was deterred from pursuing its impulse by the first appearance of danger. She discarded the Tories, who, from the confidence of her patronage at the beginning of her reign, were running into a course of measures, tending to the disunion of her subjects, and the danger of the protestant succession. Under the awe of a ruling junto, she gave her sanction to the continuance of the war, contrary to the bent of her own judgment and feelings, at a time when she had the opportunity of putting an end to it, upon terms more advantageous for Britain, than those which were finally obtained. Harassed at the close of her days by the jealousies of the Whigs, and their urging securities for the protestant settlement, which did violence to her affections, she was prevented by the apprehension of personal danger, more than by principle or inclination, from tak-

* The queen ascribed her illness to the agitation of her spirits; and said to one of her physicians, that she should not outlive it. Tindal, Vol. x. p. 227. Swift's Letters, No. 148, 149.

† Tindal, Vol. x. p. 229.

ing any resolute steps for transferring the succession of the crown to her brother.

"She had high notions of prerogative, which however produced no worse effect, than rendering her partial to its advocates.

"The ingratitude of her first favourites rendered queen Anne more suspicious and guarded, after their dismissal; and a distrust of her ministers, and an unwillingness to yield to their advice in the last years of her reign, were one cause of their slowness in the prosecution of that system of measures, which was expected from the promises they had made to the Tories, before they came into power. They had gained the queen's favour by recommending to her the exercise of independent authority; and this made her afterwards the more positive

in resisting any proposal which did not immediately meet with her approbation *.

"This princess has had the singular fate of being both praised and condemned, for her conduct as a relation. By one party she has been represented as an amiable pattern of domestic tenderness; and by another, as an odious example of filial depravity. She was a kind and dutiful wife; and though encumbered with the cares of royalty, and depressed with bodily infirmities, she never omitted the minutest conjugal respect, and attended the sick-bed of her husband with sympathy and tenderness, almost unexampled in the higher ranks of life. She loved her children with the fondest affection, and paid the most assiduous attention to their health and education. But she

* This view of the queen's character, which has not been attended to by any historian, is authenticated by Dr. Swift, who had the best access to know her, from the information of her ministers. "I will tell you one great state secret: The queen sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into the other extreme, and is jealous in that point, even of those who got her out of the other's hands." *Journal to Stella*, February 1711.

"The queen grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, from fear of being imposed on and over caution, she would impose upon herself. She took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have had the greatest power with her even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service, nor would let them be done, until she fell into the humour of it herself." *Swift's Memorial on the Change of Ministry* 1710.

"In dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and after, the usual mistake of those who think they have been imposed on, became so very suspicious that she overshot the mark, and erred on the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended to her as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but if the treasurer offered at the same time a warrant, or other instrument to her, already prepared, in order to be signed, because he presumed on her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes be for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or that even the public suffered by the delay. So that the minister had no other remedy, but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the longest the thing could suffer." *Swift's Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry*.

It is a remarkable fact that no person was executed for treason in Britain during the reign of queen Anne. *Tind. Vol. x. p. 256.*

has been accused of hard-heartedness in abandoning her father in the hour of his extremity.

“While we ascribe what all have approved of, in the domestic behaviour of Anne, to a sense of duty, and her own native disposition, we ought not to overlook those peculiar circumstances in her situation, which afford some apology for the suspension of natural affection, though they do not amount to a justification of it. The habit of a blind deference to the advice of lord and lady Churchill, and a conscientious anxiety for the protestant religion, exposed to the extremity of danger, stifled the emotions of filial tenderness, in a moment of singular agitation and perplexity, and precipitated her into an action, which would have been inexcusable, if it had been the result of cool deliberation, and originated from motives of interest and ambition.

“In all the different stations she filled, this princess had the merit of observing the strictest rules of œconomy, in the management of her fortune: while she was not deficient in charity, and exceeded in bounty to her favourites.

“In the discharge of religious duties, she was regular and exemplary. Her zeal for the prosperity of the church was attested by extending the means of public instruction; by augmenting, at her own expence, the livings of the poor clergy; and by expressing, on all occasions, a solicitude for the purity of the clerical character.

“She possessed a considerable degree of taste for the fine arts; amused herself with music and painting; and delivered her public speeches with a melodious propriety, that charmed the ears of her audience.

“The deceitfulness of grandeur, as a criterion of happiness, has often been inferred from the condition of royalty; and was remarkably verified in the life and reign of queen Anne. We behold a nation rising, under her auspices, to the summit of prosperity. While signal success crowned her military exertions abroad, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, science, and literature, advanced, with rapid steps, at home; every event, and every improvement, which contribute to the opulence, the power, and the renown of a nation, distinguish the reign of queen Anne, as the most propitious and brilliant recorded in the annals of Britain. But when we follow this princess into retirement, and survey the incidents of her private life, what a contrasted scene discloses itself to view; and how much are we struck with the wide distinction between external grandeur, and personal felicity!

“She survived a numerous family of children*; the duke of Gloucester, destined by the act of settlement to succeed her, lived to the age of twelve; and exhibited early blossoms of every accomplishment, that could elevate the hopes of a nation, and delight the heart of a parent.

“The possession of a crown, held upon the condition of ratify-

* Six daughters and three sons.

ing the degradation and exile of her own family, must have cost her many a pang, which she durst not impart to the most confidential friends. While looked up to as the first potentate in Europe, and loaded with congratulations upon the success of her arms, she was a slave in her own house : and subjected to daily affronts and mortifications, from the insolence and usurpations of her servants. Emancipated, at length, from her chains, she only entered upon a new scene of vexation and trial ; and all her remaining days were embittered by the jealousies of her people, the turbulence of faction, and the contentions and outrage of a distracted cabinet." —p. 567.

Travels in the Two Sicilies and some Parts of the Apennines, translated from the original Italian of the Abbé Lazzaro Spallanzani. In 4 Vols. 8vo.

The Abbé Spallanzani was Director of the Imperial Museum of Natural History in the University of Pavia, at the time when he became the author of these volumes, and the travels which they contain were undertaken for the purpose of furnishing the Museum with a collection of volcanic productions, in specimens of which he found it to be particularly deficient. His character, as a Naturalist, already stands high for extensive acquirement and scientific observation. The Phlegreæan fields, the volcanoes of Italy and Sicily, and the Lipari islands, the countries which he selected as the scene of his researches, are well

known to be rich in those species of geological treasure which were the objects of his pursuit—and it is no contemptible praise to assert, that he has rarely disappointed the expectations naturally excited by this union of talent with opportunity.

The Work is preceded by an Introduction, of which we can scarcely speak too strongly in commendation. In it the Abbé details, in a clear and scientific manner the method of enquiry which he adopted in his lithological pursuits, and the laborious and expensive processes to which he subjected the mineral substances which he collected. The student of this branch of Natural History will find here many valuable suggestions, and even the general reader must feel interested by the curious experiments related, and the information and entertainment incidentally conveyed in the Abbé's brief sketches of the course which he pursued in his travels, and of the objects which principally engaged his attention. A sojourn of some weeks at Messina enabled him to make minute observations upon the celebrated Scylla and Charybdis, and to convince himself that the common belief, that the latter is a whirlpool, has no foundation in truth : frequent excursions on the strait of Messina furnished him with some curious particulars relative to its marine and sub-marine productions : and a journey among the mountainous regions of Modena and Reggio, which he undertook in order to ascertain the cause of the *salse*, or feeble flames, which issue from various places in that part of the Apennines, afforded

him satisfactory proof, both from experiment and observation, that these singular fires originate solely from the hydrogenous gas, and do not in any respect partake of the nature of volcanic eruptions.

We shall proceed at once to the first chapter of the Travels, and shall transcribe from thence the author's interesting narrative of his personal examination of Mount Vesuvius. On the night of the 4th of November, 1788, he had ascended as far as the *Hermitage della Salvatore*, two miles from the summit of the mountain; in this he slept.

"I rose four hours before day, and continued my journey towards the burning crater, from which, as I have before said, flames arose at intervals, which on a nearer approach appeared larger and more vivid; and every ejection was followed by a detonation, more or less loud, according to the quantity of burning matter ejected; a circumstance I did not notice before, on account of the distance, but which became more perceptible to the ear in proportion as I approached the mouth of the volcano; and I observed, when I had arrived within half a mile of it, in a direct line, that the ejections preceded their accompanying explosions only by an instant, which is agreeable to the laws of the propagation of light and sound. At this distance not only flames were visible to the eye, but a shower of ignited stones, which, in the stronger ejections, were thrown to a prodigious height, and thence fell on the declivities of the mountain, emitting a great quantity of vivid sparks, and bounding and rolling

till they came within a short distance of the place where I stood. These stones, when I afterwards examined them, I found to be only particles of the lava, which had become solid in the air, and taken a globose form. These showers of lava appeared an invincible obstacle to my nearer approach to the volcanic furnace. I did not, however, lose all hope, being encouraged by the following observation. The showers of heated stones, I remarked, did not fall vertically, but all inclined a little to the west. I therefore removed to the east side of Vesuvius, where I could approach nearer to the burning mouth: but a wind suddenly springing up from the west, compelled me to remove, with no little regret, to a greater distance, as the smoke from the mouth of the crater, which before rose in a perpendicular column, was now drifted by the wind to the side on which I stood; so that I soon found myself enveloped in a cloud of smoke abounding with sulphureous vapours, and was obliged hastily to retire down the side of the mountain. Yet though I was thus disappointed of the pleasure of approaching nearer to the edge of the crater, and observing the eruptions more nearly and accurately, many instructive objects were not wanting. But before I proceed to any remarks on these, I must notice a curious and unexpected circumstance.

"I have already spoken of the detonations which accompanied the showers of lava. It is now necessary to add, that these did not constantly accompany every eruption. When I had taken my station in the lower part of the

mountain, I found the detonations more sensible, and resembling the noise produced by a large mine when it explodes; but suddenly, to my great surprise, they ceased, though the ejections of fiery matter continued both frequent and copious. I counted eighteen eruptions which were not accompanied by the smallest noise. The nineteenth, though not larger than the former, was followed by its detonation, as were eleven more, though others which succeeded were silent. This irregularity I observed so repeatedly, that the detonations appeared to me rather accidental than necessarily connected with the explosions. In this opinion I am supported by the authority of my ingenious friend, the Abbé Fortis, who afterwards told me, at Naples, that he had frequently observed the same inconstancy in the eruptions of Vesuvius.

“ This peculiar phenomenon, which has not, to my knowledge, been remarked by any one of the numerous authors who have written on Vesuvius, does not appear, at first view, to be easily explicable from the physical cause of the explosions. As it must be allowed that the fire alone is not sufficient to produce it, we must have recourse to an elastic fluid, which disengages itself from the lava, impelling at the same time a part of it into the air; which effect can scarcely happen without a detonation. But on more mature reflection, it appeared to me most probable that this takes place only within certain limits. When the elastic fluid bursts suddenly against the lava, it is to be expected that it will produce a considerable report; but when it acts

slowly, it will occasion little or none, though the ejection may be very strong. Thus, if the atmospheric air be confined between two pellets of tow in a tube, and one of them be forced suddenly towards the other, the latter will be projected to some distance, with a considerable sound, but none, or very little, will be heard if the pellet be gradually pressed towards the other. In like manner, the air contained in an air-gun produces scarcely any report on its discharge, on account of the interposition of the valve delaying its action on the ball.

“ In what I have said, however, I did not mean to assert that these volcanic eruptions were entirely unaccompanied with any explosive sound. It is highly probable they were not; but that I could not hear the feebler detonations on account of the distance.

“ It has been already said, that the liquid lava had opened itself a way, not immediately from the summit of the crater, but from one side of the mountain. The following are the observations made on this subject. Towards the south-east, at the distance of about half a mile from the crater, on a declivity, there arose sixty or more small columns of smoke, one of which was about nine feet in diameter, and came from a not very deep cavern. The ground from which these streams of smoke issued was tinged with yellow, from the muriate of ammoniac, and so hot, that, even at some distance, I could bear my feet on it only for a few seconds. It is sufficiently manifest that the smoke and the heat proceeded

from the same cause; that is to say, from the subterraneous conflagration which communicated with that part, and caused the smoke to burst forth through the fissures in the ground.

“ At the distance of a few paces from this spot, the aperture was visible, through which, six months before, the lava disgorged itself, as I was assured by my guide; but it no longer flowed at the time of my arrival, its current having acquired the hardness of stone. About fifty paces lower, however, in the same direction, that is towards the south, the lava was still running within a kind of pit, but without rising above its borders; and at a place still lower, about two miles from the principal crater of Vesuvius, the lava issued from the subterranean cavern, forming in the open air a long current. But before I proceed to describe the latter, it will be proper to notice the highly curious phenomena observable in the lava moving within the above-mentioned cavity or pit. This pit was of a shape approaching to an oval, about twenty-three feet in circuit. The sides, or banks, were nearly perpendicular, about four feet and a half in height: and it was excavated in the hardened lava of the last eruption. The burning lava moved within this cavern, of which it covered the whole bottom, in the direction of from north to south. From it arose a cloud of smoke, which, reflecting the light from the red hot lava, produced in the air a red brightness, that during the night might be seen at a considerable distance. But as this smoke was strongly impregnated with acid-

sulphureous vapours, I found it a great obstacle to my making any observation on the liquid lava; when, from the calmness of the air, it ascended perpendicularly. But, from time to time, a slight breeze arose which carried the stream towards one side; and I then removed to the opposite, where I was no longer incommoded in my experiments by the vapour. During these favourable intervals, I could stoop down towards the pit, in which I observed the appearances which I here faithfully relate.

“ As the distance between the lower extremities of my body and the lava was only five feet; the heat it sent forth was very vehement, but not absolutely intolerable, though it forced me to remove from it a little, from time to time.

“ I observed, then, that the lava flowed, as I have before said, along this cavity, from the north to the south, and then disappeared under the excavated hardened lava. Its surface exhibited the redness of burning coal, but without the smallest appearance of flame. I know nothing to which it can be more properly compared than melted brass in a furnace. This superficies was in some places covered with a white froth; and from time to time bubbles arose in it, which burst a moment after with a sensible noise. Sometimes, likewise, the lava rose in small jets or spouts; which, in an instant after, subsided, and the surface again became smooth and even.

“ The nearness of my approach to this melted matter, which I observed first, during the darkness

of the night; and afterwards by the light of day, removed every shade of doubt or uncertainty respecting the remarks I made. It likewise furnished me with an opportunity to make some experiments which I otherwise could not have made. I was desirous to let fall some heavy body into the flowing lava; but my situation would only permit me to use, for this purpose, pieces of lava which lay round the cavern, as I could find no substance of any other kind. When I threw these pieces into the lava, they occasioned that dull kind of sound which would have been produced by striking soft earth or thick mud; and at the same time formed in the lava an incavation, in which they were buried about one third part of their bulk, and in this situation were carried away by the current. The same happened when I, at other times, used larger pieces, and threw them forcibly into the lava; the only difference was, that then they sunk in deeper.

“From this experiment I ascertained the velocity of the lava, as it is certain that must have been the same with that of the stone carried by it. In about half a minute, the pieces of solid lava were carried ten feet and a half. The motion of the current was therefore very slow; which was not surprising, as the declivity was very little. We shall see presently, that the pieces of lava with which I made my experiment, were probably of the same kind with the lava which was flowing; on which account I, at first, expected that they would have sunk entirely within it, since

it is well known that all bodies which pass from a fluid to a solid state, become more compact; but a moment's reflection convinced me that the fact could happen no otherwise than it did. The pieces of lava which I threw into the current were full of pores and cavities, which in the liquid lava could not have place, or at least could not be so numerous: these pieces, therefore, must be lighter than the liquid lava. Another reason, which I consider as still more decisive, is derived from the tenacious liquidity of the flowing lava, which must prevent the entire immersion of the solid lava, though the latter should be specifically heavier. Thus I have observed, that a solid globe of glass, though thrown with some force into a liquid mass of the same matter, will not remain entirely submerged, but float with a part above the surface.” Vol. I. p. 5.

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“Though the lava issued at its origin from only a narrow aperture, the stream of it became considerably enlarged as it descended the declivity of the mountain, and formed other smaller torrents: but at about the space of a mile from the mouth whence it issued, its superficies had acquired the solidity of stone. I endeavoured to pass over this, notwithstanding the difficulty of walking on it, as it was entirely composed of small disjoined scorice, on which the foot could not rest with firmness, and so hot that I was obliged to change my shoes, those I had, being worn out, and half burnt.

“Besides two other pits, similar to that I have described, and some burning orifices in which

when I looked into them, I could perceive the liquid lava resembling melted glass in a furnace when it burns with the utmost violence, I observed, likewise, the traces of the course which the lava had taken or resumed. Here the channels through which it had flowed remained, but empty; there some residue of it was to be seen; and others were full of it. One had the form of a cylindric tube, and another that of a parallelopiped. But the direction of all these channels through which the lava had flowed, was towards the south. It did not require much attention to perceive, that under the solid lava on which I walked the fluid was still running; the low but distinct sound it occasioned in its passage, was clearly perceptible to the ear.

“A sufficient illustration of what I mean may be given from what frequently happens, in winter, to many slow streams, in the northern parts of Italy. In these, when the winter is severe, the superficies of the water at first adheres to the banks, and afterwards congeals in the middle, forming a crust of ice which increases in thickness, from night to night, while the water, which is still fluid, if there is sufficient depth, continues to run under it; though the thickness of the ice increases, till after some days it is sufficiently strong to bear men to walk on it, or even greater weights. If any person should then go upon it, and apply his ear close to it, he would hear the sound of the water running under, as I have several times experienced in the vicinity of Pavia. This sound appears to me

to be precisely the same with that occasioned by the Vesuvian lava flowing under the solid lava, and proceeds doubtless from the same cause; I mean the obstacles the fluids meet with and strike against in their passage; as the cause of congelation is likewise the same in both, that is, the privation or rather the diminution of their absolute heat.

“Pursuing my way to the south, along the declivity of the mountain, I arrived at the part where the lava ran above the ground. Where the stream was broadest, it was twenty-two feet in breadth, and eighteen where narrowest. The length of this torrent was two miles, or nearly so. This stream of lava, when compared with others which have flowed from Vesuvius, and extended to the distance of five or six miles, with a proportionate breadth, must certainly suffer in the comparison; but considered in itself, and especially by a person unaccustomed to such scenes, it cannot but astonish and most powerfully affect the mind. When I travelled in Switzerland, the impression made upon me by the Glaciers was, I confess, great; to see, in the midst of summer, immense mountains of ice and snow, placed on enormous rocks, and to find myself shake with cold, wrapped up in my pelisse on their frozen cliffs, while in the plain below nature appeared languid with the extreme heat. But much more forcibly was I affected at the sight of this torrent of lava, which resembled a river of fire. It issued from an aperture excavated in the congealed lava, and took its course towards the south.

For thirty or forty paces from its source, it had a red colour, but less ardent than that of the lava which flowed within the cavern I have mentioned above. Through this whole space its surface was filled with tumours which momentarily arose and disappeared. I was able to approach it to within the distance of ten feet; but the heat I felt was extremely great, and almost insupportable, when the air, put in motion, crossed the lava, and blew upon me. When I threw into the torrent pieces of the hardened lava, they left a very slight hollow trace. The sound they produced was like that of one stone striking against another; and they swam following the motion of the stream. The torrent at first descended down an inclined plain which made an angle of about 45 degrees with the horizon, flowing at the rate of eighteen feet in a minute; but at about the distance of thirty or forty paces from its source, its superficies, cleared from the tumours I have before mentioned, shewed only large flakes of the substance of the lava, of an extremely dull red, which, clashing together, produced a confused sound, and were borne along by the current under them.

“Observing these phenomena with attention, I perceived the cause of this diversity of appearance. The lava, when it issued from the subterranean caverns, began, from the impression of the cold air, to lose its fluidity, so that it yielded less to the stroke of solid bodies. The loss of this principle, however, was not such as to prevent the superficies from flowing. But at length it dimi-

nished by the increasing induration; and then, the superficial part of the lava, by the unequal adhesion of its parts, was separated into flakes, which would have remained motionless had they not been borne away by the subjacent matter, which still remained fluid, on account of its not being exposed to the immediate action of the air, in the same manner as water carries on its surface floating flakes of ice.

“Proceeding further, I perceived that the stream was covered, not only with these flakes, but with a great quantity of scoriæ; and the whole mass of these floating matters was carried away by the fluid lava, with unequal velocity, which was small where the declivity was slight, but considerable when it was great. In one place, for ten or twelve feet, the descent was so steep that it differed little from a perpendicular. The lava must therefore be expected there to form a cataract. This it, in fact, did, and no sight could be more curious. When it arrived at the brow of this descent, it fell headlong, forming a large liquid sheet of a pale red, which dashed with a loud noise on the ground below, where the torrent continued its course as before.

“It appeared to me that it might be expected, that where the channel was narrow, the velocity of the torrent must be increased, and where it was capacious, diminished; but I observed that, in proportion as it removed from its source, its progressive motion became slower: and the reason for this is extremely obvious; since the current of melted matter being

continually exposed to the cold air, must continually lose some portion of its heat, and, consequently, of its fluidity.

“At length the lava, after having continued its course about two miles along the declivity of the mountain, stopped, and formed a kind of small lake, but solid, at least on the superficies. Here the fiery redness disappeared; but about two hundred feet higher it was still visible, and more apparent still nearer to its source. From the whole of this lake, strong sulphureous fumes arose, which were likewise to be observed at the sides, where the lava had ceased to flow, but still retained a considerable degree of heat.” Vol. I. p. 20.

In the course of this chapter Spallanzani notices many facts which other travellers have either wholly overlooked, or have neglected to record. The Solfatara occupies the most interesting part of the second chapter. His examinations of the lavas of this district as well as of those of Vesuvius, Etna, Stromboli, and Volcano, lead him to assert positively that they have all petrosilex for their basis; an opinion which will probably meet with no less opposition, than the fanciful hypothesis, by which, in the following chapter, he attempts to account for the celebrated phenomena of the Grotto del Cane. We pass on to the end of the volume in order to present our readers with a companion to the extracts, relative to Vesuvius, in our author's lively and accurate description of Etna.

“Three hours before day, I, with my companions, left the Grotta delle

Capre, which had afforded us a welcome asylum, though our bed was not of the softest, as it consisted only of a few oak leaves scattered over the floor of lava. I continued my journey towards the summit of Etna; and the clearness of the sky induced me to hope that it would continue the same during the approaching day, that I might enjoy the extensive and sublime prospect from the top of this lofty mountain, which is usually involved in clouds. I soon left the middle region, and entered the upper one, which is entirely destitute of vegetation, except a few bushes very thinly scattered. The light of several torches which were carried before us enabled me to observe the nature of the ground over which we passed, and to ascertain, from such experiments as I was able to make, that our road lay over lavas either perfectly the same with, or analogous to, those in which the Grotta delle Capre is hollowed.

“We had arrived at within about four miles of the borders of the great crater, when the dawn of day began to disperse the darkness of night. Faint gleams of a whitish light were succeeded by the ruddy hues of aurora; and soon after the sun rose above the horizon, turbid at first and dimmed by mists, but his rays insensibly became more clear and resplendent. These gradations of the rising day are no where to be viewed with such precision and delight, as from the lofty height we had reached, which was not far from the most elevated point of Etna. Here, likewise, I began to perceive the effects of the eruption of Etna which took place in

July, 1787, and which has been so accurately described by the Chevalier Gioeni*. These were visible in a coating of black scoriæ, at first thin, but which became gradually thicker as I approached the summit of the mountain, till it composed a stratum of several palms in thickness. Over these scoriæ I was obliged to proceed, not without considerable difficulty and fatigue, as my leg at every step sank deep into it. The figure of these scoriæ, the smallest of which are about a line or somewhat less in diameter, is very irregular. Externally they have the appearance of scoriæ of iron; and, when broken, are found full of small cavities, which are almost all spherical, or nearly of that figure. They are, therefore, light and friable; two qualities which are almost always inseparable from scoriæ. This great number of small cavities is an evident proof of the quantity and vigorous action of the elastic fluids, which in this eruption, imprisoned in the liquid matter within the crater, dilated it on every side, seeking to extricate themselves; and forced it, in scoriaceous particles, to various heights and distances, according to the respective weights of those particles. The most attentive eye cannot discover in them the smallest sherd; either because these stones have been perfectly fused, and with the lava passed into one homogeneous consistence, or because they never existed in it. Some linear feltspars are, however, found, which, by their splendour, semi-transparency, and solidity,

shew that they have suffered no injury from the fire. When these scoriæ are pulverized, they become extremely black; but retain the dryness and scabrous texture which they had when entire. They abound in iron, and in consequence the dust produced by pulverizing them copiously, adheres to the point of a magnetized knife; and a small piece of these scoriæ will put the magnetic needle in motion at the distance of two lines.

"In the midst of this immense quantity of scoriæ, I, in several places, met with some substances of a spherical figure, which, like the lava, were at first small, but increased in size as I approached the summit of the mountain. These were originally particles of lava ejected from the crater in the eruption before mentioned, which assumed a spherical figure when they were congealed by the coldness of the air. On examining them, I found them in their qualities perfectly to resemble the scoriæ, and to possess the same magnetism.

"Only two miles and a half remained of our journey, when the great laboratory of nature, inclosed within the abysses of Etna, began its astonishing operations. Two white columns of smoke arose from its summit; one, which was the smallest, towards the north-east side of the mountain; and the other, towards the north-west. A light wind blowing from the east, they both made a curve towards the west, gradually dilating, until they disappeared in the

* His account of this eruption was printed at Catania in 1787. There is likewise a French translation at the end of the *Catalogue Raisonné* of M. Dolomieu.

wide expanse of air. Several streams of smoke, which arose lower down, towards the west, followed the two columns. These appearances could not but tend to inspire me with new ardour to prosecute my journey, that I might discover and admire the secrets of this stupendous volcano. The sun, likewise, shining in all its splendour, seemed to promise that this day should crown my wishes. But experience taught me that the two miles and a half I had yet to go presented many more obstacles than I could have imagined, and that nothing but the resolution I had formed to complete my design at every hazard could have enabled me to surmount them.

“ Having proceeded about a hundred paces further, I met with a torrent of lava, which I was obliged to cross, to arrive at the smoking summit. My guides informed me that this lava had issued from the mountain in October, 1787; and as the account of the Chevalier Gioeni, which I have above cited, only mentions the eruption of the month of July of the same year, I shall here give a brief description of it, as it does not seem hitherto to have been described.

“ This very recent lava extends three miles in length; its breadth is various, in some places being about a quarter of a mile, in others one third, and in others still more. Its height, or rather depth, is different in different parts; the greatest being, as far as I was able to observe, about eighteen feet, and the least six. Its course is down the west side of the mountain; and, like the other lava which flowed in the July of 1787, it

issued immediately from the great crater of Etna. The whole number of the eruptions of this mountain of which we have any record, before and after the Christian era, is thirty-one; and ten only, as we are informed by Gioeni, including that of which he has given an account, have issued immediately from the highest crater. That which I observed may be the eleventh, unless it should rather be considered as the same with that described by the Sicilian naturalist, since the interval between August and October is a very short intermission of rest for a volcano. The cause of the rarity of the eruptions which issue immediately from the crater, compared with those which disgorge from the sides, seems easily to be assigned. The centre of this volcano is probably at a great depth, and perhaps on a level with the sea. It is, therefore, much more easy for the matter liquefied by the fire, put in effervescence by the elastic fluids, and impelled on every side from the centre to the circumference, to force its way through one of the sides of the mountain where it finds least resistance, and there form a current, than to be thrown up, notwithstanding the resistance of gravity, from the bottom to so great a height as the highest crater of Etna. It is evident, therefore, that the effervescence in the eruptions of the months of July and October, 1787, was extremely violent. The torrent of the month of October is every where covered with scorïæ, which resemble those ejected in the month of July in their black colour, but differ from them in the

great adhesion they have to the lava, in their exterior vitreous appearance, their greater weight, and their hardness, which is so great that they give sparks with steel almost as plentifully as flints. These differences, however, are to be attributed only to accidental combinations of the same substance; the constituent principles of the scorice of this lava not being different from those of the detached scorice mentioned above. Both, likewise, contain the same feltspar lamellæ.

"This new current was, however, extremely difficult, and even dangerous, in the passage. In some places the scorice projected in prominent angles and points, and in others sunk in hollows, or steep declivities; in some, from their fragility and smoothness, they resembled thin plates of ice, and in others they presented vertical and sharp projections. In addition to these difficulties, my guides informed me I should have to pass three places where the lava was still red-hot, though it was now eleven months since it had ceased to flow. These obstacles, however, could not overcome my resolution to surmount them, and I then experienced, as I have frequently done at other times, how much may be effected in difficulties and dangers like these, by mere physical courage, by the assistance of which we may proceed along the edge of a precipice in safety, while the adventurer who suffers himself to be surprised by a panic fear will be induced cowardly to desist from the enterprise he might have completed. In several places, it is true, the scorice broke under my feet; and in others I

slipped, and had nearly fallen into cavities from which I should have been with difficulty extricated. One of the three places pointed out by the guides had, likewise, from its extreme heat, proved highly disagreeable; yet, at length, I surmounted all these obstacles and reached the opposite side, not without making several cursory observations on the places whence those heats originated. Two large clefts or apertures, in different places, appeared in the lava, which there, notwithstanding the clearness of the day, had an obscure redness! and on applying the end of the staff which I used as a support in this difficult journey, to one of these, it presently smoked, and, immediately after, took fire. It was, therefore, indubitable that this heap of ejected lava still contained within it the active remains of fire, which were more manifest there, than in other places, because those matters were there collected in greater quantities.

"I had yet to encounter other obstacles. I had to pass that tract which may properly be called the cone of Etna, and which, in a right line, is about a mile, or somewhat more, in length. This was extremely steep, and not less rugged, from the accumulated scorice which had been heaped upon it in the last eruption, the pieces of which were neither connected together, nor attached to the ground; so that, frequently, when I stepped upon one of them, before I could advance my other foot, it gave way, and, forcing other pieces before it down the steep declivity, carried me with it, compelling me to make many steps

backwards instead of one forward. To add to this inconvenience, the larger pieces of scoriæ above that on which I had stepped, being deprived of the support of those contiguous to them, came rolling down upon me, not without danger of violently bruising my feet, or breaking my legs. After several ineffectual attempts to proceed, I found the only method to avoid this inconvenience, and continue my journey, was to step only on those larger pieces of scoriæ which, on account of their weight, remained firm: but the length of the way was thus more than doubled, by the circuitous windings it was necessary to make to find such pieces of scoriæ as from their large size were capable of affording a stable support. I employed three hours in passing, or rather dragging myself, to the top of the mountain, partly from being unable to proceed in a right line, and partly from the steepness of the declivity, which obliged me to climb with my hands and feet, sweating and breathless, and under the necessity of stopping at intervals to rest, and recover my strength. How much did I then envy the good fortune of those who had visited Etna before the eruption of 1787, when, as my guides assured me, the journey was far less difficult and laborious!

"I was not more than a hundred and fifty paces distant from the vertex of the cone, and already beheld close to me, in all their majesty, the two columns of smoke. Anxious to reach the borders of the stupendous gulf, I summoned the little strength I

had remaining, to make a last effort, when an unforeseen obstacle, for a moment, cruelly retarded the completion of my ardent wishes. The volcanic craters, which are still burning more or less, are usually surrounded with hot sulphureous acid steams, which issue from their sides, and rise in the air. From these the summit of Etna is not exempt: but the largest of them rose to the west, and I was on the south-east side. Here, likewise, four or five streams of smoke arose, from a part somewhat lower, and through these it was necessary to pass, since on one side was a dreadful precipice, and on the other so steep a declivity that I and my companion, from weakness and fatigue, were unable to ascend it; and it was with the utmost difficulty that our two guides made their way up it, notwithstanding they were so much accustomed to such laborious expeditions. We continued our journey, therefore, through the midst of the vapours; but though we ran as fast as the ground and our strength would permit, the sulphureous steams with which they were loaded were extremely offensive, and prejudicial to respiration; and affected me, in particular, so much, that for some moments I was deprived of sense; and found, by experience, how dangerous an undertaking it is to visit volcanic regions infested by such vapours.

"Having passed this place, and recovered by degrees my former presence of mind; in less than an hour I arrived at the utmost summit of Etna, and began to discover the edges of the crater; when our guides, who had preceded me

at some distance, turned back, and, hastening towards me, exclaimed in a kind of transport, that I never could have arrived at a more proper time to discover and observe the internal part of the stupendous volcano. The reader will easily conceive, without my attempting to describe it, how great a pleasure I felt at finding my labours and fatigue at length crowned with such complete success. This pleasure was exalted to a kind of rapture, when I had completely reached the spot, and perceived that I might, without danger, contemplate this amazing spectacle. I sat down near the edge of the crater, and remained there two hours, to recover my strength after the fatigues I had undergone in my journey. I viewed with astonishment the configuration of the borders, the internal sides, the form of the immense cavern, its bottom, an aperture which appeared in it, the melted matter which boiled within, and the smoke which ascended from it. The whole of this stupendous scene was distinctly displayed before me; and I shall now proceed to give some description of it, though it will only be possible to present the reader with a very feeble image, as the sight alone can enable him to form ideas at all adequate to objects so grand and astonishing.

“The upper edges of the crater, to judge by the eye, are about a mile and a half in circuit, and form an oval, the longest diameter of which extends from east to west. As they are in several places broken, and crumbled away in large fragments, they appear as it were indented, and these indentations are a kind of enormous

steps, formed of projecting lavas and scorix. The internal sides of the cavern, or crater, are inclined in different angles in different places. To the west their declivity is slight: they are more steep to the north; still more so to the east; and to the south-east, on which side I was, they are almost perpendicular. Notwithstanding this irregularity, however, they form a kind of funnel; large at the top, and narrow at the bottom; as we usually observe in other craters. The sides appear irregularly rugged, and abound with concretions of an orange colour, which, at first, I took for sulphur; but, afterwards, found to be the muriate of ammoniac, having been able to gather some pieces of it from the edges of the gulf. The bottom is nearly a horizontal plane, about two-thirds of a mile in circumference. It appears striped with yellow, probably from the above-mentioned salt. In this plain, from the place where I stood, a circular aperture was visible, apparently about five poles in diameter, from which issued the larger column of smoke, which I had seen before I arrived at the summit of Etna. I shall not mention several streams of smoke, which arose like thin clouds from the same bottom, and different places in the sides. The principal column, which at its origin might be about twenty feet in diameter, ascended rapidly in a perpendicular direction, while it was within the crater; but, when it had risen above the edges, inclined towards the west, from the action of a light wind; and, when it had risen higher, dilated into an extended but thin volume. This smoke was white, and, being im-

pelled to the side opposite that on which I was, did not prevent my seeing within the aperture; in which, I can affirm, I very distinctly perceived a liquid ignited matter, which continually undulated, boiled, and rose and fell, without spreading over the bottom. This certainly was the melted lava which had arisen to that aperture from the bottom of the Etnean gulf.

“The favourable circumstance of having this aperture immediately under my view, induced me to throw into it some large stones, by rolling them down the steep declivity below me. These stones, which were only large pieces of lava that I had detached from the edges of the crater, bounding down the side, in a few moments fell on the bottom, and those which entered into the aperture, and struck the liquid lava, produced a sound similar to that they would have occasioned had they fallen into a thick tenacious paste. Every stone I thus threw struck against and loosened others in its passage, which fell with it, and in like manner struck and detached others in their way, whence the sounds produced were considerably multiplied. The stones which fell on the bottom rebounded, even when they were very large, and returned a sound different from that I have before described. The bottom cannot, therefore, be considered as only a thin crust; since, were it not thick and solid, it must have been broken by stones so heavy falling from so great a height.” Vol. I. p. 232.

We cannot quit this subject without quoting the spirited and beautiful description of the view

from the summit of the mountain.

“After having, for two hours, indulged my eyes with a view of the interior of the crater, that is, in the contemplation of a spectacle which, in its kind, and in the present age, is without a parallel in the world; I turned them to another scene, which is likewise unequalled for the multiplicity, the beauty, and the variety of the objects it presents. In fact, there is, perhaps, no elevated region on the whole globe which offers, at one view, so ample an extent of sea and land as the summit of Etna. The first of the sublime objects which it presents, is the immense mass of its own colossal body. When in the country below it, near Catania, we raise our eyes to this sovereign of the mountains, we certainly survey it with admiration, as it rises majestically, and lifts its lofty head above the clouds; and with a kind of geometric glance we estimate its height from the base to the summit: but we only see it in profile. Very different is the appearance it presents, viewed from its towering top, when the whole of its enormous bulk is subjected to the eye. The first part, and that nearest the observer, is the Upper Region, which, from the quantity of snows and ice beneath which it is buried during the greater part of the year, may be called the frigid zone, but which, at that time, was divested of this covering, and only exhibited rough and craggy cliffs, here piled on each other, and there separate, and rising perpendicularly; fearful to view, and impossible to ascend. Towards the middle of

this zone, an assemblage of fugitive clouds, irradiated by the sun, and all in motion, increased the wild variety of the scene. Lower down, appeared the Middle Region, which, from the mildness of its climate, may merit the name of the temperate zone. Its numerous woods, interrupted in various places, seem, like a torn garment, to discover the nudity of the mountain. Here arise a multitude of other mountains, which in any other situation would appear of gigantic size, but are but pigmies compared to Etna. These have all originated from fiery eruptions. Lastly, the eye contemplates, with admiration, the Lower Region, which, from its violent heat, may claim the appellation of the torrid zone; the most extensive of the three, adorned with elegant villas and castles, verdant hills, and flowery fields, and terminated by the extensive coast, where, to the south, stands the beautiful city of Catania, to which the waves of the neighbouring sea serve as a mirror.

"But not only do we discover, from this astonishing elevation, the entire massy body of Mount Etna; but the whole of the island of Sicily, with all its noble cities, lofty hills, extensive plains, and meandering rivers. In the indistinct distance we perceive Malta; but have a clear view of the environs of Messina, and the greater part of Calabria; while Lipari, the fuming Vulcano, the blazing Stromboli, and the other Eolian isles, appear immediately under our feet, and seem as if, on stooping down, we might touch them with the finger.

"Another object no less su-

perb and majestic, was the far-stretching surface of the subjacent sea which surrounded me, and led my eye to an immense distance, till it seemed gradually to mingle with the heavens.

"Seated in the midst of this theatre of the wonders of nature, I felt an indescribable pleasure from the multiplicity and beauty of the objects I surveyed; and a kind of internal satisfaction and exultation of heart. The sun was advancing to the meridian, unobscured by the smallest cloud, and Reaumur's thermometer stood at the tenth degree above the freezing point. I was therefore in that temperature which is most friendly to man; and the refined air I breathed, as if it had been entirely vital, communicated a vigour and agility to my limbs, and an activity and life to my ideas, which appeared to be of a celestial nature." Vol. I. p. 281.

The second and third volumes contain the Abbé's narrative of his journey over the Lipari islands, &c., but they are too exclusively devoted to philosophical research and experiment to allow us to make any extracts from them, which would come within our limits. We should otherwise much like to give our readers his account of pumice stone, with all its varieties, and of the results of his chemical analysis of this curious production; his acute enquiries into the nature of volcanic eruptions in general; and his, in many instances, satisfactory conjectures relative to the origin of the muriatic acid, and to the causes of its so frequently mingling in the composition of various volcanic formations; but as we cannot discuss

these interesting subjects in the manner which they require and deserve, we will only most earnestly recommend the work itself to the attention of our philosophical readers, and proceed to the fourth volume, in which the subject of volcanic fires is resumed and concluded. The author thus narrates the particulars of his visit to Messina after the dreadful earthquake in 1783, and gives the following melancholy picture of the state of that city.

“ On my entering, in the felucca, the Strait of Messina, some of the people who were with me pointed out to me the shore of Scilla, where a great number of people were drowned at that calamitous time. A dreadful shock of an earthquake took place, about noon, on the 5th of February of the above year, which terrifying the people of Scilla, they fled in crowds to the shore, when, about eight o'clock the following night, according to the Italian reckoning*, another violent shock succeeded, in which the waves rose so high that they covered the whole shore, and out of more than a thousand persons who were there collected, among whom was the Prince of Scilla himself, not one escaped to relate and mourn the fate of the rest. The furious waves, rushing into the strait, penetrated to the harbour of Messina, and nearly sunk the vessels there at anchor.

“ When I arrived opposite to the city, I began to see the fatal and ruinous effects of this dreadful earthquake. The curvature of the harbour was formerly em-

bellished, for the extent of more than a mile, with a continued range of superb palaces, three stories in height, usually called the *Palazzata*, inhabited by merchants and other persons of opulence, which formed a kind of superb amphitheatre. The upper story, and a part of the second, of these buildings, were entirely thrown down, the lower greatly torn and damaged, and the whole of this expensive pile deserted by its inhabitants.

“ When I entered the city, every object which met my view tended to awaken melancholy sentiments and commiseration. Excepting some of the wider and more frequented streets, the rest were all heaps of ruins, either piled up on each side, or scattered in the middle, and rendering it impossible to pass them. Many of the houses were still in the same ruinous state in which they had been left by the earthquake; some entirely destroyed and levelled with the ground, others half thrown down, and others still standing, or rather hanging in the air, merely from the support afforded by the ruins around them. Those which had escaped this destruction appeared as if preserved by a miracle, torn and rent as they were. The cathedral was among the number of these fortunate edifices. This is a spacious building, of gothic architecture. Its interior has suffered little or no damage. It is embellished with a number of columns of granite, brought from an ancient Grecian temple, which once stood on the Faro (or Strait of Messina) and with elegant Mo-

* About one in the morning.

saic work wrought with the most beautiful jaspers of Sicily.

“The destruction of so great a number of houses as were thrown down by this dreadful earthquake, obliged the people of Messina to take refuge in wooden sheds built for the occasion, many of which were still standing when I was there. They had begun, however, to rebuild the houses, but on a different plan from the old ones. They had observed that the highest had suffered most, and that, in the violent shocks of the earthquake, the beams, by continually and forcibly beating against the walls, had completed the ruin of the edifice. They therefore resolved to build them lower, and to construct the wood-work in such a manner, that, in case of a similar visitation, the shock should be sustained by the whole of the building, and not by a part only. This precaution, it is evident, must be of the greatest utility, should the city again suffer a calamity of this nature.

“Though it was now nearly the sixth year since that dreadful disaster, considerable remains of the dread, consternation, and, I may say, stupefaction, which usually accompany great terrors, were still manifest in the minds of the people at Messina. They had still present in their memory all the circumstances of that dreadful time; nor could I listen to the narrative they gave of them without shuddering.

“That ancient city, which had so repeatedly suffered, was not destroyed by one but several earthquakes, which lasted in successive shocks, from the 5th to the 7th of Feb. 1783. The most destructive

was that of the 5th, but an interval of some minutes elapsing between the first and second shock, the inhabitants had time to quit their houses, and fly to the open plain. Hence the number of those who were killed was not proportionate to the quantity of ruins. They did not exceed eight hundred.

“In a memoir relative to the earthquakes in that part of Calabria opposite to Messina, which happened at the same time, it is said that, before the first shock, the dogs in the city began to howl violently, and were killed by a public order. On my enquiring of the people of the country, they assured me that the fact was false, and that no other phenomenon preceded this calamity but the flight of the sea-mews and some other birds from the sea to the mountains, as they usually do on the approach of a tempest. A very violent noise, resembling that of a number of carriages rattling over a stone bridge, was the first symptom, while at the same time a thick cloud arose from Calabria, which was the centre of the earthquake, the propagation of which was successively apparent by the fall of buildings from the point of the Faro to the city of Messina, as if at that point a mine had been fired, which extended along the shore, and continued into the city. The shock was most violent, and the motion extremely irregular. In no part were any fire or sparks observed. The ground along the shore opened in fissures parallel to it; and though in some places these continued more than a month, the dread and consternation with which every one was

seized, prevented any attempt to measure them.

“ After the first shock, which, as we have said, took place about noon, on the 5th of February, the earth continued incessantly to tremble, sometimes with a slighter, and sometimes a more violent motion; till at eight the following night another tremendous shock, which was fatal to the people of Scilla, completed the destruction of the remainder of the fabrics of Messina. The earthquakes did not cease till the 7th, when another dreadful shock spent its rage upon the ruins.” Vol. IV. p. 153.

The fourth volume also contains Spallanzani's personal observations upon Scylla and Charibdis, and his philosophical researches in the Straits of Messina, alluded to in the Introduction; some curious discoveries of phos-

phorescent medusæ, and other mollusca; a history of the coral fisheries on those coasts, and of that of the sword fish and sea dog, but we have already extracted too largely to admit of more than the above brief notices of the principal subject matter of this volume. The translation, although not elegant, is on the whole respectably done, and faithfully conveys the sense of the author. We have little doubt that these travels would at any time become a work of general popularity; but they are peculiarly valuable at the present moment, when our means of access to the continent are daily diminishing, until it seems probable that the rising generation will not acquire the knowledge of any country beyond their own, unless through the medium of the Press.

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